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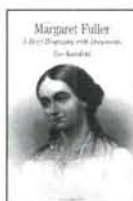
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In This Issue

This issue contains the AHA Presidential Address and two articles. Taken together, the three essays raise critical questions about historical consciousness, gender relations, and social policy within a time span that ranges from the Middle Ages to the very recent past. There are two other features of this issue that warrant explanation as well. First, immediately following this column is "Film Reviewing in the *AHR*." These guidelines explain the editors' basic policies on the selection of film reviewers and films to review. They are the first formal guidelines for film reviews issued by the *AHR*'s editors and are intended to accompany the article and book review guidelines published in the February 1996 issue. In addition, beginning with this issue, film reviews will appear in each number of the journal. Film reviews will be appearing immediately after the book reviews and in a similar format. Periodically, review essays and forums will be published on particularly significant themes in historical films. Like review essays on books and other forums, these will appear as articles in the front pages of the journal. Second, there are significantly more book reviews in this issue than usually appear in the *AHR*. The same will be true in April 1997. We are doing this to overcome a growing backlog of reviews and thus make our reviews as timely as possible. The book review section also contains a notable increase in the number of reviews in Latin American history, which represents the first results of the editors' continuing efforts to review important historical scholarship around the globe and through time in a more comprehensive and inclusive manner.

Presidential Address

Caroline Walker Bynum's presidential address suggests that historians should respond to the past with what the European Middle Ages understood as *admiratio* (wonder). She argues that the high Middle Ages saw at least three discourses concerning wonder: a theological-philosophical discussion that understood wonder as an incentive to investigation and therefore to knowledge; a set of devotional genres in which wonder was seen as the opposite of imitation or appropriation; and a literature of entertainment (including chronicles, travel accounts, and collections of anecdotes) that lodged wonder in the singularity of the event producing it. Not content, however, to examine only the theoretical discussions, Bynum also attempts to tease out wonder reactions in accounts of events and artifacts. She argues that

not every miracle or oddity was met with awe or dread; rather, medieval writers expressed heightened responses to occurrences, individuals, and objects that crossed ontological and moral boundaries. Although medieval authors have often been charged with credulity, Bynum explains that they understood wonder as situated—that is, the reaction of awe or horror depended on the location and perspective of the wonderer—and triggered by real events. Thus she contends that wonder was a reaction to significance. In developing this argument, Bynum compellingly engages recent historiography on early modern Europe, which has seen the Renaissance as “the age of marvels” and criticized “wonder” as a kind of colonizing appropriation of “the other.” At the same time, she persuasively argues that medieval understandings of wonder as a situated, non-appropriative response to significance are directly germane to the task of all historians as scholars and teachers. Bynum concludes with the arresting assertion that a medieval understanding of the desire to experience and produce wonder is our best antidote to presentist devaluing and flattening of the past.

Articles

Sarah Hanley offers a methodological format—the relations of practice—as a way to study aspects of state-building in early modern France related to family formation. Opening her article in 1791, she presents arguments for women’s legal rights made by Olympe de Gouge and Etta Palm d’Aelders but contends that their claims must be read according to the social logic developed by past generations. Recreating the sources of that logic, Hanley argues that the jurists and political theorists in the mid-1500s who discovered that an important law excluding women from rule was based on forgery reacted by developing in its place a canon that privileged male right in the political and domestic spheres. In tracing the impact of the new canon, Hanley uncovers two critical developments: the creation of the “Family-State Law Compact,” civil laws regulating marriage, marital separation, and inheritance; and the filing of lawsuits by litigants who objected to those edicts and ordinances. She explores these developments by investigating suits brought by wives for marital separation.

Reconstructing two particularly evocative cases, Hanley demonstrates how the law compact failed to protect women’s civil rights to life, liberty, and property and why women repeatedly challenged the governance system. Significantly, she reveals that the way in which women pursued their legal claims was a critical initial invocation of the idea of the separation of powers in governance. They did so in disputes over domestic governance but in a way that suggested its relevance to political governance. Pointing to the fact that lawyers and litigants publicized suits by taking their briefs from the courtrooms to the streets, Hanley explains how such actions helped fashion public space and the formation of public opinion. In doing so, Hanley maintains that the commentaries of Montesquieu, Rousseau, and well-known jurists of the era are best understood by socially siting them within the context of women’s marital-separation suits and publicized briefs. Returning full

circle from the 1600s and 1700s to the year 1791, Hanley asks readers to reconsider the inherent social logic of the demands made by Gouges and Aelders. She asserts that their claims must be understood as the products of over a century of encounters between laws and litigants as well as of their immediate political context. By tracing the relations of practice over time between laws (a system) and litigation (actions), Hanley develops a compelling argument about the need to understand the interconnections between the domestic and political sources of state-building and reform and presents a compelling method for doing so.

Donna Harsch explores the era of restrictive abortion policy in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the 1950s and 1960s in an effort to understand the sources of its demise in 1972. She examines the social and policy background to the legalization of abortion as well as the arguments and actions of physicians, influential Communists, and citizens who struggled to reform a repressive law imposed in 1950. Abortion reform in East Germany, she argues persuasively, has to be placed within the domestic framework of changing relations between a Communist state and its society and the international context of a rising appreciation of the link between abortion law and women's rights. Within this analytical framework, Harsch contends that the causes, course, and content of abortion reform in the GDR were strikingly similar to those in Western industrial democracies despite antithetical political circumstances. The leaders of the German Communist state felt compelled to respond to the unintended consequences of their failure to suppress illegal abortion, on the one hand, and of their success in increasing the employment of young mothers, on the other. Leading Communists also had to take into account pressure for reform that came from outside the inner circle of power. The arguments against existing policy made by medical professionals and women citizens not only influenced the state but also expressed changing ideas of abortion and women's rights derived from both internal and external sources. The emergence of a language of abortion rights was thus related to the expansion of women's employment and, equally important, to a greater self-confidence among East German citizens. Harsch concludes that new constructions of abortion in the GDR were thus fashioned in part from language overheard from the West and in part from domestic discourses about other issues. Her convincing argument about the multiple sources of abortion reform in East Germany is a compelling example of comparative analysis and contextualized institutional history.

Film Reviewing in the *AHR*

The *AHR* has reviewed films since 1989. As with other changes in the content of the journal over the years, the decision to review films as well as books stemmed from the *AHR*'s mandate to evaluate important forms of historical analysis. Film has become a critical and widely used medium for understanding the past. As the editors of a journal of history, our primary tasks in reviewing films are to identify films relevant to the scholarly interests of the professional historians who constitute our primary readership and to evaluate how such films contribute to both our understanding of the past and to historical debates about the past.

In trying to accomplish these tasks, the editors recognize the distinctive nature of film as a medium of historical interpretation. More significant, we understand that because of the way the medium has developed and the way it engages the past, both dramatic and documentary films must be reviewed. Only by including both formats can we offer our readers reviews that address the full possibilities of crafting different views of the past through this medium. At the same time, the decision to review dramatic films is also an acknowledgement of their increasing importance in constructing a popular understanding of the past.

Despite our recognition of the distinctiveness of film, *AHR* film reviews are intended to be works of scholarly analysis that evaluate the historical merits of a film rather than its technique or relationship to film as a distinctive artistic genre. Nor are reviews designed merely to evaluate a film's authenticity. Instead, *AHR* film reviews should focus on four primary issues: the originality of the film's contribution to our understanding of history, the relationship of a film to historical scholarship on its subject, the sophistication of the historical analysis employed in the film, and the effectiveness of the film in communicating its ideas and arguments.

Like all sections of the *AHR*, the film reviews operate under particular constraints. While we are mindful of the need to be as comprehensive as possible in selecting films for review, there is simply not enough space in the journal to review every film of historical significance. Our goal is to be as fair and thorough as we can in surveying and reporting on the most important films for professional historians. In addition to the obvious space limitations, film reviews are also constrained by the peculiarities of the film-production process itself. We cannot overcome the modernist bent of film production and distribution that privileges the present and recent past over earlier times. Nor can we change the American and West European dominance of the industry that results in valuing Western subjects and Western perspectives over those from the rest of the world. We do, however,

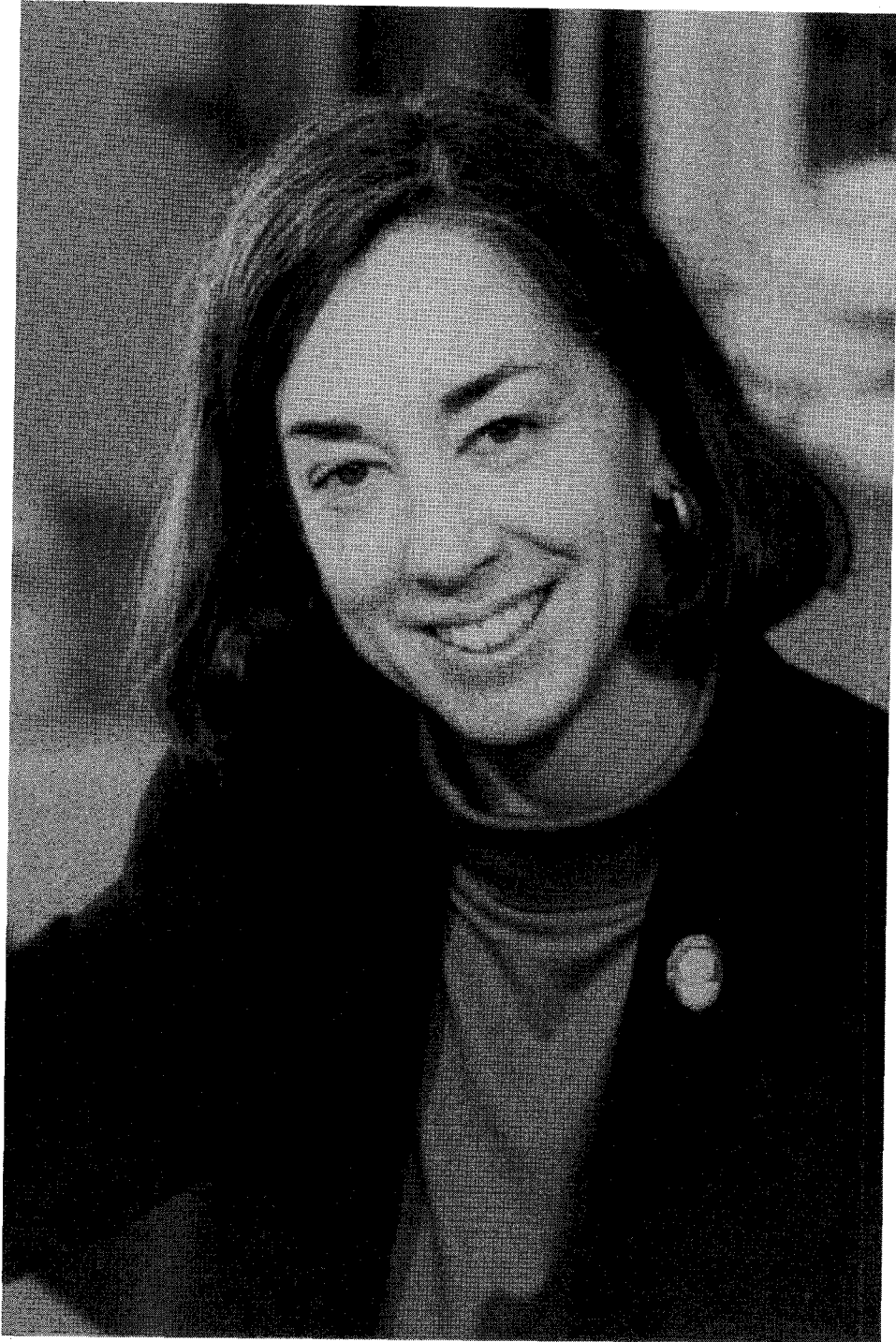
try to review the widest range of historical films that we can in an attempt to overcome these limitations as much as possible.

The *AHR*'s film reviewing procedures are designed to fulfill our goals within these constraints. The most important decision we make is determining which films to review. Our central consideration is the importance of a film to historical understanding and scholarship. Importance is determined by the significance of the questions asked about the past by the film and the creativity of the filmmaker in crafting answers to those questions. We are particularly interested in reviewing films that offer innovative historical arguments, address relatively neglected historical subjects, or inform historical discussions on an important topic.

Once a film has been selected for review, a reviewer is selected from our files of professional scholars active in the various fields of history and related disciplines. The primary qualification for film reviewers is an understanding of the historical subject matter of the film. We determine qualified reviewers based on individual records of scholarly work in fields of history or historically informed work in related disciplines relevant to the subject and themes of the film to be reviewed. Our preference is for reviewers who have published extensively on topics addressed by the film under review. We also generally require that reviewers have earned a Ph.D. or its equivalent such as J.D. or Th.D. We do not use reviewers whose primary qualification is scholarship in film studies, because our central concern is to select reviewers who can ask the kinds of questions that historians ought to ask in evaluating any interpretation of the past.

Finally, the *AHR* staff determines the length of a review and, once it has been received, edits it. We expect reviewers to write thoughtful and engaging critiques that explain the basic historical argument of the film, assess its strengths and weaknesses, and place the film in its historiographical context. We encourage them to do so in a way that addresses readers outside the bounds of their particular historical specialty. We do not dictate the contents of reviews, but we do delete passages that are, in our judgment, *ad hominem* attacks on the makers or subjects of a film. Reviews range in size from 500 to 1,200 words; the average review is 800. We often group films together to give reviewers an opportunity to analyze significant tendencies in historical filmmaking and to assess the kind of history being developed in films from a particular region or concerning a particular issue. These review essays range in length from 2,000 to 6,000 words.

These procedures and policies grow out of the editors' conviction that film now claims an important place among the forms of historical discourse, and consequently film reviews are one more way that the *AHR* fulfills its mandate to present and evaluate significant historical scholarship.



CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM

Presidential Address

Wonder

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM

Let him who does not know how to astonish go work in the stables!

Giambattista Marino (1569–1628)¹

UNLIKELY THOUGH IT MAY SEEM for a medievalist, I am a product of the 60s. I submitted my dissertation in the spring of 1969 on the very day students occupied University Hall at Harvard to protest military recruiting on campus and the war in Vietnam. During the next tumultuous years, as I struggled to become a teacher and a professional with the high (and admittedly somewhat naïve) ideals of the 60s sounding in my brain, I kept on my bulletin board a copy of a Paris wall slogan from the student rebellion of 1968: “Toute vue des choses qui n’est pas étrange est fausse” (“Every view of things that is not strange [i.e., bizarre or foreign] is false”).² It seemed to me then that I was trying, both as a scholar and as a teacher, to jolt my listeners and readers into encounter with a past that is unexpected and strange, a past whose lineaments are not what we at first assume, whose traces in our sources answer questions we haven’t asked and deliver only silence to our initial, self-referential queries. So when I began to think about this address and about the intellectual challenges to the historian’s task that engage me most, I returned to this wall slogan. Could a penchant for the strange help us avoid what Patricia Limerick has identified as presentist flattening of the past,³ or what John Toews has diagnosed as the danger of being trapped by the multiple readings of texts open

I would like to thank Arnold Davidson, John Martin, and Pamela Smith for stimulating conversations that suggested to me the topic of this address. I would also like to thank Lorraine Daston, Jeffrey Hamburger, Katharine Park, Edward Peters, and Stephen D. White for generously sharing their unpublished work, Joel Kaye, Guenther Roth, and Dorothea von Mücke for thoughtful readings, Kathy Eden for advice about Renaissance literary theory, and Philippe Buc and Jennifer Howard for help with the photographs.

¹ Marino is quoted in James V. Mirollo, “The Aesthetics of the Marvelous: The Wondrous Work of Art in a Wondrous World,” in Joy Kenseth, ed., *The Age of the Marvelous* (Hanover, N.H., 1991), 61. Marino was speaking of poets.

² Stephen Spender, *The Year of the Young Rebels* (New York, 1969), 42.

³ Patricia Nelson Limerick, “Turnerians All: The Dream of a Helpful History in an Intelligible World,” *AHR* 100 (June 1995): 697–716, esp. 704–12. For the same point made by an anthropologist, see Sherry B. Ortner, “Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (1995): 173–93; her phrase for the danger is “thinning culture.”

to—but, we may fear, reflective only of—us after the linguistic turn?⁴ In other words, could “wonder” be the special characteristic of the historian?

Those of you who are specialists in European history or literature may find this introduction to my subject somewhat disingenuous, for surely my question emerges from current scholarship as well as from out-of-date wall slogans. “Wonder” is at present a “hot topic.” But not, it would appear, a medievalist’s topic. “Wonders” and “marvels” have recently been the subject of a good deal of research on early modern Europe, some of it inspired by the cinquecentennial of 1492 and the welcome new sensitivities to its darker side.⁵ Moreover, some influential literary theory—above all, the ideas of Tzvetan Todorov—suggests that the “marvelous” is a particular aesthetic that emerged in the seventeenth century (or perhaps later) and is predicated on an “implicit reader” hardly present in the simpler tales that amused medieval audiences.⁶ Thus some of you may suspect that I am engaging in a version of that mid-twentieth-century “medievalists’ revolt” in which historians earnestly asserted the claims of the Middle Ages, over against those of early modern Europe, to phenomena no one is quite sure about today—“the Renaissance,” for example, or the origins of “the modern state.”⁷ Perhaps, then, I represent a rearguard action to claim back from early modernists the irrational and grotesque and to “re-enchant,” if not the world, at least the historical profession. After all, much recent work has demonstrated that the period from about 1180 to 1320 saw a great increase in stories of marvels, monsters, miracles, and ghosts;⁸ and

⁴ John E. Toews, “Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn,” *AHR* 92 (October 1987): 879–907, esp. 906.

⁵ For example, Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago, 1991); Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, forthcoming); and Kenseth, *Age of the Marvelous*. In what follows, I have been greatly assisted and instructed by Daston and Park’s magisterial study; I differ from them above all in including miracles and portents in my discussion of “wonder.”

⁶ According to Todorov, “the marvelous” is a genre in which characters accept the supernatural; in the “strange” or “uncanny,” it is rationalized; in the “grotesque” or “fantastic,” characters vacillate between natural explanation and acceptance of the supernatural as supernatural. See Tzvetan Todorov, *Introduction à la littérature fantastique* (Paris, 1970), esp. 28–62. Medievalists have disagreed about whether Todorov’s categories should be applied to medieval works of the imagination. See, for example, Jacques Le Goff, “The Marvelous in the Medieval West,” in *The Medieval Imagination*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1988), 27–44, esp. 34; Lucienne Carasso-Bulow, *The Merveilleux in Chrétien de Troyes’ Romances* (Geneva, 1976), 11–17; Francis Dubost, *Aspects fantastiques de la littérature narrative médiévale (XII^e–XIII^e siècles): L’autre, l’ailleurs, l’autrefois* (Geneva, 1991), esp. 3–29. I have more sympathy with those such as Francis Dubost who argue that we can use modern critical notions of response and framing to identify a medieval “fantastic” than with those who would rule such analysis inappropriate.

Paul Freedman has recently suggested that work in medieval cultural history divides between presentism and a taste for the grotesque: “The Return of the Grotesque in Medieval Historiography,” in *Historia a Debate: Medieval*, Carlos Barros and Carlos Aguirre Rojas, eds. (Santiago de Compostela, 1995), 9–19. He has in mind the ordinary language usage of “grotesque,” not the one under discussion in literary theory.

⁷ Wallace K. Ferguson, in *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948), called the efforts of medievalists to recapture the idea of “renaissance” for various medieval cultural revivals “the revolt of the medievalists”; see 329–85.

⁸ See, for example, Ronald C. Finucane, *Appearances of the Dead: A Cultural History of Ghosts* (London, 1982); Claude Kappler, *Monstres, demons et merveilles à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1980); Claude Lecouteux, *Les monstres dans la pensée médiévale européenne: Essai de présentation* (Paris, 1993); Michel Meslin, ed., *Le merveilleux: L’imaginaire et les croyances en Occident* (n.p., 1984); Daniel Poirion, *Le merveilleux dans la littérature française du moyen âge* (Paris, 1982), esp. 82; Paul Rousset, “Le sens du merveilleux à l’époque féodale,” *Le moyen âge* 62, 4th ser., no. 11 (1956): 25–37;

the characterization of medieval Europe as “awash in wonders” has been employed by many of our century’s greatest scholars.⁹

No revolt or reappropriation is, however, intended. I leave “the marvelous” to literary theorists and “the age of marvels” to the Renaissance! My topic is “wonder,” not “wonders,” and what I want to do in this essay is to explore not only the different theories of wonder present in a variety of medieval discourses but also (and this is, of course, quite tricky to determine) the circumstances under which medieval men and women felt wonder, whether or not the sources use the term. In other words, I intend to explore not only wonder-talk but also wonder-behavior.¹⁰ Although I shall not come up with *a* medieval definition of wonder or *a* medieval wonder experience, I shall delineate a complex set of ideas and reactions very different from those recently studied by early modernists. Medieval theorists, I shall argue, understood wonder (*admiratio*) as cognitive, non-appropriative, perspectival, and particular. Not merely a physiological response, wonder was a recognition of the singularity and significance of the thing encountered. Only that which is really different from the knower can trigger wonder; yet wonder will always be in a context and from a particular point of view. To medieval thinkers, human beings cannot wonder at what is not there; but neither can we wonder at that which we fully understand. I shall thus suggest that there are analogies (not correspondences) between medieval discussions and those of late twentieth-century historians.¹¹ For surely what characterizes historians above all else is the capacity to be shocked by the singularity of events in a way that stimulates the search for “significance” (a

Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Les revenants: Les vivants et les morts dans la société médiévale* (Paris, 1994); Pierre-André Sigal, *L’homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XI^e-XII^e siècle)* (Paris, 1985); R. W. Southern, “The Place of England in Twelfth-Century Renaissance,” reprinted in his *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1970), 158–80, see esp. 171–74; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000–1215* (Aldershot, 1982). Philippe Ménard, in “Le monde médiéval: Les curiosités profanes,” in Meslin, *Le merveilleux*, 32, comments: “Le merveilleux a connu son âge d’or au XIII^e siècle.”

⁹ Historians have tended to depict medieval enthusiasm for the marvelous either as extreme emotionality and credulity or as a site of resistance to clerical culture. Marc Bloch and Johan Huizinga, for example, characterized the Middle Ages as more “emotional” than modern times: Bloch, *Feudal Society*, L. A. Manyon, trans. (Chicago, 1961), 73; and Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans. (Chicago, 1996), 1–9. On this point, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Façons de sentir et de penser: Un tableau de la civilisation ou un histoire-problème,” in *Marc Bloch aujourd’hui: Histoire comparée et sciences sociales*, Hartmut Atsma and André Burguière, eds. (Paris, 1990), 409–19; and Stephen D. White, “The Politics of Anger,” in *Wrath and Righteousness: The Social Uses of Anger in the Middle Ages*, Barbara Rosenwein, ed. (Ithaca, forthcoming). For magic, marvel, and folk tale as resistance to elite culture, see Le Goff, “Marvelous,” 27–44; and Laurence Harf-Lancner, “La métamorphose illusoire: Des théories chrétiennes de la métamorphose aux images médiévales du loup-garou,” *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 40 (1985): 208–26. I am uncomfortable with the assumption that we can clearly distinguish popular and clerical cultures in the surviving documents.

The phrase “le moyen âge qui baigne dans le merveilleux” is from Roger Caillois, *Images, images: Essais sur le rôle et les pouvoirs de l’imagination* (Paris, 1966), 28.

¹⁰ I am using here something like the distinction suggested by Stearns and Stearns between “emotionology” (formal psychological theories plus widely held and explicit values) and “emotions” (behavior and reactions), although I find the terminology awkward; see Carol Z. Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, eds., *Emotion and Social Change: Toward a New Psychohistory* (New York, 1988), esp. 7. For recent work in the history of emotions, see n. 58 below.

¹¹ I have explained my own position on the complicated issue of presentism and the difference between responsible and irresponsible use of analogies from the past in “Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist’s Perspective,” *Critical Inquiry* 22 (Autumn 1995): 27–31.

word that includes—but is not limited to—cause or explanation). So my topic is, first, a set of very sophisticated discourses produced by medieval thinkers and, second, the web of actual horror and delight we can decipher in medieval texts. I describe these as an antidote to recent fears that, because it is impossible to know without in some sense appropriating, it is therefore impossible to know. And as I proceed, I hope to tell you some wonder-ful stories.

BEFORE I TURN TO THE MIDDLE AGES, I wish to say a bit more about recent scholarship on “wonders” in order to make clear how my emphasis will differ from it. This work has been characterized by three arguments. First, a great deal of research on the early modern European impulse to collect and explore, displayed in such phenomena as the origins of the museum in the *Wunderkammer* (wonder cabinet), voyages to the New World with their attendant goals of conquering and missionizing, and the use of inquisitors and questionnaires by government to assemble information for judicial proceedings and taxation, has stressed the enthusiasm for wonders as expropriative and appropriative. The collections of narwhal horns and jewels, deformed fetuses and human captives, made by rulers, missionaries, and naturalists have been understood as an early modern “orientalism”—a projection of self or construction of “other” as self.¹² Columbus’s “desire to know the secrets of the world” has been glossed with José de Acosta’s praise of proselytizing curiosity: “And the high and eternal wisdom of the Creator uses this natural curiosity of men to communicate the light of His holy gospel to peoples who still live in the darkness of their errors.”¹³ In such interpretation, the rape of the New World seems implicit in wonder at it.

Second, natural philosophical discussions of “wonders” and “wonder” have been interpreted as moving in a more or less straight line from medieval scholastics to the Enlightenment.¹⁴ According to such analysis, philosophers between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries developed from the opening of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, which associated wonder with ignorance and doubt, the idea that the goal of *admiratio* was its own destruction; if wonder arose from the desire to seek causes it did not understand, wonder should lead to its own replacement by knowledge (*scientia*) or *philosophia*. This understanding of wonder then combined with the development of an ontological distinction between *miracula* and *mirabilia*, in which marvels were defined as natural effects we fail to understand, whereas miracles were “unusual and difficult” (*insolitum et arduum*) events, “produced by God’s

¹² Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*; and Edward Peters, “The Desire to Know the Secrets of the World” (forthcoming). See also J. H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1970); and Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985).

¹³ The phrase from Columbus, which gave Edward Peters the title for his wonderful essay cited above, is found in Cesare de Lollis, ed., *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo*, 2 vols. (Genoa, 1892–94), 2.1: 79. José de Acosta’s statement comes from his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, Edmundo O’Gorman, ed., 2d edn. (Mexico City, 1962), 112, quoted in Elliott, *Old World and New*, 30–31.

¹⁴ See, for example, Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*; and Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 6–8.

power alone on things that have a natural tendency to the opposite effect.”¹⁵ Thus, while preserving the possibility of objective verification of miracles as *contra naturam*, such definitions led to an ever-increasing sense that seemingly extraordinary events could be explained (i.e., rationalized) as ruled by the laws of nature.¹⁶

Third, work on early modern marvels has tended to begin exploration of the wonder reaction with Descartes’ famous definition from 1649: “wonder is a sudden surprise of the soul which makes it tend to consider attentively those objects which seem to it rare and extraordinary.”

When the first encounter with some object surprises us . . . this makes us wonder and be astonished . . . And since this can happen before we know in the least whether this object is suitable to us or not, it seems to me that Wonder is the first of all the passions. It has no opposite, because if the object presented has nothing in it that surprises us, we are not in the least moved by it and regard it without passion.¹⁷

Although in this discussion the cognitive element in wonder is in fact large,¹⁸ Descartes has been treated, in the new field of the history of the emotions, as beginning the tendency to reduce emotion to physiology.¹⁹ Such analysis has traced a unilinear development from Charles Le Brun’s drawings of the passions, published forty-nine years after Descartes’ treatise to illustrate his theories, through Burke and Kant, to Charles Darwin’s *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), which equated wonder with raised eyebrows, opened and protruding lips, and a hand held up, palm out, with fingers open—reactions that, Darwin argued, increased the animal’s chances of survival by making it see and breathe better in a crisis. The wealth of new psychological, anthropological, and historical discussion that assumes the emotions to be culturally constructed thus understands

¹⁵ Thomas Aquinas, *On the Power of God*, the English Dominican Fathers, trans., 3 vols. (London, 1933), questio 6, art. 2, 2: 162–64; *De potentia Dei*, in *S. Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, Robert Busa, ed. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1980), vol. 3: *Quaestiones disputatae*, p. 232.

¹⁶ Hence Francis Bacon, writing in 1605, would call wonder the “seed of knowledge”; see Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning and Novum Organum*, J. E. Creighton, intro. (New York, 1899), 4. Bacon also said (p. 5): “the contemplation of God’s works produces knowledge . . . with regard to him; not perfect knowledge but wonder, which is broken knowledge.” For major medieval figures in this tradition, see below at n. 33. Some scholars would date the tendency to rationalize the marvelous as far back as Adelard of Bath in the early twelfth century.

¹⁷ René Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, S. Voss, trans. (Indianapolis, Ind., 1989), pt. 2, arts. 70 and 53, quotations at pp. 56–57 and 52 respectively.

¹⁸ Descartes, *Passions of the Soul*, art. 71, pp. 57–58. Compare the treatment in Albert the Great’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*; Albertus Magnus, *Metaphysica libri quinque priores*, Bernard Geyer, ed., bk. 1, tract. 2, c. 6, in Albertus, *Opera omnia*, Institutum Alberti Magni Coloniense, ed., 37 vols. (Münster, 1951–), 16.1: 23, which gives a physiological description of *admiratio*. J. V. Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder: The Emotional Effect of Shakespearean Tragedy* (Denver, Colo., 1951), 79–80, and Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*, 81, 176–77, have recently made much of this passage, but it is also important to note, as Daston and Park point out, that *admiratio* here is a kind of fear. See also Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, the English Dominican Fathers, trans., 3 vols. (New York, 1947), Ia IIae, q. 41, art. 4, 1: 766–67, and IIa IIae, q. 180, art. 3, 2: 1932–33.

¹⁹ See, for example, Rom Harré, “An Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint,” and Claire Armon-Jones, “The Thesis of Constructionism,” in Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford, 1986), esp. 2–3, 34, 40. For a neo-Darwinian and unabashedly reductionist interpretation, see John Onians, “‘I Wonder . . .’: A Short History of Amazement,” in *Sight and Insight: Essays on Art and Culture in Honour of E. H. Gombrich* at 85, John Onians, ed. (London, 1994), 11–34.

itself as in opposition to an early modern psychology for which the startle response of "admiration" or "wonder" was the paradigmatic emotion.²⁰

It is not my purpose here to suggest that current arguments about the early modern "age of the marvelous" are correct or incorrect. It will, however, be clear that none of these interpretations, complex though they be, describes a wonder-talk or wonder-behavior that is empowering (or even relevant) to what historians do. A philosophical understanding of wonder as ignorance rationalized or erased by knowledge, a wondering desire that collects and appropriates what it endeavors to know or projects its self onto an imagined other, a passion that reduces to a startle response at the unfamiliar—whether or not such interpretations are correct understandings of early modern texts and events, they have little to do with the historian's vocation. But medieval "wonder" was not any of the above. I therefore turn to the conceptions of "wonder" current in the Middle Ages, confident that—although the past never provides answers or solutions—these ideas can nonetheless help us imagine the kind of non-appropriative, perspectival, and intensely cognitive response we must aspire to if we are to meet our responsibilities as teachers and historians.

ALTHOUGH MEDIEVAL WRITERS DID NOT for the most part produce theories of wonder in the areas of psychology or poetics, where such theories would later figure so prominently, they certainly produced theoretical discussions of wonder.²¹ As we might expect, we find not one but many discourses, although it is difficult—as always for the Middle Ages—to know how to characterize their differences.²² I shall discuss three: a theological-philosophical understanding of wonder emanating from university intellectuals; a religious discourse about wonder found in sermons, devotional writing, and above all in the enormously popular genre of saints' lives; and a literature of entertainment, within which I include travel accounts, history writing, and the collections of odd stories called by one author "trifles for the

²⁰ Stephen Greenblatt, in his moving essay "Resonance and Wonder," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, I. Karp and S. D. Lavine, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1991), 42–56, contrasts "wonder," or the power to stop viewers in their tracks, with "resonance," the evoking of cultural context. Although I am in sympathy with Greenblatt's valuing of both the particular and its context, I would suggest that his formulation of "wonder" is early modern, even Darwinian, and that a medieval understanding would include what he calls "resonance" in "wonder."

²¹ Aristotle's *Poetics*, which might have stimulated such discussion, was virtually unknown until the fifteenth century. His *Rhetoric*, available in Latin after the mid-thirteenth century, was generally understood as a book of moral philosophy, not a guide to composition or preaching. It associated wonder with pleasure and desire, also with the unfamiliar and foreign (see bk. 1, c. 11, and bk. 3, c. 2); see James J. Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1971), 35; Murphy, "Introduction," in his edition of *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971), xv; and John O. Ward, "From Antiquity to Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*," in James J. Murphy, ed., *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric* (Berkeley, 1978), 55. Giles of Rome's thirteenth-century commentary on the *Rhetoric*—one of the few to treat the entire work—pays only scant attention to the two crucial passages on wonder but does, in its brief treatment, stress the element of delight; see Aegidius Romanus [Giles of Rome], *Commentaria in Rhetoricam Aristotelis* (Venice, 1515; facs. rpt., Frankfurt, 1968), fols. 38v–39v and 92v.

²² Discourses can be distinguished by subject matter, by genre, by the institutional location of authors, etc. I am using a combination of these factors.

court.”²³ In each case, I shall explain what wonder meant by identifying what authors saw as its synonyms and opposites.²⁴ Thus for theologians and natural philosophers, the opposite of *admiratio* was in some sense the *scientia*, or knowledge, to which it led; but wonder was also associated with *diversitas* (diversity), and its opposite was *solitum*, the usual, or even in some sense the general.²⁵ In the religious discourse of sermon and hagiography, the most frequent opposite of *admiratio* was *imitatio* (imitation), less frequently *curiositas* (curiosity) or *disputatio* (disputatiousness). Readers and audiences for saints’ lives, whether Latin or vernacular, were urged to wonder at, not imitate, the power and extravagant asceticism of holy men and women. Wonder was moreover associated with paradox, coincidence of opposites; one finds *mira* (wondrous) again and again in the texts alongside *mixta* (mixed or composite things), a word that evokes the hybrids and monsters also found in the literature of entertainment. In this entertainment literature, which is the third discourse I treat, *admirari* (to wonder at) is sometimes contrasted to *rimari* (to pry into), although it is sometimes seen as an inducement to such prying. Above all, to the authors who collected stories to amuse, instruct, and move their (usually aristocratic) listeners, the opposite of wonder was, as John of Salisbury put it, *inductio exemplorum*, which really means in this context “generalizing.”

THE THEOLOGICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL DISCOURSE produced in the schools and universities of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries drew on a tradition of understanding wonder as perspectival and psychological that went back to those twin authorities for the Middle Ages: Aristotle and Augustine. Aristotle had famously suggested in the opening of the *Metaphysics* that

all men begin . . . by wondering that things are as they are . . . , as in the case of marionettes or of the solstices or of the incommensurability of the diagonal of a square with respect to its side . . . But we must end with the contrary . . . for nothing would make a geometrician wonder so much as this, namely, if a diagonal were to be commensurable with the side of a square.²⁶

²³ I have excluded the romance from consideration because the genre itself dictates a certain matter-of-factness of response, the analysis of which is a complex matter of literary interpretation; see the works cited in n. 6 above, and Morton Bloomfield, “Episodic Motivation and Marvels in Epic and Romance,” in *Essays and Explorations: Studies in Ideas, Language and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 96–128.

²⁴ In the medieval Germanic tongues (Anglo-Saxon, Old Frisian, middle High German), the word is *wunder*, from the Indo-European *uen* (or “desire”); in medieval Latin, the term is *admiratio*, whose root in Latin *mir* implies “seeing” (and goes back to an Indo-European word for “smile”) and whose legacy in the Romance tongues gave French by the twelfth century the term “merveille” and Middle English a little later “marveyle.” See Le Goff, “Marvelous,” 27–29; Claude Lecouteux, “Introduction à l’étude du merveilleux médiéval,” *Etudes germaniques* 36 (1981): 273–90; Dubost, *Aspects fantastiques*, 31–88; and James P. Biester, “Strange and Admirable: Style and Wonder in the Seventeenth Century” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1990), 7–9.

²⁵ Writing in the early thirteenth century, Caesarius of Heisterbach gave the classic definition of miracle in his *Dialogus miraculorum*, J. Strange, ed., 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), *distinctio* 10, c. 1, 2: 217: “What is a miracle? . . . We call a miracle whatever is done contrary to the usual course of nature [*contra solitum cursum naturae*], hence we wonder.”

²⁶ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Hippocrates G. Apostle, trans. (Bloomington, Ind., 1966), book A 983a ll. 13–21, p. 16.

Augustine had written that marvels are not “against nature” but “against what we know of nature”; and one of the examples he gave—that the behavior of lime in fire would seem miraculous to us if it occurred in India and we heard of it seldom—was quoted often in the Middle Ages.²⁷ Such a tradition, while implying that philosophy might replace wonder, also suggested that human beings wonder at the regularity, structure, and beauty of the universe, and made wonder a situated response to what is unusual or “other” to a particular viewer. Augustine, however, also made statements that seemed to lodge the wonderful-ness of things not in our reaction to them but in their ontological status. His *De utilitate credendi* described a miracle as “something difficult which seldom occurs, exceeding the faculty of nature and so far surpassing our hopes as to compel our astonishment.”²⁸ Building on this contrast between nature and those wonder-inducing events that surpass it, Anselm of Canterbury in the early twelfth century distinguished between the marvelous, the natural, and the voluntary (by which he meant what we would probably call the artificial—that is, that which is made by human will).²⁹ By the thirteenth century, these passages from Augustine and Anselm were used to argue that miracles are objectively wonderful (*habentia in se admirationis causam*) because produced by God’s power alone.³⁰

Although Latin texts in the early Middle Ages used *mirabilia* and *miracula* more or less interchangeably, university intellectuals by the thirteenth century distinguished the two in terms of ontological status.³¹ Such theorizing might seem to flatten the impulse to marvel in two senses. First, it tends to separate out a small number of phenomena as objectively wonder-inducing, whereas all others—no matter how odd—are wonderful only to the ignorant; moreover, by accompanying such discussion with hair-splitting distinctions concerning ontological status, it

²⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, B. Dombart and A. Kalb, eds., *Corpus christianorum: series latina*, 48 (Turnhout, 1955), bk. 21, cc. 8 and 4, pp. 771 and 761–63 respectively. (The example of lime had a long history already when Augustine used it.) For a later citation, see Gervais of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, in G. W. Leibniz, ed., *Scriptores rerum Brunvicensium*, 3 vols. (Hanover, 1701–11), decisio 3, c. 2, 1: 961.

²⁸ Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*, c. 16, in *Augustini opera omnia*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus: series latina*, J.-P. Migne, ed., 221 vols. (Paris, 1841–64) [hereafter, *PL*], 42: col. 90.

²⁹ Anselm of Canterbury, *De conceptu virginali et originali peccato*, c. 11, in *Opera omnia*, Francis S. Schmitt, ed., 6 vols. (1940–61; rpt. edn., Stuttgart, 1984), 2: 153–54. Both this passage and Augustine’s definition from *De utilitate credendi* are used by Aquinas, in *On the Power of God*, q. 6, art. 2, 2: 162–64. The contrast went back to Plato; see Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1957), 44–50.

³⁰ See Aquinas, *On the Power of God*, q. 6, art. 2, 2: 164; and *De potentia*, Busa, ed., p. 232. And see n. 25 above for Caesarius of Heisterbach.

³¹ Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, 3–32; John Hardon, “The Concept of Miracle from St. Augustine to Modern Apologetics,” *Theological Studies* 15 (1954): 229–57; and Bernhard Bron, *Das Wunder: Das theologische Wunderverständnis im Horizont des neuzeitlichen Natur- und Geschichtsbegriffs* (Göttingen, 1975), 14–16. See also Eberhard Demm, “Zur Rolle des Wunders in der Heiligkeitskonzeption des Mittelalters,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 57 (1975): 300–44.

By about 1200, a clear terminological distinction was emerging in Latin between *mirabilia* (wonders or marvels), *miracula* (miracles), and *phantasmata* (phantasms or fantasies), although the reaction *admiratio* was not limited to any single category of event. Somewhat later, the vernaculars came to sort out the terms also. For example, in the *Showings* of the fifteenth-century mystic Julian of Norwich, there is a clear and consistent terminological distinction (although no consistency in the spelling of terms) between miracle (*meracle*), which is done by God directly or through the saints outside the ordinary course of nature, marvels (*marvelye*, *merveyle*), which are mysteries or natural things of great significance, and phantasms or hallucinations (*raving*), which are evil and false appearances owing to demons.

embeds even the miraculous in a forest of ratiocination that allows little room for surprise or delight. Second, such theorizing suggests that most events have natural causes.³² If philosophers are diligent enough, wonders will cease. Thus William of Auvergne observed around 1235 that people turn too quickly to God's power, calling things miracles, when it is merely the case that they do not know how to go about investigating the cause. A little over a century later, Nicole Oresme observed:

People marvel at . . . things only because they rarely happen, but the causes for these are as apparent as for others . . . For example, at night a fearful man who sees a wolf in the fields, or a cat in his room, will immediately . . . judge that it is an enemy or a devil . . . because he fixes his imagination on these and fears them. And a [devout] person . . . will judge that it is an angel . . . A vigorous imagining of a retained species, then, together with a small external appearance or . . . an imbalance of some internal disposition . . . produces marvelous appearances in healthy as well as in sick people.

An anonymous thirteenth-century treatise, "On the Marvels of the World," falsely attributed to Albert the Great, went so far as to assert: "A great part of philosophers and physicians believes that all marvellousness of experiences and marvels [*tota mirabilitas experimentorum et mirabilium*] arises from natural things."³³ Such a tradition may indeed seem anti-wonder, as some modern scholars have alleged.

In considering the discussion of marvels found in theology and natural philosophy, we must not, however, be too quick to conclude that distinguishing miracle and marvel ontologically rather than psychologically and perspectively, or attributing marvels to natural causes, entailed the eclipse of wonder. Even Nicole Oresme, who argued that it is possible to produce general arguments for the naturalness of almost all phenomena, showed himself fascinated and enchanted by the "marvelous properties" of animals and the *diversitas* of human experience, especially of tastes in food and in sexual positions and partners.³⁴ Roger Bacon attempted naturalistic explanations of saints who lived without eating and of the resurrection of the body, as well as of charms and amulets; but he spoke in remarkably heightened language of the terror and sweet wonder of the Eucharist, called the magnet one of the "miracles of nature" (*miracula naturae*), described the bending of cut twigs toward each other as "wonderful beyond all I have seen," and waxed lyrical over the infinite complexity of the common fly.³⁵ Albert the Great, like Oresme, described the

³² Natural causes may, however, be manipulated by demons or magicians with God's permission; see Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, IIa IIae, q. 178, art. 2, 2: 1925–26. This position allowed for a comfortable distinguishing of magic and miracle, while admitting—as theologians felt compelled to do on the basis of scriptural evidence—that magic happened.

³³ Nicole Oresme, *De causis*, c. 1, in *Nicole Oresme and the Marvels of Nature: A Study of His De causis mirabilium*, Bert Hansen, ed. (Toronto, 1985), 160–63; for the quotations from William of Auvergne's *De universo* and the pseudo-Albert's *Liber de mirabilibus mundi*, see 51 n. 3 and 61 n. 36.

³⁴ See, for example, Oresme, *De causis*, c. 3, pp. 206–07, 210–13, 216–19, 222–23. In c. 4, pp. 278–79, Oresme observes, "Who but God alone knows in how many ways two sticks can be unequal?" And in his *Recapitulatio*, pp. 360–61, he summarizes his argument thus: "[I]t is not necessary to have recourse because of the diversity and marvelousness of effects [*diversitatem effectuum et mirabilitatem*] to the heavens and unknown influence, or to demons, or to our glorious God . . . since it has been sufficiently demonstrated in the above chapters that effects just as marvelous (or nearly so) are found here below."

³⁵ On Roger Bacon's arguments concerning those who live without eating, see my *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 88; on the resurrection, see *The Opus Majus of Roger Bacon*, R. B. Burke, trans., 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1928), pt.

physiological manifestations of *admiratio* as “a constriction and suspension of the heart” confronted with something “great and unusual.”³⁶ Thomas Aquinas quoted Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* to connect wonder with pleasure and drew on the *Metaphysics* to associate it with a desire that culminates not so much in knowledge as in encounter with majesty; he argued that the angel of the Annunciation shocked the Virgin because “wonder is the best way to grab the attention of the soul” and insisted that Christ’s capacity to wonder was not an indication of discomfort but a proof of his humanity—a sign indeed that he was a teacher.³⁷ Thus wonder as a response was not devalued or dismissed, even in a philosophical and theological tradition that (as Katharine Park has aptly put it) “de-wondered” anomalies by insisting on an increasingly ordered world, whose laws were decipherable by the wise.³⁸

IF WE TURN FROM THE DISCOURSE of university intellectuals to the homiletic and hagiographical tradition, we find that the wonder-ful was contrasted not with the known, the knowable, or the usual but with the imitable.³⁹ The phrase *non imitandum sed admirandum* (not to be imitated but to be marveled at) had been used since the early church to express the distance between heroes and martyrs, on the one hand, and the ordinary faithful, on the other.⁴⁰ Augustine had written of the

6, 2: 617–25; on charms and amulets, see pt. 3, c. 14, and pt. 4, 1: 112–15, 409–11. On the Eucharist, the magnet, the bent twigs, and the housefly, see pt. 7, 2: 820–22; pt. 6, c. 12, 2: 630–31; and pt. 1, c. 10, 1: 24, respectively. And see *Fratris Rogeri Bacon Opus majus*, S. Jebb, ed. (London, 1733), 474.

³⁶ For Albert, see n. 18 above. For Oresme on the physiology of pleasure and fear, see *De causis*, c. 4, pp. 346–49.

³⁷ Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, Ia IIae, q. 32, art. 8, 1: 732; Ia IIae, q. 3, art. 8, 1: 601–02; IIIa, q. 30, art. 4, reply to obj. 1, 2: 2182; and IIIa, q. 15, art. 8, 2: 2111, respectively. Concerning Christ’s wonder, he said: “Hence, if we speak of Christ with respect to His Divine Knowledge, and His beatific and even His infused knowledge, there was no wonder in Christ. But if we speak of Him with respect to empiric knowledge, wonder could be in Him; and He assumed this affection for our instruction, i.e. in order to teach us to wonder at what He Himself wondered at” (IIIa, q. 15, art. 8, 2: 2111).

³⁸ On the claim of certain scholastic authors to “de-wonder” remarkable phenomena by providing natural explanations, see Katharine Park, “The Topography of Wonder: *Admiratio* in Medieval and Renaissance Europe,” Lecture for the University of Bielefeld, June 1993. She cites the phrase from the mid-sixteenth century treatise *On the Variety of Things* by Girolamo Cardano. For a famous interpretation of twelfth-century wonder that sees it as focused exactly on the regularity of nature, see Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 21–44.

³⁹ André Vauchez, in his influential *Les laïcs au moyen âge: Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris, 1987), esp. 49–92, argued that medieval saints’ lives shifted around 1150 from an emphasis on miracles and charismatic gifts (which were to be marveled at) to an emphasis on the virtues (which were to be imitated). He has since then (rightly, in my judgment) modified his argument to claim that both threads are present generally in medieval hagiography. See Vauchez, “Saints admirables et saints imitables: Les fonctions de l’hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du moyen âge?” in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e–XIII^e siècle)* (Palais Farnese, 1991), 161–72. Particularly good on the wonder response to hagiographical accounts are Brigitte Cazelles, *Le corps de sainteté d’après Jehan Bouche d’Or, Jehan Paulus, et quelques vies des XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Geneva, 1982); and Michel de Certeau, “Hagiographie,” *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, 20 vols. (Paris, 1968–75), 8: 207–09.

⁴⁰ For examples of the *topos* in medieval hagiography, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago, 1984), 13–14; and Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 85 and 336 n. 82. On the *topos* of “fleeing the bad and imitating the good,” see Gertrud Simon, “Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbrieve mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 5–6 (1959–60): 94–112.

It is fascinating to note, although I cannot deal with the topic here, that the *imitatio/admiratio*

female martyrs Perpetua and Felicity: "People [are able to] wonder at sooner than imitate [their courage]."⁴¹ In the *exempla* collections, sermons, and saints' lives of the high Middle Ages, the contrast was sometimes a kind of humility *topos* intended to express an author's conviction that the miracle-working charisma of a saint was far beyond the capacity of author and reader alike; sometimes, it was frankly an effort to channel the attention of the faithful away from miracles and marvels and toward emulation of the ordinary virtues—that is, to control credulity, extravagant asceticism, and straining after flamboyant religiosity. Thus James of Vitry wrote of the piety of an extraordinary group of thirteenth-century women ascetics, which included Christina known as *Mirabilis* (i.e., the Marvelous or Astonishing): "When we read what certain saints did . . . , we should wonder at rather than imitate their deeds." Bonaventure repeated the injunction in his life of Francis of Assisi.⁴² Caesarius of Heisterbach's *exempla* collection underscores repeatedly that works of piety are to be preferred to the miracles that follow one after the other in his flat—even boring—prose, and that the true *admirandum* is God's patience and forgiveness.⁴³ What we should also note, however, is the way in which elaborate word plays on the *imitatio/admiratio* contrast stress the non-appropriative nature of wonder.

I illustrate this from the sermons of Bernard of Clairvaux. A master of rhetoric, Bernard made much use of opposition: thus he contrasted wonder with curiosity (prying into the affairs of others or the secrets of the universe) and even fulminated against the *mira quaedam deformis formositas* ("wonderful, deformed beauty") of Romanesque sculpture—a beauty to which he was, as many historians have noticed, seductively drawn.⁴⁴ But Bernard's most complex rhetorical contrast is *admiratio/imitatio*, and he meant something more subtle than the standard message that the saints were to be imitated in their virtues rather than wondered at in their miracles, although he says this, too.

Imitatio, to Bernard, is appropriation; it is, he says, "being in society with," "experiencing," "learning," "taking into oneself," "consuming."⁴⁵ Its semantic field includes words such as pattern, mirror, example, model, image, and nourishment. In order to understand fully what such imitation means, we must remember that in medieval piety, *imitatio* could be as literal as Henry Suso's carving of Jesus' name

contrast became, in Renaissance aesthetic theory, a contrast between the verisimilar and the marvelous. See Biester, "Strange and Admirable"; Douglas Biow, *Mirabile Dictu: Representations of the Marvelous in Medieval and Renaissance Epic* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996); Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder*; Baxter Hathaway, *Marvels and Commonplaces: Renaissance Literary Criticism* (New York, 1968); and Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1961).

⁴¹ Augustine, Sermon 280 on Saints Perpetua and Felicity, PL 38: col. 1281.

⁴² Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 13–14; and Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 85 and 336 n. 82.

⁴³ See, for example, Caesarius, *Dialogus miraculorum*, distinctio 2, c. 3, and distinctio 6, c. 6, 1: 63, 356.

⁴⁴ See Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gradibus humilitatis et superbae*, cc. 28–30, in *S. Bernardi Opera*, J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, eds., 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), 3: 38–40; and Bernard, *Apologia*, c. 29, in Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art* (Philadelphia, 1990), appendix 2, 282.

⁴⁵ In addition to the sermons cited in nn. 48 and 49 below, see Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vita sancti Malachiae Episcopi*, in *Opera*, 3: 306–78; *De consideratione*, bk. 5, sect. 13, cc. 27–32, 3: 489–93; Fourth Sermon for the Vigil of the Nativity, 4: 220–28; Second Sermon for Christmas Day, 4: 251–56; Sermons for St. Benedict and St. Martin, 5: 1–12, 399–412; and the Sermon for St. Andrew, 6: 144–49.

into his chest with a stylus or St. Francis's stigmata; it could be as inner and invisible as the approach to God expressed by Hugh of St. Victor when he said:

[T]he shape of the seal presents to the present matter another consideration . . . For the figure that is raised in the seal, when imprinted appears concave . . . , and that which appears sculpted inward in the seal is . . . shaped convexly in the wax . . . Therefore . . . we, when we take the deeds [of others] for imitation, ought to make the lofty things hidden and the humble ones manifest.⁴⁶

What is encountered in such imitation is an "other," of course, but the encounter is made possible because an ontological similarity to that other (expressed by monastic writers in the biblical phrase "image and likeness") is built into the experiencing self.⁴⁷

To all this, *admiratio* was in emphatic contrast. As Bernard explained: when we are offered a golden goblet, we consume, absorb, incorporate the drink (that is, imitate the virtues), but we give back (that is, we wonder at) the goblet.⁴⁸ Thus we wonder at what we cannot in any sense incorporate, or consume, or encompass in our mental categories; we wonder at mystery, at paradox, at *admirabiles mixturae*. The ecstasy and stupor Bernard calls *admiratio* is triggered above all, he says, by three hybrids beyond nature and comprehension: the mixture of God and man, of woman and virgin, of belief with falsity in our hearts.⁴⁹

THE THIRD GROUP OF TEXTS that provide a medieval theory of wonder are the history writing, travel accounts, and story collections I have called the literature of entertainment. Such literature drew on the encyclopaedic tradition of the ancient world known as paradoxology—the collection of oddities (including monsters or hybrids, distant races, marvelous lands)—and on antique notions of portents or omens—that is, unusual events that foreshadowed the (usually catastrophic) future and were accompanied by a vague sense of dread.

This entertainment literature sometimes includes what came to be the separate ontological category of miracle, about which authors tended to be increasingly skeptical, even cynical. For example, Walter Map concluded an account of a failed exorcism by Bernard of Clairvaux with the following story, placed in the mouth of a twelfth-century contemporary:

⁴⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, *De institutione novitiorum*, c. 7, PL 176: col. 932–33. On Suso, see Jeffrey Hamburger, "By Their Fruits You Shall Know Them": Image, Imitation, and the Reception of Suso's *Exemplar*," Talk for the Branner Forum, Columbia University, April 21, 1996. On *imitatio* generally, see Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle de saint Anselme à Alain de Lille*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967); and Giles Constable, "The Ideal of the Imitation of Christ," in his *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge, 1995), 143–248.

⁴⁷ The best place to see this assumption is in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De gradibus*, cc. 1–9, *Opera*, 3: 16–37, and Bernard, *De diligendo Deo*, 3: 119–54. For a stimulating interpretation of the medieval sense of alterity that differs from my own, see Karl F. Morrison, "I Am You": *The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology and Art* (Princeton, N.J., 1988).

⁴⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux, First Sermon for St. Victor, *Opera*, 6: 30–31.

⁴⁹ See Bernard of Clairvaux, Third Sermon for the Vigil of the Nativity, *Opera*, 4: 211–19, esp. 216–17. Perhaps it is no accident that Bernard, accusing himself of violating the monastic rule by traveling and preaching, called himself the chimera of his age; see M. André Fracheboud, "Je suis la chimère de mon siècle: Le problème action-contemplation au coeur de saint Bernard," *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem* 16 (1954): 45–52, 128–36, 183–91.

"[A] certain man from the borders of Burgundy asked him to come and heal his son; . . . so Bernard ordered that the body be carried into a private room, and after sending everybody out he lay upon the boy, and arose again after praying; but the boy did not arise, for he lay there dead." Thereupon I [Walter] remarked: "This was surely the most unlucky of monks; for never have I heard of a monk lying down upon a boy without the boy rising up immediately after him." The abbot [who was listening] blushed, and many people went outside for a laugh.⁵⁰

Such literature also included *fabulae* (stories), which came increasingly to be contrasted to *historia* and told without claims to their ontological status.⁵¹

When we consider not the categories of events but the theory of wonder itself found in such writings, we note that wonder here has three characteristics: it is a response to facticity; it is a response to the singular; it is deeply perspectival. Although William of Newburgh, for example, tends to contrast *rimari* (probe or pry into) with *admirari* (to wonder at), most such literature tends to assume that some sort of *probatio* (testing or evidence) is the basis for *admiratio*.⁵² Gervais of Tilbury, for instance, groups marvels with *res gestae* (deeds or historical accounts) and opposes them to stories (*fabulae*) or lies. He asserts that only facts can induce wonder: although you will wonder only at what you cannot explain, you cannot be amazed by what you don't believe.⁵³ Gervais recounts as "marvelous" not only stories of ghosts and vampires but also details of the migration of quail and the flight of squirrels; and he explains in detail how he "proved from his own experience" the marvel of a refectory in Arles in which no fly could survive. Gervais tells us:

I made myself an assiduous investigator to see if the flies would light, as they are accustomed to, on bowls smeared with honey and grease. Discovering that the truth actually went beyond what was rumored, I wanted to uncover by force this ruse by which the mind was tricked. I made myself into a hunter of flies and placed a prize of honey and grease and milk in the refectory. My amazement [*admiratio*] grew the more I saw that the effort of mind and the physical constraint I tried were in vain. [The flies did not light.] So my stupefaction [*stupor*] grew with the proof I made of what I had heard.⁵⁴

If *admiratio* is a response to credible though deeply unusual events, it is also a response to singular events, what John of Salisbury calls "marvelous singularity." In his collection of advice for courtiers and princes, John tends to naturalize miracles (arguing that many—for example, changing water into wine—are only a speed-up of natural processes) and states explicitly that reason (in the sense of understanding cause) removes wonder. But John also sees wonder as a response to "majesty," to "hidden wisdom" or significance, and contrasts the activity of generalizing or

⁵⁰ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, M. R. James, ed., *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, 14 (Oxford, 1914), *distinctio* 1, c. 24, p. 39.

⁵¹ Map, *De nugis*, *distinctio* 1, c. 31, pp. 61–62.

⁵² William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, Richard Howlett, ed., 2 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 82, pts. 1–2 (1884–85; rpt. edn., Wiesbaden, 1964), bk. 1, c. 27; bk. 2, c. 19; bk. 4, c. 6; and bk. 5, c. 33, 1: 82–84, 147–48, 307–08, and 2: 497–99. See also Nancy Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), c. 2.

⁵³ Gervais, *Otia*, *decisio* 3, preface and cc. 42 and 92, pp. 960–61, 974–75, 991. There is discussion of Gervais and a French translation of book 3 of the *Otia* in Gervais of Tilbury, *Le livre des merveilles*, Annie Duchesne, trans., preface by Jacques Le Goff (Paris, 1992).

⁵⁴ Gervais, *Otia*, *decisio* 3, c. 10, p. 963.

moralizing (*inductio exemplorum*—that is, the citing of instructive general cases) with the emotion or experience of wonder.⁵⁵

In such tales and accounts, wonder is, moreover, deeply perspectival. It is a reaction of a particular “us” to an “other” that is “other” only *relative to* the particular “us.” James of Vitry commented, shortly after 1200: “perhaps the Cyclopes, who all have one eye, marvel as much at those who have two eyes as we marvel at them,” and similar statements are found in the later and immensely popular works of Goswin of Metz and John Mandeville.⁵⁶ Moreover, medieval authors were capable of turning such perspectivalism into gently ironic comments on themselves. The thirteenth-century Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck wrote, in what many scholars consider to be the most informed of early travel accounts, “the men there [at the Chan’s dwelling] surrounded us and gazed at us as if we were monsters [*tam quam monstra*], especially because we were bare-footed, and [inquired] if we had no need of our feet since they supposed we should lose them straightway.”⁵⁷ Thus William suggests that the barefoot travel through harsh terrain and climate required by Franciscan asceticism seems as monstrous a practice in the East as certain Eastern customs appear when reported “back home.”

WHEN WE TURN FROM THE THEORETICAL STATEMENTS about wonder made by historians and travelers, theologians and philosophers, preachers and devotional writers, to the behavior of medieval men and women, what do we find? The question is an extremely difficult one. We cannot simply study medieval emotion. The traces of emotion that survive are mediated through texts, pictures, and artifacts; we are not entitled either to assume a sort of Darwinian universal emotion that we might find simply by looking for depictions of people with open mouths and raised eyebrows or to think that emotion-behavior is so culturally constructed as to exist only where we find words for it.⁵⁸ Indeed, in European texts from the ancient

⁵⁵ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, ed., *Corpus christianorum: continuatio mediaevalis*, 118 (Turnhout, 1993), c. 22, p. 131: “cum admirationem ratio tollit et exemplorum inductio singularitatem excludat.” For the transformation of water to wine as a speed-up of natural processes, see c. 12, pp. 91–92. (The argument went back to Augustine.) Although the explanation naturalizes the miraculous, John also speaks here of venerating and wondering at the richness of the wisdom of God.

⁵⁶ James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis* (1597; rpt. edn., Farnborough, Eng., 1971), 215–16 (cited by Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, pt. 1, c. 1); and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville with Three Narratives in Illustration of It* (1900; rpt. edn., New York, 1964), c. 22, p. 138. On the problems surrounding Mandeville’s text, see Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), c. 4. For Goswin, see Lecouteux, *Les monstres*, 11.

⁵⁷ See “The Journey of William Rubruck,” in *Mission to Asia*, Christopher Dawson, ed. (1955; rpt. edn., Toronto, 1980), c. 28, p. 150. And see Kappler, *Monstres*, 219. It is significant that William’s account did not become very popular, probably because of its sober tone.

⁵⁸ There has recently been debate in the fields of anthropology and history between the social constructivists and those who see emotional reactions as essentially psychobiological processes, with the victory going generally to the constructivists. Related to this is a debate over whether there is a universal core reaction to which we would refer with an emotion-word (for example, “anger”), whether or not a particular culture has a word translatable by our “anger.” See, for example, J. R. Averill, “A Constructivist View of Emotion,” in *Theories of Emotion*, Robert Plutchik and Henry Kellerman, eds. (New York, 1980), 305–40; Roy G. d’Andrade and Claudia Strauss, eds., *Human Motives and Cultural Models* (Cambridge, 1992); Harré, “Outline of the Social Constructionist Viewpoint,” 2–14; Armon-Jones, “Thesis of Constructionism,” 32–56; Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds., *Language*

and medieval past, emotion-terms (particularly terms for negative emotions, such as anger, pride, or fear) are more likely to occur in discussions of how to regulate or erase the phenomenon in question than in places where it seems clearly to occur. (For example, a key-word search for “anger” will tend to turn up set pieces on how to control it—that is, discussions of where it is *not*.) Moreover, reactions such as wonder, delight, or terror do not simply occur; they are evoked, sometimes even staged; we can explore what evokes them. Thus texts may give us access to reactions less through adjectives attached to nouns (that is, by calling something “wonderful,” “dreadful,” etc.) than by indicating the responses of an implicit reader or viewer, or by describing acts and objects intended to provoke responses. Finding wonder-words is easy; finding wonder is far more complicated. Nevertheless, basing my conclusions on broad reading in chronicles, saints’ lives, scholastic treatises, entertainment literature, and sermons, I should like to venture some suggestions about where medieval texts give us access to wonder-reactions and about what the components of such reactions are.

THE QUESTION OF WHAT COMPONENTS constitute the wonder-response is the easier one, and I begin with it. Examination of the complex semantic fields for “wonder” and “the wonderful” suggests that the wonder-reaction ranges from terror and disgust to solemn astonishment and playful delight. Wonder often has a mischievous quality in medieval accounts. Bernard of Clairvaux refers to it as a “spice” for stories;⁵⁹ an eleventh-century miracle collection regularly calls the deeds of its impish girl saint “jokes.”⁶⁰ Gerald of Wales speaks of “nature’s pranks,” when discussing the geography of twelfth-century Ireland, and says of the bearded woman he describes that she “makes people laugh.” Clearly using a moralizing bestiary tradition, Gerald makes his analogies between animals and humans anything but solemn and didactic: when he draws parallels between the incorruptible flesh of kingfishers and of holy men, between grasshoppers who sing after their heads are

and the Politics of Emotion (Cambridge, 1990); and Shula Sommers, “Understanding Emotions: Some Interdisciplinary Considerations,” in Stearns and Stearns, *Emotion and Social Change*, 23–38. Although historians will, by training, tend to reject psychobiological reductionism, they do well to avoid complete constructionism as well, for it tends to leave them unable to make comparisons across cultures and language groups or even across time. The position called “chastened particularism” by my fellow medievalist William I. Miller seems to me the most satisfactory. Miller argues that “even in the absence of a specifically dedicated vocabulary,” emotions that are “not completely congruent with ours” will nonetheless “bear sufficient points in common so that comparison, recognition, and rough mutual understanding are achievable.” This seems to me a sensible assumption with which to conduct research. See William I. Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 12–13.

⁵⁹ Bernard, *Vita sancti Malachiae*, *Opera*, 3: 307; and see Sermon on St. Martin, *Opera*, 5: 399–412, which, although it stresses that miracles are to be admired and virtues imitated, nonetheless treats miracles as sources of delight that move us toward imitation. For another example of miracles as a source of delight, see Reginald of Durham, *Life of Oswald*, bk. 1, c. 44, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera omnia*, Thomas Arnold, ed., 2 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 75 (London, 1882–85), 1: 369–70.

⁶⁰ *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, Luca Robertini, ed. (Spoleto, 1994). The stories really are quite funny; see, for example, bk. 4, cc. 21 and 28, pp. 255–56 and 263–66. And see Amy G. Remensnyder, “Un problème de cultures ou de culture?: La statue-reliquaire et les *joca* de sainte Foy de Conques dans le *Liber miraculorum* de Bernard d’Angers,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 33 (1990): 351–79.

cut off and the holy martyrs, between storks and resurrection, he appears to take more pleasure in the animal tales than in the theology.⁶¹

But wonder was also dread. When the early fourteenth-century rhetorician Robert of Basevorn came, in his treatise on preaching, to the topic of winning over the audience, he used Gerald of Wales as an example but not an example of amusement or delight. Robert wrote:

The preacher . . . ought to attract the mind of the listeners . . . This can be done in many ways. One . . . is to place at the beginning something subtle and interesting, as some authentic marvel . . . For instance, suppose that the theme is concerned with the Ascension or the Assumption [and the text is]: *a spring rose from the earth*. One could adduce that marvel which Gerald narrates in his book . . . about the spring in Scicilia [where] if anyone approaches it dressed in red clothing, immediately water gushes forth . . . That spring is Christ . . . to Whom he 'approaches dressed in red' who . . . finds living water, viz. graces, because His blood was of such virtue that, when it was shed, the earth quaked and the rocks were torn asunder. Much more ought our hearts to quake and be torn by the cry of God's word . . .

Another way is to frighten them by some terrifying tale or example, in the way that Jacques de Vitry talks about someone who never willingly wanted to hear the word of God; finally when he died and was brought to the church . . . [the crucifix] pulled His hands from the nails . . . and plugged His ears.⁶²

Gerald himself expresses dread. Recounting some of the earliest werewolf stories to survive in European literature, he repeatedly glosses the *admiratio* felt by those inside the story as *stupor*, *timor*, and *horror*. Although I cannot explore the topic here, the question of whether and how shape-changing violates natures is highly charged for Gerald, as for others among his contemporaries; and it is surely no accident that his tales of metamorphosis are embedded in a complex discussion where the limiting cases are, on the one side, the real change of substance in the Eucharist and, on the other, the (to him) terrifying possibility that sexual intercourse between humans and animals might produce monsters.⁶³ Whether amusement or horror, wonder was not—to Gerald, Robert, and their contemporaries—a response to the trivial or the merely odd.

⁶¹ Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, J. S. Brewer, ed., in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols., *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, 21 (London, 1861), distinctio 1, c. 16, 5: 49: "naturae ludentis opera contulit admiranda." And see the second preface (for Henry II), 5: 20: "et occultis natura ludit excessibus." On the bearded woman, see distinctio 2, c. 20, 5: 107; on kingfishers, grasshoppers, and storks, see distinctio 1, cc. 14–21, 5: 51–54.

⁶² Robert of Basevorn, *Forma praedicandi*, L. Krul, trans., in *Three Medieval Rhetorical Arts*, James J. Murphy, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1971), 146–47. A number of scholars have pointed out that "wonder" in Tudor-Stuart England tended to include dread: see Cunningham, *Woe or Wonder*; and Biester, "Strange and Admirable."

⁶³ Gerald, *Topographia Hibernica*, d. 2, cc. 19–21, 5: 101–09. And see Harf-Lancner, "La métamorphose illusoire," 208–26. Isidore of Seville names the "wonderful" as one of five kinds of rhetorical cases and says that (as opposed to "honest cases," to which we agree immediately, and "humble matters," which we tend to ignore) the wonderful (*admirabile*) is that by which the spirit (*animus*) of the hearer is alienated (*alienatus*) or shocked; Isidore of Seville, *Etimologías: Edición bilingüe*, J. Oroz Reta and M.-A. Marcos Casquero, eds., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1982), bk. 2, c. 8, nos. 1–2, 1: 370.



FIGURE 1: The Ascension of Christ. Fol. 75r of the *Evangelary of Henry the Lion* from 1175 (Cod. Guelf 105 Noviss., Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel). In this, the lower register, a complex range of reactions and gestures accompany the wonderful event. Medieval images do not employ a single, standard representation of wonder; rather, they suggest that *admiratio* is shaped by complicated cultural expectations and ranges from ecstasy to terror. Courtesy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.

I RETURN, THEN, TO THE FIRST and more difficult question I raised above. What in medieval accounts or artistic representations tends to trigger wonder (understood in its full range of awe and dread)? Or, to pose the question more precisely: where do the surviving sources give us access either to intensely heightened reactions or to events and objects calculated to evoke or stage such reactions?

The thing that strikes us first when we ask the question this way is where wonder is *not*. Miracles, for example—though routinely referred to as “marvelous”—are seldom presented as evoking or intended to evoke wonder. Indeed, the didactic purposes to which miracle collections were directed and the hair-splitting distinctions about ontological status indulged in by theologians seem to have reduced miracle accounts to rather dull enumerations of events. Arguments, such as William of Auvergne’s and Nicole Oresme’s, that natural causes can be found for marvels tend to flatten the language of some accounts of the natural world as well. Although chronicles and annals sometimes couch their descriptions of unusual natural events such as eclipses, earthquakes, and famines in terms of dread and a kind of hovering significance, these events are also sometimes merely listed in clipped, matter-of-fact prose. Thus miracles, portents, and oddities are sites and stagings of wonder less often than we might suppose.

Nonetheless, narrative accounts from the twelfth to the fourteenth century tell us of objects and events carefully constructed to elicit awe, delight, and dread. Rulers, both secular and ecclesiastical, competed in displays of power and splendor,

which included intricate tricks and automata, calculated to amaze and tantalize. From the later thirteenth century, for example, we have evidence of a count of Artois who built an elaborate funhouse with distorting mirrors, rooms that simulated thunderstorms, and hidden pipes for wetting unsuspecting visitors and covering them with flour. Banquets were elegant entertainments, which featured entire puppet shows in pastry (called "sotelties" in Middle English). Indeed, cookbooks make it clear that food was often planned as an illusion or trick for the eye: for example, imitation meat concocted from fish, roast fowl sewn back into its plumage in order to appear alive, pies (like that in the nursery rhyme) with living birds baked inside.⁶⁴ Changes in church architecture, in liturgy, and in the fabrication of monstrances all tended to define the moment in the Mass when the consecrated host was elevated as a sudden revelation of the unexpected and paradoxical: the divine installed in food (or flesh or matter) in the twinkling of an eye.⁶⁵ Although collections of relics and their elaborate containers, or reliquaries, are not exactly the *Wunderkammern* of early medieval princes, there was both a similarity and a historical connection. Theologians and many of the ordinary faithful continued to value the supernatural power mediated through bone chips or dust more than the intricate workmanship or sheer novelty of the container—that is, to understand the object more as a means of access to an other (whether God or saint) than as a singularity, fascinating in itself. But some medieval prelates added natural marvels such as shells and ostrich eggs to their church treasures; early modern rulers included reliquaries in the "wonder collections" they assembled; relic cabinets and cabinets of novelties came to resemble each other in form, suggesting that an impulse to collect underlay both.⁶⁶ The twelfth-century abbot Suger of St. Denis, writing in extravagant language of the beautiful materials and workmanship used in refurbishing the reliquaries of his church, shows both the parallels and the differences between medieval and early modern accounts. In one sense far more desperate to touch, possess, and appropriate than any later collector, the crowd Suger describes is frantic over access to a power not only *beyond* but also in its nature *other than* what contains it (other because it is God and other because it is God lodged in body—decayed body, manifested and hidden behind the crystal and gold). Suger speaks of frenzied hands grasping to touch caskets until the king himself finally holds the martyrs and "mirabile visu! . . . No greater joy in the world could ever have exalted [those who beheld this]!"⁶⁷

⁶⁴ On mechanical devices, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1989); William Eamon, "Technology as Magic in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance," *Janus: Revue internationale de l'histoire des sciences, de la médecine, de la pharmacie, et de la technique* 70 (1983): 171–212; and Merriam Sherwood, "Magic and Mechanics in Medieval Fiction," *Studies in Philology* 44 (1947): 567–92. On food, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 60–61. The thirteenth-century theologian William of Auvergne described a "trick" that would make a house appear full of snakes; see Kieckhefer, *Magic*, 92.

⁶⁵ C. N. L. Brooke, "Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967): 13–33; Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1933); F. Baix and C. Lambot, *La dévotion à l'eucharistie et le VII^e centenaire de la Fête-Dieu* (Gembloux, 1964); Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁶⁶ See Joseph Braun, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg, 1940), plates 73–81; and the works on museums cited in n. 12 above.

⁶⁷ *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, Erwin Panofsky, ed. and trans.,

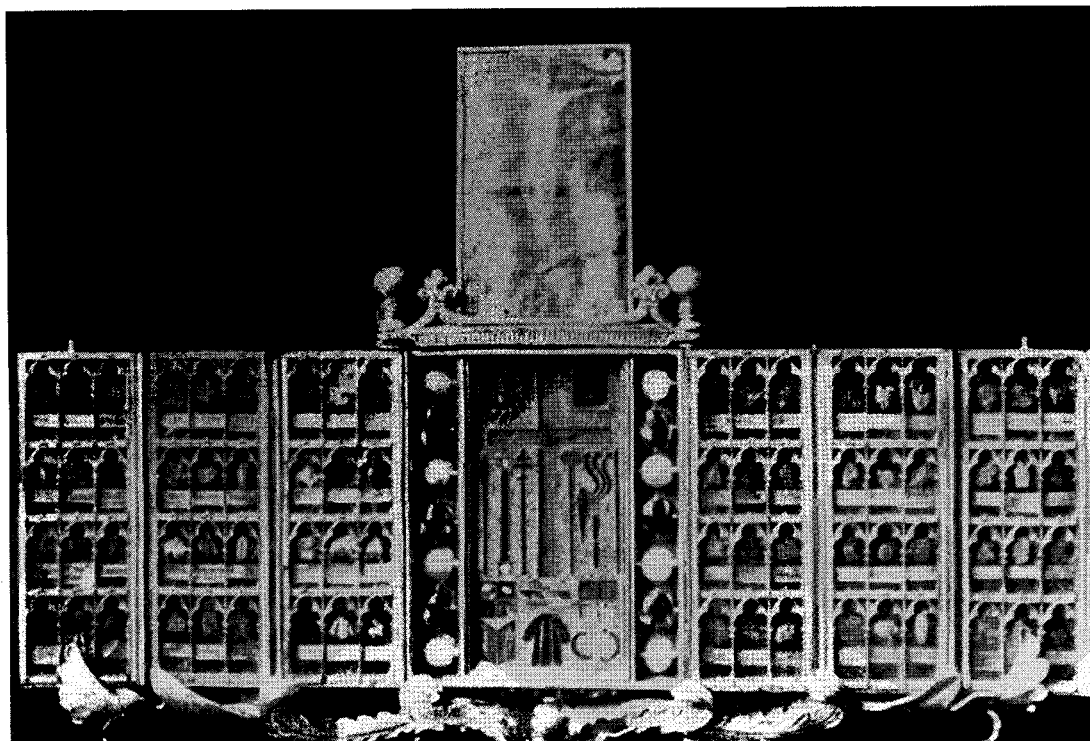


FIGURE 2: A fifteenth-century reliquary triptych from the Baptistry in Florence displays many powerful holy fragments. Although the impulse to collect is expressed in the medieval relic cult, the fragments are assembled not for their intrinsic diversity and oddness but for the power beyond to which they give access.

As this example from Suger makes clear, narrative accounts not only described objects and events that were staged or constructed to produce wonder, they also teemed with complex wonder-reactions. Hagiographers, for example, detailed in emotional, even sensual, language the extravagant asceticism and para-mystical manifestations holy women experienced and the amazement such manifestations engendered in others. Beauty—natural, human and artistic—was not merely referred to as wonderful, it was also described, in loving and lyrical language, as signaling a deeper pattern or purpose.⁶⁸ Drawing on the old Augustinian idea that the world itself is a miracle, the great Anglo-Saxon homilist Aelfric, like Bernard of Clairvaux more than a hundred years later, spoke of the *wundra* (marvels) of God, who has set all creation in measure, number, and weight; thus it requires no sorcery that the moon waxes and wanes, that the sea agrees with it, that the earth greens in

2d edn. (Princeton, N.J., 1976), 116–19. For another example of wondering at the beauty and richness of both the materials and the craftsmanship of art, see Theophilus, *The Divers Arts: The Foremost Medieval Treatise on Painting, Glassmaking and Metalwork*, J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith, trans. (1963; rpt. edn., New York, 1979), prologue to bk. 3, pp. 77–80. On wonder at craftsmanship, see Rudolph, *Things of Greater Importance*, 57–66. On attitudes toward relics, see Caroline W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), 200–25, 318–29.

⁶⁸ On mystical women, see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*; on beauty, see Carasso-Bulow, *Merveilleux in Chrétien*, 16–17. Gerald of Wales marvels at animals—not all animals but those that behave in seemingly purposive ways; see nn. 61 and 63 above, nn. 70 and 81 below.

response to its power.⁶⁹ Recounting the migration of salmon upstream to spawn, Gerald of Wales said: "They leap from bottom to top with a leap that is marvelous and, except that it is proper to the nature of fish, miraculous."⁷⁰ Marco Polo, whose rather limited vocabulary for describing marvels does not seem to have undercut the popularity of his descriptions, called the peacocks of the East "larger and more beautiful," asserted that ostriches there were "as big as donkeys" and chickens "the most beautiful in the world," and concluded enthusiastically, "in fact everything is different!"⁷¹

Travelers' tales also recounted as wonderful the fearsome and the ugly. To Marco Polo, almost every animal he met (the "horrible" crocodile as well as the "beautiful" giraffe) was a marvel, described with an earnest and urgent facticity. Indeed, in the later Middle Ages, stories abounded of fabulous places, of stones with marvelous powers, of monsters, mermaids, and fairies, of bizarre races with eyes in their chests or enormous umbrella feet. Strangeness appealed. Fantastical travelers' accounts far outstripped in popularity the soberer versions.⁷² But even through awkward and impoverished prose such as Marco Polo's, or credulous tale-telling such as Mandeville's, there gleams a powerful sense that what is wonderful is not chickens and peacocks—even Cyclopes and cannibals—per se but a world that encompasses such staggering diversity. Moreover, the impulse to chronicle such things could also be a critique of the impulse to possess them. For example, Walter of Châtillon's epic, the *Alexandreis*, drawn from one of the great storehouses of medieval marvel material, puts the following speech into the mouth of the Scythians:

If you [Alexander the Great] had a body that matched your greedy mind and heart that know no bounds in their desires, or if your body equaled your great cupidity, the great world itself would not suffice to contain you . . . Your right hand would hold the East, the left the West. Not content with this, in all your prayers you would be consumed with desire to investigate and find out where that amazing light hid itself, and would dare to climb into the sun's chariot and . . . control its wandering beams. So, too, you desire much that you cannot possess. Having subdued the world and conquered the human race, delighting in blood, you will wage war against trees, wild beasts, rocks and mountain snows. You will not allow the

⁶⁹ Aelfric, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The Homilies of Aelfric*, Benjamin Thorpe, ed., 2 vols. (1844–46; rpt. edn., New York, 1971), 1: 184–86, 292, 304; and see Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 82–85. See also Bernard, *De consideratione*, bk. 5, sect. 13, cc. 27–32, *Opera*, 3: 489–93, and First Sermon for All Saints, *Opera*, 5: 330.

⁷⁰ Gerald, *Topographia Hibernica*, distinctio 2, c. 41, 5: 126.

⁷¹ Marco Polo, *Milione: Versione toscana del Trecento*, Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso, ed. (Milan, 1994), cc. 176 and 189, pp. 276–78 and 294. And see the discussion in Campbell, *Witness and the Other World*, 92–112.

⁷² The classic study is Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 159–97; see also Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952); Lecouteux, *Les monstres*; Kappler, *Monstres*; and Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England," *Past and Present* 92 (1981): 20–54. On the relative appeal of various travelers' accounts, see Campbell, *Witness and the Other World*; and Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions*.



FIGURE 3: These monsters belong to a long tradition going back to Herodotus and Pliny. Fol. 29v illustrating the *Travels of Marco Polo*, one of the texts in the *Livre des Merveilles* (BN MS Fr. 2810). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

strange creatures that lurk in the caves to be untouched. Even senseless elements will be compelled to experience your rages.⁷³

Although the Alexander material on which Walter draws is centuries old, this passage is not merely a medieval retelling of traditional and titillating stories. Whether or not Walter sides with the Scythians, his powerful prose understands that marveling at diversity can be the prelude to appropriation.

HENCE, IN THE CHRONICLES, LIVES, AND STORIES I have studied, wonder is induced by the beautiful, the horrible, and the skillfully made, by the bizarre and rare, by that which challenges or suddenly illuminates our expectations, by the range of difference, even the order and regularity, found in the world. But marveling and astonishment as reactions seem to be triggered most frequently and violently by what Bernard of Clairvaux called *admirabiles mixturae*: events or phenomena in which ontological and moral boundaries are crossed, confused, or erased. Singularity per se, or the absence of a “cause,” is not enough. When Roger Bacon, for example, writes in heightened language of the horror and wonder of the Eucharist, while accepting without surprise the resurrection of the body, the difference in

⁷³ Walter of Châtillon, *The Alexandreis*, R. Telfryn Pritchard, trans. (Toronto, 1986), bk. 8, ll. 374–90, pp. 190–91.

reaction seems owing to his sense that living again is not remarkable for a human body but appearing as meat to be masticated is an awe-ful condescension (in worldly terms, an assuming of an inappropriate nature) for God. Caesarius of Heisterbach, flat-footedly recounting what to a modern reader seems a mind-dulling succession of totally improbable events, suddenly expresses genuine wonder that God does not take revenge at an insult as men would. Peter the Venerable, whose twelfth-century collection of miracle stories was intended to inspire (he said) both pleasure and fear, penned his most emotionally heightened paragraphs about those who returned from the dead, "revenants." Peter framed one account in direct discourse in order to intensify the horror; the first-person narrator he inserted describes himself as "almost driven to madness by excessive fear." In the other incident, recounted as Peter's own experience, a monk who has been poisoned appears in a dream while the murder is under investigation.

When I saw him [the murdered monk], I got up full of joy and began to embrace and kiss him with much affection. Although a deep stupor [*sopor*] took the place of my outward senses, . . . I was not unaware that I was sleeping . . . And what is more wonderful [*mirum*], it occurred to me immediately . . . that the dead could not remain long with the living . . . So I decided to question him quickly, for the vision seemed not a phantasm but true [*non fantastica sed verax*] . . .

[The monk attests his faith and affirms that he has been murdered; then he disappears.]

I wondered greatly . . . then rested my head again . . . and immediately he reappeared . . . I rushed toward him and . . . began to kiss him as before . . . I heard the same answers as above concerning his state, his vision of God, the certitude of the Christian faith, and his death . . . [Then] I woke up . . . and found my eyes wet and my cheeks warmed by fresh tears.⁷⁴

Peter's intense emotional and physical encounter with the dead man is triggered by his moral dilemma over how the perpetrator of the crime is to be punished. Walter Map, often cynical about miracles and given to a rather arch framing (and literary distancing) of some of his more improbable tales, speaks simply and movingly of an occasion on which Peter of Tarentaise, confronted with a deformed man, questioned him closely and sent him away unhealed but with a new sense of self-worth. It is the moral reaction that is described in heightened emotion-language: hearing of the man's psychological suffering, "Archbishop Peter leaped back as if from a blow and gazed at him with wonder."⁷⁵ Walter does not simply inform his readers that the archbishop's perception is a marvelous one; rather, we see the response enacted inside the story. Two hundred years later, Julian of Norwich uses her most wonder-filled language not for the "myracles" of the saints but for those "merveyles" impossible to encompass in human categories but having profound implications for salvation: first, the fact that God cannot be angry and, second, the paradox

⁷⁴ Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis libri duo*, Denise Bouthillier, ed., Corpus christianorum: continuatio mediaevalis, 73 (Turnhout, 1988), bk. 2, c. 25, pp. 142–46; for the first account, see bk. 1, c. 23, pp. 68–72. See also D. Bouthillier and J.-P. Torrell, "Miraculum": Une catégorie fondamentale chez Pierre le Vénérable," *Revue thomiste: Revue doctrinale de théologie et de philosophie* 80 (1980): 357–86. On Roger Bacon, see above n. 35; on Caesarius, n. 43.

⁷⁵ Map, *De nugis*, pt. 2, c. 4, pp. 66–67. And compare the passage cited at n. 50 above.

that—because of the Incarnation—we are a marvelous mixture (“medle so marvelous”) of sin and grace.⁷⁶

It is when phenomena such as eclipses or double suns are recounted in conjunction with troubled and human events such as war, crime, or corruption that they are given heightened emotion-language. Describing the “unheard-of prodigy” of green children born from the earth, the chronicler William of Newburgh finds himself forced to marvel (*mirari*) at what he cannot grasp (*attingere* or *rimari*). But William assumes that there must be a “reason” for the strange occurrence—by which he means not a cause but a significance or moral use (*utilitas*). Writing of other “marvelous, terrifying, and terrible things” (such as springs that portend scarcity, a mysterious dog discovered in a stone, a crucifix in the sky), William explains: “We call these things marvels and prodigies [*mira et prodigiosa*] not so much because of their rarity as because they have a secret reason [*occultam rationem*].”⁷⁷ Thus the wonder-reaction is a significance-reaction—which is only another way of expressing the tautology that things are not signs or portents because of their natures or their causes but because they indicate or point. As every medieval schoolboy knew, monsters are named from the verb *monstrare* (to show)—that is, not from their ontology but from their utility.⁷⁸ If, to theologians, chroniclers, and preachers, the wonderful was indeed often the strange, the rare, and the inexplicable, it was never the *merely* strange or the *simply* inexplicable. It was a strange that mattered, that pointed beyond itself to meaning.

THE MEDIEVAL THEORIES AND REACTIONS I have discussed were quite different from the wonder described recently by early modern historians. Of course, not all medieval statements about wonder were synonymous or compatible, any more than early modern theories were. Nor was what we can learn about how people acted and reacted necessarily in very close synchrony with the definitions they gave or the platitudes they propounded. Nonetheless, the wonder we find in medieval texts was not an increasingly rare exception to an Enlightenment sense of unbreachable laws of nature. Neither was it the startle reflex of early modern psychology nor the appropriation practiced by early modern rulers, explorers, and conquistadors.⁷⁹

Although, by the late fifteenth century, medieval artists had begun to paint wondering faces with the startle reflex later drawn by Le Brun, it is more difficult to be sure in earlier depictions whether a figure confronted with stupendous or bizarre or dread-filled news is amazed or not.⁸⁰ No medieval theorist reduced

⁷⁶ *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich*, Edmund Colledge and James Walsh, eds., 2 vols. (Toronto, 1978), Long Text, cc. 49–52, pp. 505–53, esp. 546–47 (“we haue in vs a marvelous medelur both of wele and of woo”) and 548.

⁷⁷ William, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, bk. 1, c. 28, pp. 84–87.

⁷⁸ Isidore, *Etimologías*, bk. 11, c. 3, nos. 1–4, 2: 46: “Nam portenta dicta perhibent a portendendo . . . Monstra vero a monitu dicta”; see also Oresme, *De causis*, c. 3, p. 260 n. 118.

⁷⁹ To say this is not to argue that there was no conquest, appropriation, and exploitation in the Middle Ages, nor is it to forget that the “perspectivalism” of medieval travelers owes much to their limited ability to do anything other than gaze in wonder.

⁸⁰ I have done a quick search through a large number of representations of key moments in Christian iconography that might be candidates for “wonder”: the Annunciation to Mary, Christ’s Transfiguration, the Last Supper, Christ’s Resurrection, the “Noli me tangere,” the appearance to Thomas the

wonder to the physiological reaction of the wonderer. The amazement discussed by philosophers, chroniclers, and travelers had a strong cognitive component; you could wonder only where you knew that you failed to understand. Thus wonder entailed a passionate desire for the *scientia* it lacked; it was a stimulus and incentive to investigation.

Nor was wonder reducible to the nature per se of the marvel that triggered it. To the scholastics, who sometimes aimed to de-wonder the rest of the world, only miracles were, objectively speaking, wonder-causing; but no one thought men and women felt *stupor* or *admiratio* only, or even primarily, at miracles. All theories of wonder saw it as a significance-reaction: a flooding with awe, pleasure, or dread owing to something deeper, lurking in the phenomenon. The wonderer was situated; wonder was perspectival (even if miracles were not). What is remarkable to one may be expected to another; as Mandeville observed, to the one-eyed, those with two eyes will seem deformed, and to those of other religions, Christians will be the cannibals. Wonder was a response to something novel and bizarre that seemed both to exceed explanation and to indicate that there might be reason (significance—not necessarily cause) behind it.

Thus medieval theories of wonder made the point that wonder is non-appropriative yet based in facticity and singularity. The opposite of *admiratio* is not only to investigate, it is also to imitate and to generalize. To wonder is emphatically *not* to consume and incorporate; it is, as Bernard of Clairvaux said, to give back the goblet after draining the potion. But, as Gervais of Tilbury also said, if you do not believe the event, you will not marvel at it. You can marvel only at something that is, at least in some sense, there. Marveling responds to the there-ness of the event, to its concreteness and specificity. Amazement is suppressed by the citing of too many cases, the formulation of general laws, the *inductio exemplorum*. Wonder is at the singular—both its significance and its particularity.

Am I then wrong to suggest that wonder is the special characteristic of the historian? I think not—if we understand *admiratio* in its medieval sense, as cognitive, perspectival, non-appropriative, and deeply respectful of the specificity of the world. There is something old-fashioned, almost absurd, in such an assertion, of

Doubter, Christ's Ascension, Pentecost, the miracles of Christ and the saints, and Old Testament events such as the sacrifice of Isaac and the Burning Bush. Although some scholars have asserted that one can see a universal wonder-reaction in paintings such as Leonardo's *Last Supper*, the matter is exceedingly complicated, not only because a number of different gestures in art seem clearly to express roughly the same reaction to unusual events but also because the same unusual event seems to garner a wide range of different emotional responses according to the time and circumstance of depiction—from humble acceptance (even resignation) to terror (or even rage). It thus seems to me that the close parallels between sixteenth and seventeenth-century painting and Le Brun's drawings of the emotions are more likely to reflect artists learning from psychological and anatomical theory than artists reproducing unmediated biological responses. In other words, the art does not suggest physiological reductionism—as Darwin and his latter-day followers such as John Onians have argued—but rather cultural and extremely complex construction of emotional response. Merely to consult the array of depictions of the Annunciation, Transfiguration, and Ascension in a standard reference work such as Gertrud Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 5 vols. (Gütersloh, 1966–80), shows what a wide range of hand gestures accompanies response to the unexpected—a response that is clearly not always what we would think of as “wonder.” It is also, however, significant that when the response does seem to be what we would think of as wonder, there is often some hand gesture (though not always the same one). See Figure 1.



FIGURE 4: Men carrying a Western marvel, the barnacle goose born from trees, meet wise men from the East, bearing their comparable marvel, the vegetable lamb. The depiction suggests the perspectivalism of medieval marvel literature, which includes the ironic awareness that even “we” are “other” to someone. Fol. 210v illustrating the *Travels* of Sir John Mandeville, one of the texts in Manuscript Fr. 2810 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century), known as the *Livre des Merveilles*. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

course. Medieval philosophers and theologians emphasized wonder as a first step toward knowledge; we, in our postmodern anxiety, tend rather to emphasize how hard it is to know. Medieval devotional and hagiographical writers stressed wonder as the opposite of imitation or possession; we are aware that any response involves some appropriation. Medieval travelers and collectors of marvels argued that awe and dread are situated, perspectival; we share this perception and give credit to feminism and postcolonial theory for it, but we suspect that such awareness shatters the possibility of writing any coherent account of the world. Medieval chroniclers and occasional writers stressed the uniqueness of events rather than the trends they illustrated, their moral significance rather than their temporal causes; we fear that the particular is the trivial and that significance is merely the projection of our own values onto the past.

Nonetheless, I would argue, we write the best history when the specificity, the novelty, the awe-fulness, of what our sources render up bowls us over with its complexity and its significance. Our research is better when we move only cautiously to understanding, when fear that we may appropriate the “other” leads us not so much to writing about ourselves and our fears as to crafting our stories with attentive, wondering care. At our best, it is the “strange view of things” for which we strive—not least because, as Thomas Aquinas understood, *admiratio* has to do with teaching. I am certain my students sometimes feel that I speak to them of

things as bizarre and unheard of as William of Newburgh's green children or the barnacle geese born from trees that some medieval authors alleged they had seen.⁸¹ But surely our job as teachers is to puzzle, confuse, and amaze. We must rear a new generation of students who will gaze in wonder at texts and artifacts, quick to puzzle over a translation, slow to project or to appropriate, quick to assume there is a significance, slow to generalize about it. Not only as scholars, then, but also as teachers, we must astonish and be astonished. For the flat, generalizing, presentist view of the past encapsulates it and makes it boring, whereas amazement yearns toward an understanding, a significance, that is always just a little beyond both our theories and our fears.

Every view of things that is not wonderful is false.

⁸¹ Gerald of Wales and Vincent of Beauvais accepted the story that barnacle geese were born from trees in Ireland, although Albert the Great rejected it, saying that barnacle birds had been observed having sexual intercourse and laying eggs like other birds; see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923–58), 2: 464–65. The travelers' accounts of Sir John Mandeville and Friar Odoric of Pordenone used the marvel of the barnacle goose to justify the story of Eastern trees whose fruit contained lambs. See *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, c. 29, p. 174; and Kappler, *Monstres*, 62. See Figure 4.

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Social Sites of Political Practice in France: Lawsuits, Civil Rights, and the Separation of Powers in Domestic and State Government, 1500–1800

SARAH HANLEY

DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, awash with reform in 1791, Olympe de Gouges set forth the *Declaration of the Rights of Woman*, exhorting deputies in the National Assembly to reform past practices and guarantee rights to women. “Man, are you capable of being just?” “Tell me, what gives you the sovereign power to oppress my sex?” Alongside men in the monarchic state, women must be “constituted into a National Assembly” in order to privilege equally the “authoritative acts of women and the authoritative acts of men,” because in past centuries the “scorn” of men for the “natural, inalienable, and sacred rights of *woman*” has caused both “public misfortunes and the corruption of governments.” In her view, “No society has a constitution without the guarantee of rights and the separation of powers.” At this moment of potential structural change enabled by the drafting of a new constitution, Gouges posed a critical question anchored in historical memory: “Do you [women] fear that our [new] French legislators, correctors of that [old] morality enshrined in political practices now out of date, will say to you once again, ‘Women, what is there in common between you and us?’” Likening the civil status of French women maritally contracted into servitude to that of Africans sold into colonial slavery, she negated both slavery and marriage as then construed. Gouges posited the necessary reform: her *Form for a Social Contract between Man and Woman* held wife and husband equal partners in a marriage freely entered, co-parents of all children propagated, and equal shareholders in family property even upon marital separation.¹

In the same year, Etta Palm d’Aelders set forth her *Address from French Women Citizens to the National Assembly*, calling on legislators to reject past practices that tyrannized women. In a challenge to deputies proposing new laws at that moment, she said, “You must no longer allow woman to groan beneath arbitrary authority.” “Justice . . . calls all individuals to equality of rights without discrimination of sex.” Jogging their memories, she indicted past practices still in force. “For too long, . . .

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¹ Olympe de Gouges [Marie Gouzes], *Les droits de la femme* (Paris, [1791]), Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter, BN), E 5568; transl. in Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Urbana, Ill., 1979), 87–96. My translation differs slightly from Levy, *et al.*

the imprescriptible rights of nature have been misinterpreted; for too long, bizarre laws, the worthy product of centuries of ignorance, have afflicted humanity . . . ; for too long, the most odious tyranny was consecrated by absurd laws." Her related plea was crucial: "Gentlemen, Article 13 [the proposed adultery law] of the code of civil order . . . is a refinement of despotism which will render the [new] constitution odious to the female sex," [because] it will "degrade [women's lives] as surely as the chains of slaves." Aelders posited the necessary reform: "Legislators, conjugal [marital] authority should be the consequence of the social pact . . . [in which] the powers of husband and wife must be equal and separate." "Representatives of the nation . . . , vote down the unjust and impolitic law [Article 13]." "Consult only your hearts," which "will instruct you better than the maxims of jurists from preceding centuries."² For Gouges and Aelders, any guarantee of rights depended on a separation of powers.

Laden with the social logic of past practice, these texts spark pertinent historical questions.³ What were the "political practices" connected with centuries-old "maxims of jurists" deemed "injurious to women" and "out of date," and how were they related to "despotism," "tyranny," and "slavery" wrought by arbitrary governance? What were the provisions of Article 13, the "despotic [adultery] law" proposed, and how was it related to spurious "rights of nature" set in "bizarre laws" sanctioning "arbitrary authority" remedied only by instituting "equal and separate powers" in government? Pursuing these queries allows me to joust with a dragon of social theory: how to overcome the static separation of structures and events (or system and action) and account for the dynamic, long-term relations of practice between them blending past and present in a process of structuration, or, how to comprehend history as a culturally ordered practice and culture as a historically ordered practice wedded to time.⁴

The reforms posited by Gouges and Aelders were embedded in a social site juridically structured from the 1530s through the 1640s, well in place by the 1700s; that site inscribed the later texts with a social logic of their own. The historical significance of those reforms, not apparent in the texts, emerges only by scrutinizing the relations of practice that spurred them, that is, the repeated encounters between institutionalized regulations and persons who accepted, manipulated, or rejected them over generations, effecting accommodation and collision committed to collective memory.

² Etta Palm d'Aelders, *Adresse des citoyennes françoises à l'assemblée nationale* ([1791]), Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, 12807 (Vol. 1, no. 15, 37–40); transl. in Levy, *et al.*, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 75–77; mine differs slightly.

³ On the relation between the production of meaning (texts) and social reality (contexts), see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 65 (1990): 59–86; and P. Steven Sangren, "Rhetoric and the Authority of Ethnography: 'Postmodernism' and the Social Reproduction of Texts," *Current Anthropology* 29 (1988): 405–35.

⁴ For theoretical insights on relations of practice between history and culture involving cultural categories and the relationships they imply, see Marshall Sahlin, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), chap. 1; and Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, 1977), chaps. 2, 4, correcting the hegemonic reductionism of Michel Foucault's works allowing little room for instability, interruption, or competition. For historical treatment of relations of practice in France, see Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton, N.J., 1983, French edn., 1993); and Hanley, *State Building in Early Modern France: Law, Litigation, and Local Knowledge* (forthcoming).

I WILL BEGIN WITH A LOOK AT the new system of governance structured in the monarchic state, then describe the persons who interacted with that structure. From the 1530s through the 1640s, the era of nascent state-building in France,⁵ jurists created a new juridical base for the male right to rule at a critical constitutional juncture: the French Salic law, invented in the 1400s to exclude women from rule, collapsed under the weight of a forgery exposed during the mid-1500s,⁶ and, at the same time, reigning queens and appointed queen regents appeared in Europe and in France.⁷ Committed to male right but bereft of Salic law, jurists and political theorists developed a French Law Canon composed of public law, civil law, and moral law rubrics all founded in natural law. This canon underwrote a marital-regime system of male governance, domestic and political, along parallel lines. First, from politicized Aristotelian metaphysics of the 1400s, refined in French political theory of the 1500s, the theorists drew on natural law to privilege male authority, and they posited a "law of nature" dictating male-to-male generation and propagation over time. In this biogenetic view, "male reproductive replication," superior males, deemed the sole generators of the formative seed in propagation, were perfectly reproduced in serial turn, while inferior females, held unable to generate formative seed, were imperfectly reproduced and consequently defective in make-up.⁸ Translated into a structural homology equating nature and state, human body and body politic, French public law and civil law bespoke this re clothed principle of natural law.

Second, the public law precepts of the French Law Canon, which constitutionally underwrote marital-regime governance in the state from the early 1500s, professed a related political precept, "male monarchic replication," wherein "the king's one body," serially regenerated over time, incorporated the body politic, as expressed in the maxim, "The king is in the kingdom and the kingdom is in the king." Prominent jurists defined legal and illegal forms of government in France: monarchy and

⁵ On the search for the ancient constitution and institutions, see Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance* (New York, 1970), chaps. 5–8; and Hanley, *Lit de Justice of the Kings of France*, chaps. 1–4, table 1. The Lit de Justice assembly was a newly invented constitutional forum, first convoked in 1527 but provided with fictitious medieval origins.

⁶ Sarah Hanley, "La loi salique," *Encyclopédie politique et historique des femmes*, Christine Fauré, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1997), 1: chap. 1; and Hanley, "Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pizan versus Jean de Montreuil," in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, Michael Wolfe, ed. (Durham, N.C., 1997).

⁷ Queens: Isabella (Spain), Mary and Elizabeth (England), Mary (Scotland), Christina (Sweden); queen regents: Anne de Beaujeau, Louise of Savoy, Catherine de Médicis, Marie de Médicis, and Anne of Austria; and see Hanley, *Lit de Justice of the Kings of France*, chaps. 7, 10, 12, 13, for boldly successful bids of regents to sit in Lit de Justice assemblies in Parlement addressing constitutional issues, 1563–1651.

⁸ Hanley, "La loi salique"; and Hanley, "Identity Politics," tracing the one-body French formulation. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J., 1957), 332–33, noted that the two-bodies concept (distinguishing the mortal prince from the immortal office) was consistently developed in England but was notably absent from France. But he did not treat Salic law or investigate the different French route taken through politicized metaphysics. And the several attempts made in the 1500s to render the two-bodies concept symbolically in funeral ceremonies, ably traced by Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva, 1960), did not survive that century. For Aristotelian speculations applied also to science and society, see Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), chaps. 6–7; and Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), chaps. 2–3.

gynecocracy. They argued that monarchy was a natural and legal form of government, because the body politic was embodied in a series of male rulers incorporated in "the king's one body," a veritable French phoenix regenerated in perpetuity. Aptly symbolized in a popular maxim of 1576, "The king never dies," a body politic thus incorporated was immortal. Gynecocracy, they warned, was an unnatural and illegal form of government, preposterous because the generative incapacity of a female ruler would disembody the state and visit mortality on a body politic unincorporated, discontinued.⁹ In developing the analogous facets of marital-regime governance—the male right to rule in political and domestic spheres—jurists encapsulated precepts of public law in maxims that combined biogenetic dictates of natural law with marital-contract notions from civil law: "The king is the husband of the kingdom, the inalienable royal domain the dowry of his crown, and his sons are the children of the body politic" (*chose publique*).¹⁰ In tandem, civil law drew on state allusions as well.

Third, the civil laws (edicts and ordinances) of the French Law Canon, which prescribed marital-regime governance in the household, were negotiated from the 1530s to the 1640s by jurists and kings in consort, formulating a Family-State Law Compact that regulated family formation: marriage regulations, reproductive customs, arrangements for marital separation, and inheritance rules. Juridically defined as property and contract issues, marital matters were brought under the jurisdiction of French courts beholden to French civil laws (rather than ecclesiastical courts and church canon laws).¹¹ Early on, that secular shift of venue was boldly stated by lawyers who held the pope (hence the church) to be a "foreigner," an outsider, in French familial matters, including marriage, separation, and adultery.¹² In domestic terms, the "power of the husband," also founded in natural

⁹ See Sarah Hanley, "The Monarchic State: Marital Regime Governance and Male Right," in *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe*, Adrianna E. Bakos, ed. (Rochester, N.Y., 1994), 111–16, 119–21. Invented by Jean Bodin, that biogenetic maxim was incorporated into the French Law Canon during the early 1600s by many, Cardin Le Bret, Antoine Loisel, Charles Loyseau, Pierre Dupuy, Nicolas Bergier, and was ritually enacted in the unprecedented inaugural Lit de Justice assembly of 1610 in Parlement, which rendered the funeral ceremony obsolete and bypassed the coronation; Hanley, *Lit de Justice of the Kings of France*, chaps. 2, 7, 9, 13, 11, and fig. 9, the phoenix and the dissemination of maxims in Parlement.

¹⁰ Hanley, "Monarchic State," 110–13; my terms "French Law Canon" and "marital-regime system" categorize laws and legal principles collected (but not codified in the modern sense) and the governance model projected. Jurists insisted on the legal distinction between the marital regime empowering husbands (deemed indigenous and French) and a family model featuring fathers (cast as foreign and Roman, *paterfamilias*).

¹¹ See Sarah Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1989): 4–27; and Hanley, "Family and State," for the compact with an appeal procedure, the *appel comme d'abus*. It is a serious misreading to characterize these two studies as advancing a thesis similar to those of François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire de la coutume de la prevote et vicomte de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1922, 1926), 1: 158–59; or Roland Mousnier, *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598–1789: Society and State*, Brian Pearce, trans. (Chicago, 1979), 85 (as does Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children: Patriarchal Authority and Parental Consent to Religious Vocations in Early Counter-Reformation France," *Journal of Modern History* 68 [1996]: 272–73), since those important works, different in orientation, do not account for the demise of Salic law, discuss a related overarching political theory of state governance institutionalized, reconstruct a law compact and lawsuits linking state-building and family formation, or illuminate the specific situation of women in that governing system.

¹² Lawyers active include Pierre Pithou, Jean de Coras, Pierre Séguier, Barnabe Brisson. See Hanley, "Family and State," noting French refusal to accept Council of Trent marriage articles and church complaints voiced in vain as French edicts into the 1600s confirmed the shift. Since the dynamic here

law, was expressed in proverbs and maxims: "The husband is king in his household," "The husband is the head of the [marital] community." As the administrator of corporate family assets, the husband was prohibited from alienating the principal of the wife's inalienable dowry (*propres*) held in usufruct. Tentatively explored in the 1570s,¹³ the notion of social contract (*contrat de société*) that emerged pertained to the marital contract.

In legal theory, women contracted into marriage, then lost the capacity to contract.¹⁴ In practice, the wide range of contractual actions they deployed belied repeated assertions of legal incapacity. Conducting a variety of ventures, some reciprocal, others contractual (commerce, finance, office acquisition, patronage),¹⁵ women zealously guarded their marital assets and brought charges against husbands who mismanaged them. Propertied women were legally guaranteed a dowry (family inheritance share), which might include a government office fully heritable by 1604, a dower (if widowed, from the husband's family estate share), and a share of community property (assets acquired during marriage), and thus they exercised considerable social leverage, patronage power, and political influence. As complaints voiced from the 1570s and later testify, including those of Montesquieu between 1716 and the 1740s, women held high stakes in civil society. In the contractual aspects of marriage¹⁶ lay the potential for conflict in a system of governance coupling husband and king, dowry and domain, household and state, on parallel governing tracks. And moral persuasion supported male governance by reference to female incapacity.

Fourth, the "moral law" of the French Law Canon supported marital-regime

is an intertwined process—state-building and family formation (these are categories, not dichotomies)—and the church is steadily denuded of authority over marital and familial matters by law practiced, the attempt of Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children," 273, to insert the church as a third category is conceptually miscast. The efforts of children to elude parental control (whether taking marital vows or religious ones) involved family and state authority.

¹³ See [Jean de Coras], *Question politique: S'il est licite aux subjects de capituler avec leur prince* [1568–69, pub. 1570], Robert M. Kingdon, ed. (Geneva, 1989), 2–3, 15–16, on contracts (with reciprocal obligations) negotiated by people in "civil society," including kings who are charged with public administration but who also contract with subjects.

¹⁴ Antoine Jean Victor Le Roux de Lincy, *Le livre des proverbes français . . .*, 2d edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1859), 2: 267; Antoine Loisel [Loysel], *Institutes coutumières*, André Dupin, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1846), 1, nos. 118–20, 178; and earlier jurists summarized in Robert Joseph Pothier, *Oeuvres de Pothier*, new edn., vol. 8 (Paris, 1818): *Traité de la puissance du mari sur la personne et les biens de la femme* [1768], 490–540, pt. 1, art. 1, nos. 1–6.

¹⁵ Paul Louis-Lucas, *Etude sur la venalité des charges et fonctions publiques . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1883), 1, chap. 2, shows jurists (such as Loyseau) first defining title in male terms, then recognizing offices as family property, *propres* (transmitted also to women); and Ralph E. Giesey, "Rules of Inheritance and Strategies of Mobility in Prerevolutionary France," *AHR* 82 (April 1977): 271–89, traces familial aims. Albert N. Hamscher, *The Parlement of Paris after the Fronde, 1653–1673* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1976), chaps. 1–2, notes a judicial office inherited by a widow who appointed incumbents; and Daniel Dessert, *Argent, pouvoir, et société au Grand Siècle* (Paris, 1984), looks at financial offices in a pathbreaking study of patronage networks in the 1600s that traces assets of both men and women. He stresses the importance of women's assets to family units, their tax-farming ventures, 364–65, the need for their dowry assets to support officeholding, 477–88, and networking through grandmothers, mothers, and aunts who provided offices, capital, and patronage to facilitate officeholding, 517–703. Sharon B. Kettering, "The Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen," *Historical Journal* 32 (1989): 817–41, gives telling examples not factored into her earlier informative study, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York, 1986), which posits a one-sided male model of patronage.

¹⁶ Jacques Mulliez, "Droit et morale conjugale: Essai sur l'histoire des relations personnelles entre époux," *Revue historique* 268, no. 563 (1987): 35–106.

governance and male right by presenting female incapacity as a dictate of natural law. Steeped in lessons from the female defamation litany of the 1400s, which had raised the ire of Christine de Pizan and propped up the fraudulent Salic law, ubiquitous moral lessons held generic woman (imperfectly propagated) naturally inferior in body and mind, hence unfit (as woman) for governance. It was women's innate sexual inconstancy, moral lessons warned, that threatened families and states with ruin and confirmed the incapacity of woman for rule. From the 1500s, as in the Family-State Law Compact, similar lessons rhetorically dotted the textual edges of laws, which repeatedly alleged presumptive female blame. Some edicts effected the pretense that women were responsible for offenses that laws must address, accused them of fraud in obtaining marital separations, or openly charged women with potential wreckage of the family and, by analogy, the state, through adultery (an act of treason).¹⁷ This thematic stance, bypassing men and targeting women for infractions committed by both, indicates how loath jurists were to criticize the male right to rule. Instead, they were actively engaged in strengthening it.¹⁸

Crossing such a wide cultural purview, marital-regime governance structured by the French Law Canon has appeared impregnable. Not so. All along, the governing system, run along parallel tracks—political and domestic—harbored endemic collision courses that were negotiated for generations. During the 1600s, as collisions escalated, so did lawsuits featuring litigants with a propensity to tell all to an interested public.

IN FRANCE, WHERE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LAW was pervasive and discussion incessant, jurists distilled from the law canon “maxims” of law accessible to memory, pedagogical in aim, and shared them with the public from the early 1600s.¹⁹ Crucial to that effort, the Parlement of Paris in 1609 officially removed the veil of secrecy that shrouded judicial reasoning behind legal decisions (*arrêts*).²⁰ Pursuing knowledge, fame, and clients, jurists rushed to collect and publish “notable legal

¹⁷ For example, the edict of 1560 (on second marriages), capped later by commentary of Pothier, *Oeuvres de Pothier*, Vol. 8: *Traité du contrat de mariage* [1768], 1–489 (hereafter, *Contrat de mariage*), pt. 7, chap. 2, art. 1, nos. 537–46; and the edict of August 13, 1669, separations; François André Isambert, et al., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises . . .*, 29 vols. (Paris, 1822–33), 18: 329–31.

¹⁸ Whether women observed or transgressed laws, both the threats and risks posed for them must be understood to analyze how the system worked and why it was subverted. When added to real legal disabilities, the act of writing female presumptive blame into edicts publicly read and posted raises serious doubts about the wisdom of simply rationalizing female subjection by vague references to presumed but undefined dictates of absolute monarchy (as Olivier-Martin does, *Histoire de la coutume*, 2: 258), or by assuming uncritically that such laws were made “for the good of women” (as Jean Portemer does, “La femme dans la législation royale,” *Etudes d'histoire du droit privé, offertes à Pierre Petot* [Paris, 1959], 441–54). While some women benefited, others suffered serious consequences, as shown by Lisa Lavoie, “Factums et mémoires d'avocats aux XVII^{ème} et XVIII^{ème} siècles: Une regard sur une société (environ 1620–1760),” *Histoire, économie, et société* 7 (1988): 221–42; and incurred risks simply by suing, as shown here and by Nadine Béranguier, “Victorious Victims: Women and Publicity in *Mémoires Judiciaires*,” in *Going Public: Women and Publishing in Early Modern France*, Elizabeth C. Goldsmith and Dena Goodman, eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

¹⁹ Loisel, *Institutes coutumières*, 1, xxxv–xxxviii, intends maxims to teach, “to communicate [French laws] to the public” (1607 edn.); enlarged editions were made expressly for “the public” from 1611 to the 1780s.

²⁰ Secrecy had been eroding since the 1550s; John P. Dawson, *The Oracles of the Law* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), chap. 4.

decisions" (*arrêts notables*) of judges, legal briefs (*factums*) and addenda (*supplements, mémoires*) of lawyers and clients, and notable pleadings (*plaidoiries*) of lawyers made in court. Lawyers (*avocats*) and other legal officials (*procureurs, rapporteurs, notaires*) collected and purveyed all these items, litigants collected pieces relevant to their own cases, and printers joined the public forum.²¹ "I wish to serve the public," said Nicolas Rousset in 1611, who obtained from a lawyer, Laurens Bouchel, "registers of the court" containing "notable legal decisions" on "public affairs," which he published "to inform the public."²²

In this forum, women commanded attention. Throughout the 1600s and 1700s, women wrote, dictated, or were involved in writing legal briefs, *factums* (later called *mémoires*), and addenda narrating contests with the law, hence with the monarchic state, source of the law. In the throes of litigation, many adversaries pursued a double route: they brought lawsuits to judges in courtrooms for one verdict, then took cases to the public in the streets for another. Teamed up with lawyers and printers, litigants surveyed French law from its staid statutory center to its malleable social rim and presented cases, as they readily admitted, to "the public" in *factums* circulated for public consumption.²³ That there was an active "public" with a "public voice" socially sited out there and capable of retrieving information and forming "public opinion" they did not doubt, and routes for transmission were well traversed.

From the 1500s, people in the streets were adept at gathering news, whether it was cried out, posted, sold, or circulated in written form,²⁴ including that rendered in maxims, proverbs, engravings, and *factums*. Well-versed in governance analogies, such as "king-husband" or "domain-dowry," people easily grasped the politicized theme of adultery conveyed in a popular engraving of 1589 hawked in the streets. That image exemplified marital-regime rule (household and state) by depicting a husband (King Henry IV) preventing his wife (France) from committing adultery (treason) with a monk (the Catholic League). Familiar with avenues for news circulation, people understood the message printed in an engraving of the late 1500s, which acknowledged that "the role of social informant" constitutes an "arm in the formation of public opinion."²⁵ The public was drawn into the adversarial

²¹ Printed collections of "notable" decisions and pleadings appeared around 1601–1602, enlarged ones every decade through the 1700s; see collections of *factums*, posters, and engravings, as in Archives Nationales, AD III, nos. 6–8; individual collectors include Rosmadec-Rohan case, BN, Collection Dupuy 553, fols. 3r–6v.

²² *Recueil de plaidoyez notables de plusieurs anciens et fameux avocats de la Cour de Parlement* . . . (Paris, 1612 [1611]), airr–avr. The juridical focus of "notable decisions" distinguishes these earlier legal briefs (called *factums* until the early 1700s, then *mémoires*) from the overt literary focus of much later *mémoires*, or "celebrated cases," 1770s–1780s, studied by Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

²³ Too many scholars of history and literature place a singular focus on the laws and fail to account equally for the lawsuits litigated; as a result, they take a rigidly prescriptive route, rather than one complexly mitigated, and reach the erroneous conclusions dictated by prescription. This study, as well as "Engendering the State," and "Monarchic State," therefore, insists on attention to the fuller social base combining the statutory center and the social rim.

²⁴ See Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies d'information dans la France du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1989), 11–19, on the vast array of words used in the 1500s to impart public "ways of knowing," or public opinion; and chap. 1 shows information gleaned from civic rituals staged in public space (events dismissed by Jürgen Habermas; see n. 29 below).

²⁵ Pierre de L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journeaux, 1574–1611*, 12 vols. (1875–99; rpt. edn., Paris, 1982), 5:

exchanges of litigants broadcast by *factums*, and they eagerly pursued enlightenment on the multifarious workings of law touching all in civil society. As social informants, some litigants addressed their *factums* accordingly: "Dear Reader," these "questions of state" (that is, legal status, civil rights) will interest you; this information will "let the public judge," or, conversely, will "seduce and mislead the public." Soon a staple of social life, uncensored *factums*, printed and sometimes marketed in quantity, were hawked in the streets by vendors, posted on walls with public notices, sold in bookstalls, read by the literate, or aurally communicated to the illiterate in Paris and regional cities, often simultaneously.²⁶ Witness to the partnership forged between legal culture and print culture,²⁷ an engraving of the 1670s caricatured a printer (clothed in shop and tools) who printed *factums* on the spot, displayed them for sale, and circulated them in public places without missing a step (Figure 1).²⁸ As the pursuit of legal knowledge became a shared national pastime, new relationships were triggered between private and public space, law courts and the streets, legal opinion and public opinion, household and state governance.

The genesis of the public sphere, the bridge between household and state cemented by law practice in civil society, lay in the acquisition of legal knowledge, when the public was regularly drawn into issues broadcast by *factums*—including vexing questions regarding arbitrary versus limited governing powers. Juridical in contour, this public space was staked out by laws, lawyers, and litigants, shaped by writers, listeners, and readers of *factums* recounting lawsuits, and populated with competing voices that molded public opinions on social entitlements (material and symbolic), rights guarded by civil law.²⁹ Prime players in this gender-mixed public venue, women clothed in the armor of print spoke in many voices, some studiously reticent, others aggressive, even brazen, not easily silenced and not lost to posterity.

21; and Sarah F. Matthews Grieco, *Ange ou diablesse: La représentation de la femme au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1991), 21.

²⁶ See Hanley, *State Building*, for Grieu-Rohan (1630s), Gars-Joisel (1680s), Bonnet-Chauvelin (1690s), and Durand-Garnier (1740s), where litigants address an intermediary, "the public," situated in public space between them and the state. For a different situation where petitioners address king and state directly, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); and for methodological nuances in story retelling, see Margery Wolf, *A Thrice-Told Tale: Feminism, Postmodernism, and Ethnographic Responsibility* (Stanford, Calif., 1992).

²⁷ These *factums* add another category to those delineated so well by Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, Lydia Cochrane, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1987), chap. 2.

²⁸ "Habit d'Imprimeur en Lettres," *factum* over one arm; BN, Estampes, C 56501.

²⁹ This study, along with Hanley, *State Building*, locates a law-centered public arena and the formation of public opinion in a much earlier period, at least from the 1600s, and roots the phenomenon in contested lawsuits and *factums-mémoires* of litigants who shared socio-political tenets on civil rights with an active audience in the streets and thus differs from that of Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), chaps. 2–3, which posits a passive audience, 1500s–1600s, and positions a "bourgeois public sphere" (space for publicity) only later in the 1750s and more narrowly circumscribed within Enlightenment salon culture, "the realm of letters." In addition to Fogel and myself, who move the emergence of a public sphere to the 1600s, others also find the later Enlightenment mold of the post-1750s too binding; see Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* (New York, 1995), chaps. 6, 8, 10, opting for the streets and clandestine literature throughout the 1700s; and David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (New York, 1994), 5–13, on briefs from the early 1700s exciting public interest.

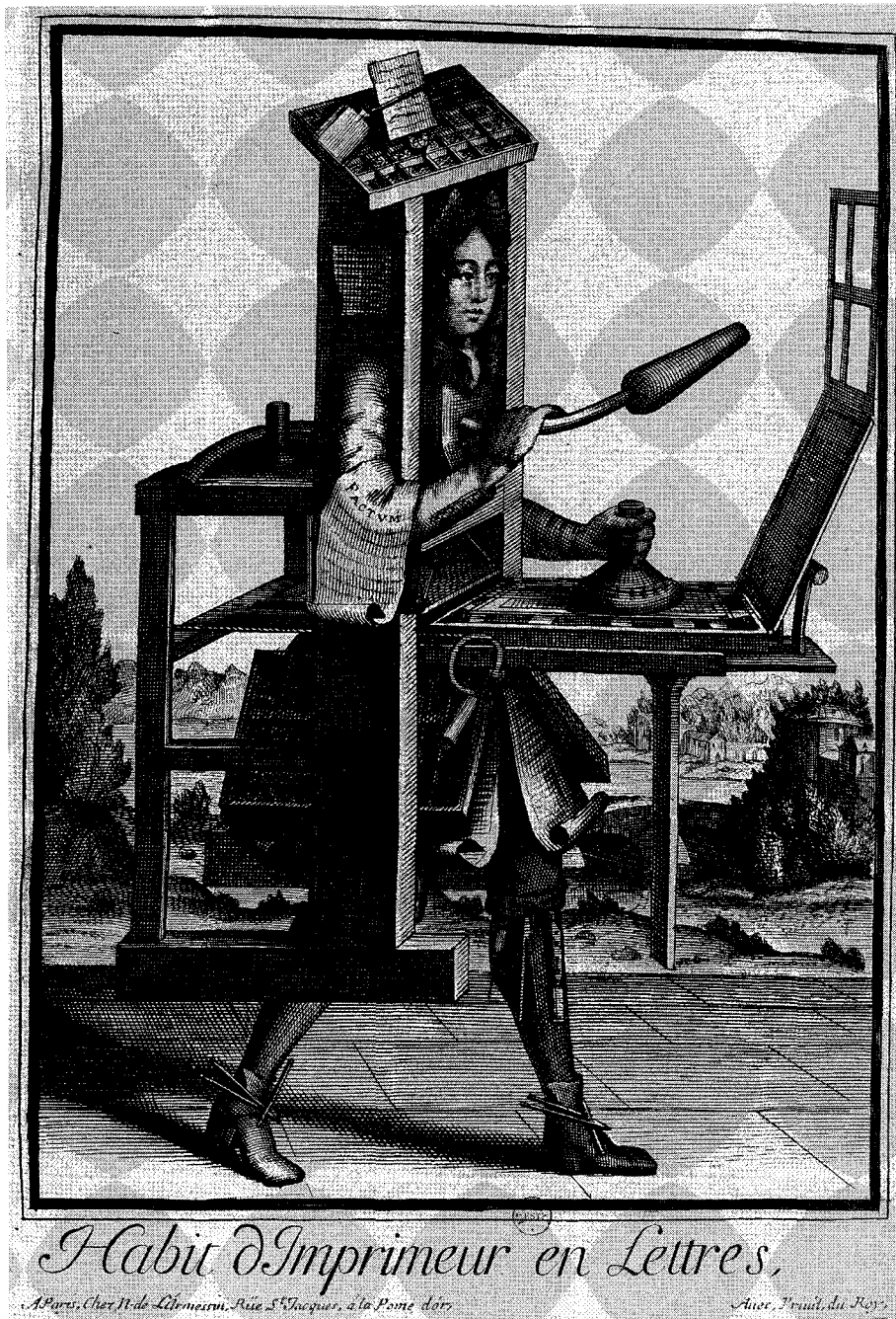


FIGURE 1: A humorous look at the printing and distribution of *factums* (legal briefs), circa 1670s. See *factum* over one arm. "Habit d'Imprimeur en Lettres," BN, Estampes, C 56501. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The themes they generated from "facts" in *factums*, particularly those touching the marital contract, appeared also in other writings beholden to networks of social informants. The daughter of a famous printer and no doubt privy to legal decisions and legal briefs issued from printshops, Nicole Estienne wrote in the 1580s *The*

Miseries of the Married Woman, which took up juridical themes related to proper governance. She denounced "the laws of marriage" as "tyrannical laws" authorizing husbands to rule as "master of body and mind." Formerly his "equal," master of herself, the wife "by contract" is reduced to his "property" and held "captive." In perpetrating such "injustice," moreover, men "make and break the laws at will," denying women their "cherished liberty," their natural authority to govern themselves.³⁰ Others wrote letters, memoirs, novels, and philosophical tracts critical of marital laws, governance by "tyrants," and the "long slavery of marriage."³¹ It was a common complaint in the 1600s, confirmed by Montesquieu in 1721, that women kept in touch with one another and circulated opinions publicly, informed "public opinion" and exercised political influence, constituting a sort of "state within the state."³² The charge is telling.

As litigants stationed themselves and their *factums* in the public arena of civil society framed by law, women struggled to understand how the male right to govern had been legally constituted, how women's liberty to govern the self in authoritative acts was impeded, how unequal protection in civil law endangered rights necessary for self-preservation, and how arbitrary authority and despotic rule might be challenged and limited. The reconstruction of events—litigants, lawsuits, and the *factums* they generated—furnishes means for assessing how encounters between regulations of the state and human actions (structures and events) led to escalating collisions in the later 1600s and early 1700s, why those contests provoked indictments against arbitrary governance, domestic and political, and how such relations of practice eventually prompted structural change. The following two cases of marital separation suits record relations of practice at the critical cusp of structural instability, the domestic-political governing borders of household and state.

³⁰ [Nicole Estienne, Mme. Liébaut], *Les misères de la femme mariée* . . . [ca. 1587], *Variétés historiques et littéraires*, Edouard Fournier, ed., 10 vols. (Paris, 1855–63), 3: 320–31; and see Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Reconstructing Individualism: Autonomy, Individuality and the Self in Western Thought*, Thomas C. Heller, et al., eds. (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 53–63. Although few legal briefs survive from the 1500s, cases are discussed at large, as in the *Heptameron* of Marguerite Navarre.

³¹ On ways in which writings for and against women reflected social change, see Carolyn C. Lougee, *Le Paradis des femmes: Women, Salons, and Social Stratification in Seventeenth-Century France* (Princeton, N.J., 1976); and for *salonnières* as disciplined actors at the heart of the enlightenment enterprise, see Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), chap. 2. For social and political critiques, see Faith E. Beasley, *Revising Memory: Women's Fiction and Memoirs in Seventeenth-Century France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990); Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York, 1991); Erica Harth, *Cartesian Women: Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Joan Hinde Stewart, *Gynographs: French Novels by Women of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993); and Ian Maclean, *Woman Triumphant: Feminism in French Literature, 1610–1652* (Oxford, 1977). On writing as a public act, see Michele Longino Farrell, *Performing Motherhood: The Sévigné Correspondence* (Hanover, N.H., 1991); Goldsmith and Goodman, *Going Public*; Nina Rattner Gelbart, *Feminine and Opposition Journalism in Old Regime France: Le Journal des Dames* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); and Carla Hesse, "Reading Signatures: Female Authorship and Revolutionary Laws in France, 1750–1850," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22 (1989): 469–87.

³² Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Persian Letters* (1721), Christopher J. Betts, trans. and ed. (London, 1973), no. 54, 107.

IN OCTOBER 1680, Marie Anne de Rainssant brought a lawsuit for marital separation (person and property, *corps et biens*) against her husband, Antoine Du Bois, seigneur du Plessis-Gastebled. She charged him with acts of violence, jealous tirades launched in public, and slander akin to libel. As corroborating evidence mounted, however, Antoine filed his own suit, charging Marie with adultery and naming witnesses. As a result, her marital separation suit was put on hold while his adultery suit was heard. When Antoine's witnesses proved unconvincing, his charge was quashed in February 1681 and Marie's separation suit resumed. By August 1681, judges brought forth a verdict: they decided for Marie, granted a full separation of domicile and property, and awarded her custody of their son. Determined to reverse the legal decision, Antoine over the next three years hired lackeys to spy on Marie all over Paris: in church at Saint Sulpice, around the Luxembourg gardens, at fairs, even in homes of friends. Spreading rumors in Paris for several months that she was illicitly pregnant, he put his plan into action on March 6, 1684. When Marie emerged from evening services at Saint Sulpice, three armed men dragged her, struggling and screaming, into a waiting carriage and drove away. As the uneasy crowd of onlookers later admitted, they did not interfere, assuming a husband with a secret warrant was arresting a suspect wife. Apprised of the event, Marie's father, Henry Rainssant, sieur de Deux-Maisons, charged Antoine with abduction and deposed those witnesses.

In July 1684 as the abduction hearing opened, Marie was thrust out of a carriage, blindfolded, around midnight on the outskirts of the city. Shaken but determined, she pressed the abduction case with parental support. During the proceedings, however, Antoine made a second adultery charge and this time named an accomplice. Antoine claimed that Marie was pregnant from an adulterous affair with René Choppin, seigneur d'Arnouville and provost of the city of Paris, and that she hid the pregnancy and feigned her own abduction in order to arrange an abortion, or a birth, secretly. Marie charged Antoine with violent abduction, false adultery charges, and malicious slander. He had defamed her honor and reputation before "the public," she said, through gossip, rumors, and false accusations that caused "scandal in Paris." The legal marital separation she had obtained was absolutely necessary, she said, "to conserve [my] liberty and [my] life." Yet the law allowed Antoine, who stood as the accused in both lawsuits, to turn the tables, she complained, and put her suits (brought first) on hold while his were heard.³³

In another case, Marguerite Aurillon, one of five children, was destined by her father, Guillaume Aurillon, a surgeon, for life in a convent, which required a smaller dowry than marriage; her refusal to cooperate fueled his lasting enmity. When François Sorny, a captain in the king's regiment, appeared on the scene seeking marriage to salvage a disintegrating reputation, Marguerite married him in July 1699, dowried with minimal funds. Following a decade of sparse and disagreeable marital relations, she threatened in 1709 to seek a separation. If a hearing took place, Marguerite would have had to board in a convent, since her

³³ Du Bois-Rainssant: BN Fol. Fm 5430, 1-4; 5431 (6 parts, 33 pp.); 4° Fm 6875 (4), 1-16; 6875 (5), 1-35; 6875 (6), 1-11; 6875 (8), 1-14; 6875 (9), 1-24; 4° Fm 10404, 1-10; 10405, 1-4; 10383, 1-4; BN, Collection Thoisy 93, fols. 342r-49v, 358r, 360r-61r, 362r-63r, 376r-82v, 400r-10v; 416r-20v, 426r-29r; and Thoisy 94, fols. 301r-18r, 323r-v, 331r-36v, 337r-40r, 481r-82v, 501r-09r.

father's lack of support for the suit deprived her of living space. Thus Marguerite requested a meeting with François to discuss suitable convents and board payments from her dowry funds. Because he seemed agreeable, she failed to remain on guard when they met for supper at the house of an absent friend. Anxious to negotiate a mutual separation agreement without court action, Marguerite behaved accordingly. But when she was disrobed, François left the house by the back door just moments before armed police officers noisily entered at the front with a secret warrant (signed by him) for her arrest as a "disorderly woman." To the police and neighbors who were made witnesses, it appeared as if Marguerite had been caught in the act of adultery at the house of an accomplice who had fled. Some neighbors made negative remarks about the police action, but none intervened in this familiar legal ritual of male right. Taken by force in a humiliating manner (dressed only in a bathrobe) to the Parisian convent La Madeleine, where women accused of debauchery and prostitution ("Madelonettes") were incarcerated, she pursued the separation suit (person and property).

In 1711, Marguerite testified that François had not discharged the obligations marriage entailed. To the contrary, he had admitted that her presence reminded him of his old "aversion" to the marital state. Absent for long periods, he did not establish a proper household but left one-third of her dowry funds with her father, in whose house she resided. When François visited, she said, he ignored her or treated her with contempt; when she complained, beatings ensued, one resulting in a stillborn birth. Marguerite held that, given the scorn and abuse she had endured, the duplicity she had suffered in false arrest, incarceration, and slander, a marital separation was necessary. Characterizing arbitrary governing power, she said, "I did not gain a husband but only a master." In detailing the consequences, she described other women held as "captives" at La Madeleine and cited by name several earlier cases of women falsely accused of adultery. Marguerite castigated the legal risks for women in words, she claimed, that were her own, since she had "borrowed the pen of no one." As she put it, "At stake in my case is my reputation and even my life," yet the law has allowed "my husband [to be] my adversary, my judge, and my executioner."³⁴

In seeking their domestic separations, Marie de Rainssant and Marguerite Aurillon also indicted a government whose laws failed to protect the civil rights—liberty, life, property—that secured their membership in a civil society. In jeopardy, as they told it, was their liberty (authority to govern the self), undermined by loss of reputation and removal from civil society, their life (secure membership in a civil society), threatened by abduction, secret arrest, and incarceration, and their property (marital assets), endangered by potential confiscation for adultery. Through the *factums* circulated about their cases, they became social informants who took a very broad indictment of arbitrary governance—domestic and political—to the public, seeking expanded verdicts from public opinion that judges in law courts would not consider. Reconstruction of such lawsuits shows the legal practices actually followed, the uneven risks posed for women and men, the substantive

³⁴ Aurillon-Sorny: BN Fol. Fm 18226, 1–10, and she supplied a positive character reference from the superior of La Madeleine, Madame de Mailly. On La Madeleine, see the Brun-Saulx de Tavannes case (1732), Hanley, "Engendering the State," 16–17.

thrust of women's indictments of arbitrary governance, and the way cumulative indictments made public in civil society took on broader political overtones for the state.

Oddly enough, the Family-State Law Compact, which regulated so many areas, did not contain edicts on marital separation or adultery but left disposition of such cases to judges.³⁵ In practice, as case law shows, judges (representing the state) and husbands (the household) together created law through precedents set over time.³⁶ In simple marital separation cases (uncontested), corporate family assets remained intact, and the husband disbursed revenue to the wife according to terms negotiated. But in complex cases (contested), assets did not necessarily remain intact.³⁷ Therein lay the dilemma for marital-regime rule. A wife who won a separation for maltreatment of person, damage of reputation (including false accusation of adultery), or dissipation of assets could withdraw dowry assets (*propres*) from combined resources, retain dower funds (when widowed), conserve a share of community property, and live singly.³⁸ But a husband who won a separation on grounds of his wife's adultery could appropriate her dowry, retain dower funds and community property, and negotiate terms, including board costs from dowry assets, for her detention in a convent. He could visit her there, reconcile within two years and bring her back into the household, or he could eschew reconciliation and leave her confined in a convent for life. The first option effected suspension from life in civil society with possible reentry, the second, civil death.³⁹ It was this procedure—designating husbands as ultimate arbiters of adultery sentences that removed wives from liberty, property, and life in civil society—that provoked the unsavory spousal designation “judge and executioner.”

Women understood the rules for membership in the body civil and the hazards posed by civil death, as expressed in the maxim, “A good reputation is to civil life what blood is to natural life.”⁴⁰ When a husband undermined his wife's reputation, he also endangered her civil life, hence charges proven false constituted grounds for the wife to pursue a separation. Many *factums* that portrayed wives in danger from the powers of their husbands to act as accusers, judges, and executioners likened the resulting situation of marital servitude to Oriental and colonial enslavement, both marked by loss of life in civil society. In this milieu of contested separation suits, *factums* made public by some taught others how to protect themselves against

³⁵ Acknowledged by Pothier, *Contrat de mariage*, pt. 6, no. 442.

³⁶ Loisel, *Institutes coutumières*, 1, nos. 126, 174, 395; and Denis Le Brun, *Traité de la communauté entre mari et femme* (Paris, 1709), Bk. 11, nos. 8, 9, 14, show efforts to regulate.

³⁷ Hanley, “Engendering the State,” 13–14; uncontested cases include spouses who separated assets to ward off debts or separated privately to avoid court action (as Montesquieu complains, n. 43 below, and Voltaire attests, n. 57 below).

³⁸ That is why Hortense (in Elizabeth C. Goldsmith, “Publishing the Lives of Hortense and Marie Mancini,” in Goldsmith and Goodman, *Going Public*), charged dissipation of assets and sought financial records. Mancini's written memoirs, however, should not be confused with official judicial *factums* or *mémoires* used in courts.

³⁹ Jurists claimed “reclusion à perpétuité” did not incur “morte civile,” but in effect it did. The wife was deprived of assets, habitation space, liberty of movement, and children; she was incarcerated (though escapes were common) until the husband's death. Even when widowed, she might be released by a judge if she had another marriage pending but without restoration of her assets; Hanley, *State Building*, Gars-Joisel (*arrêt* of 1684).

⁴⁰ BN, Thoisy 99, fol. 67r; and Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, chap. 4, on the value of such symbolic capital.

adultery charges, loss of reputation, and potential erasure from civil society. An engraving of the 1650s shows a couple in the office of the wife's lawyer, who holds two files (*sacs*) containing scrolled *factums* responding to an adultery charge. The husband, presumably wary of the contents of those briefs, is persuaded by the lawyer to drop the charges (Figure 2).⁴¹ Acting as informed members of society in the public arena, women discussed strategies projected in briefs, learned about entrapments, and engaged over generations in the social process of "counterfeiting culture." That is, they lived within legal guidelines as structured, but they fashioned, utilized, and shared strategies (legal and illegal) to avoid or cushion risks born of unequal protection in law.⁴² And from the 1720s into the 1770s, they expanded the marital edge of legal briefs, addressing the household workplace. All the while, published briefs delivered cumulative indictments of marital-regime rule itself, a system that condoned arbitrary male authority and female servitude, tyrannical laws that made husbands into "masters," wives into "slaves" inhabiting despotically governed households or driven out of them. As women publicly indicted arbitrary rule and its consequences—loss of liberty, life, property—they fueled socio-political commentaries on governing power and generated concepts, such as the separation of powers, that later influenced structural change in the state.

POLITICALLY ASTUTE PERSONS understood that marital separation suits brought before judges in courts, then taken to the public in the streets, entailed a separation of powers and property, tarnished the reputed authority of male heads in households, frayed the socio-political tie that bound husbands and kings as governors in parallel domestic and political realms of government, and called the governing system itself into question. Montesquieu was no exception. A judge from 1716 to 1721 in the Parlement of Bordeaux, he was familiar with marital lawsuits and addressed matters of marriage, separation, and adultery. Writing the *Persian Letters* while on the bench, Montesquieu drew attention to the nonstop talk in society about "afflicted husbands" and identified the source of the affliction.⁴³ In France, he wrote, "husbands have only a vestige of authority over wives," because "the law intervenes in every dispute between them." Law courts, moreover, are the

⁴¹ In Jacques Lagniet, *Recueil des plus illustres proverbes . . .* (Paris, 1657), Bk. 2, pl. 114 (BN, Estampes, C 34943), with a verse assuring viewers that the wife is guilty and the husband wronged but outmaneuvered by a wife in league with a smart lawyer. Some engravings insinuated further that lawyers and judges were partial to women's suits because they were involved sexually with them, such as the "Robe du Palais" (1676), showing a robed lawyer, young and attractive, along with a verse: "This *Avocat* among fine women / Can easily pass for a courtier / And will win in bedrooms / As many suits as in court." See Hanley, *State Building*.

⁴² Hanley, "Engendering the State," 15–21. To treat "counterfeiting culture," in effect women's evasions artfully employed, as tantamount to "false pretense" somehow "lacking intrinsic worth" (as does Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children," 273, n. 26) is to deny women intelligent agency actually deployed on the rim of the law for self-preservation. For other ways women inventively circumvented law by social practice, see Kristin E. Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties: Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), which treats a period when adoption was illegal but children were adopted.

⁴³ Montesquieu, President in Parlement, dated the *Persian Letters* 1711–1720 and couched them in the voices of two Persian men visiting France; quotes from no. 87. Betts, ed., *Persian Letters*, 22, 32, notes that the theme of law was pervasive, and more space was devoted to women and marriage than any other topic.



FIGURE 2: Lawyer negotiating a marital separation suit, 1657. BN, Estampes, C 34943. From Jacques Lagniet, *Recueil des plus illustres proverbes . . .* (Paris, 1657), Bk. 2, pl. 114. The verse below explains that the wife is guilty and the husband wronged but outmaneuvered by a wife in league with a smart lawyer. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

“sanctum” where “all the family secrets are revealed,” where women “shamelessly” make their “needs” known “to the entire public,” where they publicize intimate “reason[s]” for being separated from husbands, undermining proper male author-

ity.⁴⁴ For some readers, the *Persian Letters*, which featured female adultery culminating in suicide committed in a Persian harem despotically governed,⁴⁵ may have served as a veiled warning against arbitrary political government in France. But for others (such as Marguerite, held captive in a convent during that same decade), his choice of fictional Persian tales, rather than authentic French ones published in *factums*, may have been seen as an attack on women's marital separation suits and the *factums* publicizing them. The rationale for choosing an egregiously despotic Persian harem, which made the worst French marital disputes look benign, followed.

To be sure, Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* in the 1740s criticized arbitrary political rule, commented on the salutary effects of a division of powers in government (legislative, executive-judicial), and posited an imaginary English constitution idealized to support the argument.⁴⁶ But Montesquieu's mere flirtation with a division of political powers, lukewarm at best,⁴⁷ did not touch the issue of domestic powers that by his own admission were politically related in France.⁴⁸ In that context, Montesquieu discussed the French marital contract as a "civil contract" involving property and thus regulated by civil laws. The marital contract held the wife, weaker by nature and "naturally dependent," subject to the husband, stronger, "independent." Wives, he contended, enjoyed very generous rights to marital property, a situation that benefited women, not society, and inclined them to marriage; husbands, as "master of the house," administered marital property. Afforded the protection of husbands by law, wives attained "liberty" and "security" in subjection, but if they "violate[d] the laws of marriage," women lost protection and place in society.⁴⁹ According to Montesquieu, women's innate sexual "incontinence," borne out by "the levity of mind, the indiscretions, the tastes and caprices of our women, attended by their passions of a higher and a lower kind," often resulted in adultery, an unnatural female act rightly prosecuted in a monarchic state like France.⁵⁰ As set forth in *Spirit of the Laws*, therefore, the contractual subjection of women in marriage rested on presumptive female blame, potential adultery that the law must stem at every turn.

In Montesquieu's comparative view, female servitude (insecurity and death in the

⁴⁴ Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, no. 86, adding that the wife pursuing separation "reveals the mysteries hidden in the darkness of marriage" (referring to charges of impotence) and that "an infinite number of girls . . . ravished or seduced make men seem much worse than they are"; see no. 116, marriage as a "sort of contract," separations settled privately; no. 117, marriage intolerable without divorce.

⁴⁵ Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, nos. 147–61, the harem.

⁴⁶ Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Thomas Nugent, trans. (New York, 1966), Bks. 1–13, government; Bk. 11, chaps. 3–6, division of powers; also Bk. 2, chap. 4.

⁴⁷ Christine Fauré, *Democracy without Women: Feminism and the Rise of Liberal Individualism in France*, Claudia Gorbman and John Berks, trans. (Bloomington, Ind., 1991), chap. 4, noting a lack of influence on French constitutions from 1789 on.

⁴⁸ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, Bk. 16, chap. 9, acknowledging the connection between domestic and political government; 26: 15–16, dowry-domain; 19: 15, 7: 17, women.

⁴⁹ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 26: 8, adulterous women; 26: 13, 15, civil contract; 7: 15, property; 16: 15, master; 26: 8, spurious children. The argument from nature was contrary to that of François Poulain de La Barre, *De l'égalité des deux sexes* (Paris, 1673).

⁵⁰ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 16: 9, quote; 16: 12, incontinence; 26: 8, adultery; also 7: 4, 9, 15; and see n. 44 above.

Persian harem) was connected with a despotic government arbitrary in the extreme, whereas female liberty (security and life in the French household) was related to monarchic government mitigated by the rule of law.⁵¹ In that Persian-French antithesis lies the key to his dilemma. Montesquieu was determined to perpetuate marital-regime governance, institutionalized along domestic and political tracks and scripted in venerable maxims of jurists. But he was faced with serious domestic disruption, lawsuits and *factums* publicly detailing the abusive marital power of husbands, which cast a shadow over the system itself.⁵² Trying to solve this conundrum, it may be argued, Montesquieu in *Persian Letters* and *Spirit of the Laws* attempted to refute the troublesome charge publicized in *factums*: that French laws, or government malpractice, unjustly countenanced marital servitude and civil death for women. To that end, he cloaked the most severe examples of arbitrary rule, marital despotism, in the Persian harem, a shocking illustration that made French women's marital indictments in *factums* look frivolous by contrast. Still, even as Montesquieu and others, such as François Bourjon, who wrote *The Common Law of France*,⁵³ confirmed maxims of jurists supporting marital-regime rule in the 1740s, newly circulated *factums* and *mémoires* printed in greater numbers continued to challenge them. Some reactions were remarkably vehement.

In the 1750s and 1760s, the influential jurist Robert Joseph Pothier, expert on contract law and author of the treatises *Contract of Marriage* and *Power of the Husband*, systematized laws and legal decisions on marriage, separation, and adultery. His highly influential compendium, read across the profession, vigorously defended marital-regime governance and its parallel tracks, domestic and political. He employed a marital-political analogy to confirm "the power of the husband." He compared the propriety of male rule unshared in an orderly household to the political power of the king unshared in a well-governed state. Declaring the husband by natural law and civil-law contract head of the wife and family,⁵⁴ the wife as subject (and justly chargeable with adultery), he warned: "It is not the place of the woman who is an inferior to inspect the conduct of her husband who is her superior."⁵⁵ Pothier's unyielding stance imbued with maxims of the jurists dismissed indictments he had read in *factums* or *mémoires* and condemned any dalliance with a separation of powers in either household or state. In these same decades, the eclectic writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau developed such themes even further. Negating women's indictments of "inequality" issued from "man-made laws,"

⁵¹ Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 19: 14–15, marital power and despotic government, liberty.

⁵² Montesquieu, *Spirit of the Laws*, 16: 15, 19: 14, abuse of authority. For appalling examples, see Lavoisier, "Factums et mémoires." It has been argued that because Montesquieu in *Persian Letters* directed criticism away from the king and at a static society, he stymied reform; see Dena Goodman, *Criticism in Action: Enlightenment Experiments in Political Writing* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), chaps. 1–3. But it may also be argued that he acted to keep that society static by avoiding any reform of a domestic regime that bolstered the monarchic one.

⁵³ Employing presumptive blame to make the point, François Bourjon, *Le droit commun de la France, et la Coutume de Paris réduits en principes, tirés des loix, des ordonnances, des arrêts, des jurisconsultes* . . . , 2 vols. (Paris, 1747), 1: 578, judges lack of female authority "a wise arrangement" that "preserves family property by protecting it from the independence, fickleness, and frivolity of women."

⁵⁴ Pothier, *Traité de la puissance du mari*, pt. 1, art. 1, no. 1; and *Contrat de mariage*, pt. 7, chap. 2, art. 2, no. 550.

⁵⁵ Pothier, *Contrat de mariage*, pt. 6, chap. 3, no. 516: children born of female adultery are "foreigners" in the family, male adultery is of no consequence to society.

Rousseau located proper legal inequality in dictates of natural law: that is, innate sexual difference, inferior female physiology and carnality that requires male governance. Likening equal social roles for men and women to “political promiscuity,” he held female adultery not just a matter of “infidelity” but a “crime . . . of treason.”⁵⁶ For Montesquieu, Pothier, and Rousseau, who defended marital-regime governance, the marital contract justly subjected wife to husband on grounds of presumptive blame: potential adultery became possible treason. That there was injustice in such a stance, a theme running through *factums* and *mémoires* that prompted commentaries, was addressed, too.

Around the 1760s, Voltaire, who discussed the crime of adultery in his *Philosophical Dictionary*, noted the changing social temper of the times and questioned the justice of the charge. These days, he wrote (with cynicism and humor), it is no longer socially acceptable for a husband to bring a charge of adultery, “which would subject him to the imputation of *barbarity*,” thus many agree privately to a “separation of person and property.”⁵⁷ Sidestepping stances taken by Montesquieu, Pothier, and Rousseau, Voltaire unveiled the adultery paradox: why was the offense defined in terms of the female only?

In Voltaire’s fictional scenes, a magistrate and a countess (not related) put their own contrary cases forward. The magistrate says, Why should men “suffer [female] adultery and . . . live without wives when their wives have thus shamefully injured them? . . . A separation of person and property is granted me, but not a divorce . . . I no longer enjoy matrimony, but I am still married!” And he demands punitive recourse: divorce (with remarriage) as a male right used to punish female adultery. The countess says, “Here I hold, and say to my husband: ‘If you are without sin [adultery] shave my head, confine me, take my property; but if you have committed more sins [adulteries] than I have, it is I who must shave you, have you confined and seize your possessions. In both cases the justice is the same.’” And she pokes fun at domestic-political, husband-king equations of male authority: “My husband replies that he is my superior and my head . . . ; consequently, I owe him everything and he owes nothing. But I ask if Queen Anne, of England, is not the head of her husband? if the Prince (her husband) does not owe her an entire obedience? and if she would not have him condemned . . . should the little man prove unfaithful?”⁵⁸ While the others upheld the ideology of marital-regime governance underwritten by the French Law Canon—male right and presumptive female blame—Voltaire derailed such surety. He posited a French governing system wherein “the cuckolds [husbands of adulterous wives] are the lawmakers” who authorize a female adultery charge simply on the grounds that male might makes right. “I ask, is the thing just?”⁵⁹ Commentaries of whatever hue took up themes purveyed in *factums* and

⁵⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* [1762], Barbara Foxley, trans. (Rutland, Vt., 1993), Bk. 5, 388–90. Fauré, *Democracy without Women*, chap. 4, refers to Rousseau’s essay *Emile and Sophie* (unfinished), in which the good wife eventually commits adultery, and concludes that his “logic of restraint” anchored women in a female physiology (nature) that required their familial and political subordination. In the *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau confessed himself an admirer of Montesquieu’s work.

⁵⁷ François Marie Arouet, Voltaire, *The Works of Voltaire*, Vol. 3: *Philosophical Dictionary* [1764], William F. Fleming, trans., 22 vols. (Akron, Ohio, 1901), 3: 76–88, and 80, quote. His entry on Montesquieu’s *Spirit of the Laws* harshly criticizes the work.

⁵⁸ Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, 3: 80–81, 85–86.

⁵⁹ Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, 3: 84. Throughout, 76–88, Voltaire makes opportune attacks on

mémoires, and by the 1750s those briefs incorporated commentary, saturating the public sphere with entitlement issues for debate.

As these varied reactions attest, the steady production of judicial *factums* and *mémoires* since the 1600s that linked arbitrary marital and political governance carved out grounds in civil rights for political indictments of governing malpractice and public routes for publicizing them. For French women positing arguments against loss of liberty, life, and property, abduction, arrest, and captivity, tyrannical governance practiced in a harem or a household was as unnatural, improper, and illegal as was the slavery of other peoples, which they also decried. The maxim "There are no slaves in France" supported the legal cases of enslaved African women and men who were brought from the colonies into France, filed suits for freedom in French courts, and won.⁶⁰ And the juridical force of that maxim served French women who pointed to a glaring legal paradox: women suffered marital servitude by law in a French state that legally disallowed slavery. In France, where a marital-regime system of governance prevailed, therefore, the most graphic view of despotic government was shaped by legal briefs, *factums* and *mémoires*, publicizing domestic examples of arbitrary rule sanctioned by the state and therefore rooted in the broader context of political government, itself summarily addressed. In the early decades of the 1700s, the efficacy of the marital legal brief for articulating grievances about governing malpractice was fully comprehended by lawyers and litigants, politicians and writers, who soon wrote briefs with enlarged themes. From the 1720s, while women expanded the marital edges of judicial *mémoires*,⁶¹ lawyers composed *mémoires* containing a variety of complaints about the state, and by the 1750s they routinely employed that medium as political publicists. When a politically provocative *mémoire* of 1730 alleged that "all laws are contracts between those who govern and those who are governed,"⁶² it was clear that contractual notions long applied in marital relations had been transferred to political ones. All along, the marital was political and sexual by affinity. From the 1740s, popular pornographic works mixing purported facts (history and biography) with inventive falsehoods (libel) verbally and visually exploited sexual symbolism in "forbidden best-sellers" that eventually polarized public opinion on political issues in the streets and isolated monarchic government, deemed "despotism," inside the palace.⁶³ Finally, during the 1770s and 1780s, newly packaged judicial *mémoires*

the Catholic church, but the central reference to husbands as "lawmakers" went to the heart of the issue.

⁶⁰ Sue Peabody, *"There Are No Slaves in France": The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York, 1996), traces laws, informational networks among blacks, and cases litigated.

⁶¹ Guildswomen cited the "tyrannical associate disguised under the name of husband" in the home workplace along with the "avaricious entrepreneur" outside; Cynthia Maria Truant, "Parisian Guildswomen and the (Sexual) Politics of Privilege: Defending Their Patrimonies in Print," in Goldsmith and Goodman, *Going Public*, 57.

⁶² Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens*, 2, and chaps. 2–6: in 1698, the lawyer (later chancellor) Henri-François d'Aguesseau, thought of the "public" as clients, and the lawyer François de Marainberg's *mémoire* caused political panic in 1730.

⁶³ Darnton, *Forbidden Best-Sellers*, chaps. 6–9, and 10 on public opinion; and see Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), challenging an Enlightenment peopled by elite writers; and Elizabeth Colwill, "'Just Another citoyenne?' Marie-Antoinette on Trial, 1790–1793," *History Workshop Journal* 28 (1989): 63–87, on libel politicized.

targeted the most sensational causes célèbres of marital disruption, reclothed them in melodramatic literary plots, and turned domestic drama, private lives, into public affairs widely circulated in an era of newsprint.⁶⁴ Amid such contests, the maxims of jurists were scrutinized intensely, and the most extensive edition of maxims ever published since 1607 sold out so quickly in the 1780s that it became a rare book in its own time. In tandem, the vexatious female adultery charge, the epitomy of injustice, became a catalyst for the reform of government.

Although not written into statutory law, the adultery charge legitimated the subject status of women in marital contracts, a hotly debated issue whose effects could not be repressed. Indeed, by the 1750s, the female adultery charge was absurd, as Voltaire divined, and by the 1780s bizarre enough to provoke laughter from audiences targeted by Gouges in her comedy on the subject.⁶⁵ Attempting to stem the tide, adherents of marital-regime rule published new editions of Pothier's works in the 1770s, and crucial parts were extracted in treatises such as Jean-François Fournel's *Treatise on Adultery* (1783).⁶⁶ Even so, across generations, public audiences weaned on *factums* and *mémoires* had become well informed, increasingly skeptical, and amenable to social change, including the introduction of divorce. It is evident that adultery accusations often backfired on men (such as Du Bois and Sorny), corseted them with afflictions (described by Montesquieu), blanketed them with social opprobrium if they brought the charge or consumed them with unrequited anger if they did not (told by Voltaire), and often exposed them to ridicule (suggested by Gouges).

It is also evident that, from the 1750s, the ideology upholding the system of marital-regime governance (rhetorically expressed in household-state analogies) no longer held fast.⁶⁷ This situation was summed up in the fortunes of a widely publicized adultery lawsuit of 1788. Although Nicolas Bergasse, lawyer for the husband, wrote persuasive judicial *mémoires* complete with the usual warnings about the catastrophic consequences of female adultery—wholesale domestic and political disorder—he lost the case. A warning reminiscent of Rousseau's,⁶⁸ to be sure, Bergasse's marital-regime formulation—linking domestic and political realms—was grounded in Pothier's influential compendium. Or so he thought. In retrospect, he lost the case because the grounds and the compendium were no longer reliable. And, not long after, Bergasse became a deputy in the new National Assembly. It was to such deputies—practicing lawyers steeped in the maxims of the jurists and teachings of Pothier—that Gouges, Aelders, and others made appeals for reform of government in 1791.

⁶⁴ See Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, for later "celebrated cases" given literary wrappings.

⁶⁵ Olympe de Gouges, *Le philosophe corrigé ou le cocu supposé* (ca. 1786): just as the angry husband (the actual adulterer) begins to charge his pregnant wife with adultery (she was the masked woman with whom he committed the acts), the humorous ruse is revealed by friends who perpetrated it.

⁶⁶ [Jean-François] Fournel, *Traité de l'adultère* (Paris, 1783), 275–76, treating the wife's adultery, a virtual separation of head and member, as robbery committed against the husband.

⁶⁷ See Hanley, "Monarchic State," 122–24, on kings by the 1740s exiting from the contentious marital arena (linking husbands and kings) and relocating monarchic rule in transcendent visions of fatherhood related to God.

⁶⁸ See Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs*, chap. 6, the Kornmann affair.

SOCIALLY SITED AND CONCEPTUALLY CITED, these protracted relations of practice wrought from collisions between structures (governments and laws set in place) and related events (human agents who negotiated them) produced memorable indictments of the way arbitrary governing authority ("servitude," "slavery," "tyranny," "despotism") undermined civil rights, as well as public calls for a separation of powers in governance (domestic and political) and alternative social contracts for marital relations based on limited authority and rights guaranteed. Just as political reform of the state got under way in the National Assembly with the drafting of the Constitution of 1791, however, the deputies put Article 13 (the adultery law of 1791) on the table.⁶⁹

[In a marriage] the [legal] charge of adultery can be pursued only by the husband and only through the correctional police . . . [First] A woman convicted of this [adultery] offense will be punished, depending on the circumstances, by 1 year, or 18 months, or 2 years of imprisonment and by forfeiture of matrimonial arrangements established in her favor [by the marriage contract]. [Second] The [wife's] dowry will not be confiscated; [but] the husband will have control of it no matter what clauses [protecting her dowry] are contained in the marriage ceremony [contract], on the condition, however, that he provide a stipend for board [in the place of incarceration] at the judge's discretion. [Third] At any time the husband can put an end to the [wife's] legal sentence [for adultery] by stating his willingness to take his wife [back] into his household. [Fourth] The woman's accomplice [in adultery] will be condemned to a fine of one-eighth of his fortune and to a prison term of three months.⁷⁰

Put into print, this proposed law summarized legal practice operative since the 1600s. In addition, it would invalidate contractual provisions used to protect the dowry, and it would give husbands leave to prosecute accomplices of convicted wives and gain access to their assets as well. Surely, the engravings that depicted husbands spying on adulterous wives and accomplices, which appeared in the 1790s, bore witness to public talk about the law and the double bounty.⁷¹ Yet the adultery law proposed in 1791 was not enacted.⁷² It is not clear why. The force of sanctified legal practice may have been deemed sufficient without a written law (given the compendium of Pothier in use). The growing interference of some judges in law courts (suggested by Montesquieu) may have resulted in decisions less favorable to husbands (as in the Du Bois-Rainssant case). Men may have become wary of bringing the adultery charge, often publicized and tainted by growing social opprobrium (suggested by Voltaire). Plans in the air to close convents (places of incarceration) may have stymied implementation. Large fines for male accomplices may have been a deterrent. Unprotected dowries may have caused familial alarm.

⁶⁹ See Michael P. Fitzsimmons, *The Remaking of France: The National Assembly and the Constitution of 1791* (Cambridge, 1994), on the difficulties of composing a constitution embodying significant reforms.

⁷⁰ *Projet de Loi sur la police municipale et la police correctionnelle présenté par le Comité de Constitution: Imprimé par ordre de l'Assemblée nationale* (Paris, 1791); parts in Levy, et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 76, n. 1.

⁷¹ Figs. 3 and 4 in Patricia Mainardi's study of adultery in the 1800s, "Impertinent Questions," *French Historical Studies* 19 (1995): 399–414.

⁷² Paul Ourliac and J. de Malafosse, *Histoire du droit privé* (Paris, 1968), Vol. 3: *Le droit familial*, 53.

Or proponents of a new divorce law may have argued that the adultery law was moot. Whatever the case, the marital contract based on unequal powers (as stated by Pothier) was not abolished (as demanded by Gouges and Aelders) in favor of a new social contract for marriage.

A serious project for some, the adultery law proposed in 1791 confounded others, who saw a major civil right long denied in practice—separation of powers in the household—printed in a written decree fraught with social and political consequences. Aelders said as much. In her *Address* singling out “arbitrary authority” by the state in league with “conjugal authority” in household governance, she called for an alternative “social pact” that would guarantee “equal and separate powers” for husband and wife. And she characterized the proposed Article 13 as “barbarous,” “despotic,” and akin to “eternal slavery.”⁷³ Gouges said more. In earlier works, she had identified a shared human faculty that metaphysically transcended sex difference: the unsexed “creative imagination.”⁷⁴ Sounding the political alarm later in her *Declaration*, she called for a “guarantee of rights,” natural and legal, to liberty, property, life and a “separation of powers” in domestic and state governance. In this, she aimed to avoid future “public misfortunes” (marital tyranny) and “corruption of governments” (political despotism). Her own reform analogy took cognizance of both governing tracks: “I think that these two powers (executive and judicial), like man and woman, should be united but equal in force . . . to make a good household.”⁷⁵ Finally, her alternative “social contract” for marriage, which established separate powers, provided a domestic model for political reform. Warning against false maxims of jurists still in force and political practices out of date, Aelders and Gouges called for repeal of the old marital-regime system of governance underwritten by the French Law Canon: legal reforms that would end subject status and protect life, liberty, and property, that is, full membership in civil society, a prerequisite for state citizenship.

The alarm having been sounded, some must have watched aghast as the National Assembly ignored the articulation of priorities that had been advanced by women (in writings, courts, and the streets) for seven generations. The deputies applied the very principle women had developed in marital briefs—separation of powers—to the political realm, king and state, in the Constitution of 1791.⁷⁶ But they did not apply that principle to the social realm whence it arose, husband and household, in civil law.⁷⁷ As a result, whether deputies missed an opportunity to include women in citizenship⁷⁸ or deliberately excluded women by maintaining an impediment to

⁷³ Aelders, *Adresse des citoyennes françoises à l'assemblée nationale*, 1: no. 15, 37–40.

⁷⁴ Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), chap. 2, whose works have connected historical and epistemological concerns to create a theoretical base for tracing the transformative power of discourse.

⁷⁵ Gouges, *Les droits de la femme*, transl. in Levy, *et al.*, 87–96.

⁷⁶ Constitution of 1791, Tit. 3, arts. 3–5 (separating powers); Tit. 3, chap. 2, sec. 1, art. 1 (prescribing male monarchs and now, for the first time, male regents), in John Hall Stewart, *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, 3 vols. (New York, 1951), 1: 347–65.

⁷⁷ Constitution of 1791, Tit. 2, art. 7, in Stewart, *Documentary Survey*. Although declared a “civil contract,” marriage had been treated as a civil matter since the later 1600s and defined as such by Montesquieu, Bourjon, Pothier, and virtually all other lawyers, who separated the “religious ceremony” from the “civil effects.”

⁷⁸ Fitzsimmons, *Remaking of France*, 249–50, relying on the overly conservative conclusions of Olwen

civil rights as a prerequisite for citizenship remains an issue open to debate. In the meantime, the old adultery tenet was mitigated, albeit for just a decade, by enactment of the divorce law of 1792 (quashed in 1803). In the argument of those who favored divorce (with remarriage),⁷⁹ one element needs clarification: the relative weight given to male and female interests.

The remarkable divorce law of 1792, taken up successfully by a preponderance of women, allowed divorce (with remarriage) by mutual consent (parties agreed) or by unilateral charge (one party charged or absent). Family courts were set up to hear cases, and lawyers were not required. Silent on adultery, the law specified other causes for divorce applicable to both men and women, including those of "incompatibility" and "dissolute moral behavior."⁸⁰ Yet much was amiss. First, while adultery was not mentioned in the divorce law, that silence actually protected men from the adultery accusation,⁸¹ long presumed a female offense and now slipped under the blurred causal rubrics of "incompatibility" or "dissolute morals." Second, although nominally the law was available to men and to women, in actuality, the husbands who won a divorce for any cause (except mental illness) could deprive their wives of marital community property.⁸² In divorces for cause, then, husbands were minor offenders who did not forfeit property, while wives were major offenders who suffered punitive property damages and the loss of economic means for anchoring their life in civil society.⁸³ In this way, the divorce law of 1792 retained the principle of presumptive female blame supporting male right to rule. Subscription to male right, not only in marital contracts but also in the Constitution of 1791, legitimated a recognized partnership of propertied men capable of negotiating citizenship in the new republic. That they did from 1792 to 1794.

The deeply ingrained mentality that sustained a domestic model of male rule from the 1500s through the 1700s—blatantly demonstrated in the proposed adultery law of 1791, subtly evident in the divorce law of 1792—explains one facet of a complex process through which some of the extraordinary social and political promises of the French Revolution staggered off course. It was that mentality, steadfast adherence to male right and presumptive female blame, that finally closed the door on guarantees of liberty, property, and life in civil society for women in the

H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Toronto, 1992), 23–26, n. 23, alleging women's political demands relatively insignificant.

⁷⁹ James F. Traer, *Marriage and the Family in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1980), chap. 2; and Roderick Phillips, *Putting Asunder: A History of Divorce in Western Society* (Cambridge, 1988), chap. 5.

⁸⁰ See Elaine M. Kruse, "Divorce in Paris 1792–1804: Window on a Society in Crisis" (PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 1983); and Roderick Phillips, *Family Breakdown in Late Eighteenth-Century France: Divorces in Rouen, 1792–1803* (Oxford, 1980), showing more than two-thirds of actions brought by women; and Phillips, *Putting Asunder*, chaps. 5, 7, 11, for arguments, laws, and social effects. Gouges, it should be noted, wrote a play (unpublished), *La nécessité du divorce*, around 1790.

⁸¹ Ourliac, *Histoire du droit privé*, 3: 53–54, noting male interests preserved.

⁸² Kruse, "Divorce in Paris," chaps. 4, 8; arts. 5–8 of the law, wives divorced for cause were returned to a premarital economic condition (dowry returned); moreover, some women who instituted proceedings were then charged by husbands with cause.

⁸³ Hesse, "Reading Signatures," where Gouges urged recognition of "text as property" legally granted but not extended to married women in 1793.

monarchic state and the fledgling republic and opened another for the lurking ghost of Robert Joseph Pothier to write much of the Napoleonic Code (1804),⁸⁴ civil and penal laws strengthening that arbitrary model. The code's conservative divorce law of 1803, allied with new penal laws, swiftly revived the adultery charge and redefined adultery as a minor male offense incurring a fine, a major female offense incurring imprisonment (termination of the sentence being in the hands of the husband) and potential death (murder by the hand of the husband).⁸⁵ The spirit of laws legitimating wife murder was not lost on society. Indeed, the fastest-growing body of visual imagery of the postrevolutionary period contained a vengeance theme related to a husband's right to kill his wife.⁸⁶ Far more severe than the French Law Canon, which never had stamped out women's civil rights,⁸⁷ constantly the focus of vigorous litigation and commentary throughout the 1600s and 1700s, the Napoleonic Code in the 1800s instituted a Draconian domestic model of arbitrary governance, one that cast a juridical pall over political plans for republics seeking to establish the opposite principle, limited government.

IN FRANCE FROM THE 1530s TO THE 1790s, the unraveling of these relations of practice from interwoven structures and events suggests that some historical reinterpretation is in order. Olympe de Gouges, Etta Palm d'Aelders, and others as well⁸⁸ stood on ideological grounds favoring limited government that had been staked out in a public arena for generations by forerunners like Marie Anne de Rainssant and Marguerite Aurillon, whose collisions with the law and actions on the rim of the law challenged the marital-regime system of governance institutionalized in the monarchic state. The product of a long public discussion of arbitrary versus limited governing authority in the marital state and in the political one during the 1600s and 1700s, this defining principle of modern government—separation of powers—should be repositioned in its early social site: the marital legal briefs, *factums-mémoires*, that first publicly posited the principle in league with liberty, life, and property held hostage by despotic government.⁸⁹ In this redrawn historical trajectory, the social logic of the later texts stands out. First, Gouges and Aelders reiterated enlightened socio-political views about the salutary effects of shared

⁸⁴ More than three-quarters of the Civil Code (published 1804) was extracted from principles in Pothier's works; Dupin, ed., Loisel, *Institutes coutumières*, 1, cxiv–cxv.

⁸⁵ France, Code Civil, *Code Napoléon*, Tit. 6, chap. 1, arts. 229–30, wife chargeable for any act of adultery committed anywhere, husband only for repeated acts under the marital roof; chap. 4, art. 296, divorced women unable to remarry for ten months; art. 298, wife imprisoned, husband fined; and penal art. 324, allowing a husband to murder his wife caught in the act of adultery; art. 337, allowing a husband to suspend his wife's sentence. See Phillips, *Putting Asunder*, chap. 11: when monarchic government returned, divorce was abolished and not revived until the law of 1884 echoing that of 1803.

⁸⁶ Mainardi, "Impertinent Questions," 404–10.

⁸⁷ Noted by Countess Lecointre, in n. 93 below.

⁸⁸ For similar ideas in circulation, see Gary Kates, "'The Powers of Husband and Wife Must Be Equal and Separate': The *Cercle Social* and the Rights of Women, 1790–1791," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1990), 163–80; on the inability of reformers to organize, see Mark Olsen, "A Failure of Enlightened Politics in the French Revolution: The Société de 1789," *French History* 6 (1992): 303–34.

⁸⁹ Historians have held that the concept of a separation of powers came to France in 1789 from the American political nexus of 1776, but that view should be amended.

governing power and its opposite, despotism akin to slavery, publicized by women throughout the 1600s and 1700s and still a tremendous ideological force committed to collective memory. Second, they linked natural rights and legal rights with the separation of governing powers, ultimate guarantor of civil rights, but did so on both domestic and political tracks, thereby addressing the critical dual aspects of a past problem neglected by many other French philosophes. Third, they discarded the old marital contract based on inequalities and formulated an alternative social contract for marriage based on equalities, a model inspired by women's claims made in legal briefs advocating limits to governing authority, equal protection in the law, and rights to membership in a civil society. Fourth, they disavowed political actions deemed tyrannical as they watched deputies leave the household forum by the back door with a false warrant (the proposed adultery law of 1791) and enter the National Assembly from the front with the new Constitution of 1791, a formidable example of reform. In the chaotic political atmosphere of 1793, however, Gouges's demands were detoured, and she was executed on charges that included "crimes of the pen."⁹⁰ Aelders fled from France.

All told, the old lawyers who were the new revolutionary legislators (renamed "men of the law") failed to initiate legal reforms attuned to social realities during the French Revolution of 1789 because they neglected the social dimension of history.⁹¹ Yet, over time, one facet of that riveting dimension was repeatedly set before them in numerous published legal briefs, as well as in related writings and current demands advocating limited governance. Fraught with evident self-interest—status gained in society by control of marital assets—their stance underwrote a socio-political ideology soon capped by the Napoleonic Code, which supported the principle of arbitrary rule, severed the arm of social reform, and constrained revolutionary political goals into the next century. All told, revolutionary women bid high for citizenship, acted as citizens during the French Revolution,⁹² and reiterated calls for legal reforms in tune with social and political realities decrying arbitrary governance and suppression of civil rights. At the reform watershed in 1791, therefore, those revolutionary women (with a cohort of men) stood on ground that was historically, logically, and legally tenable, since predecessors for over a century had generated in *factums* and *mémoires* the innovative principles of government necessary to facilitate social and political reform: natural rights and legal rights to liberty, property, and life in civil society and a separation of powers in governance. In this enlightened stance, therefore, revolutionary women engendered a socio-political ideology hostile to arbitrary rule, opposed to the negation of women's civil rights soon realized in the Napoleonic Code,⁹³ and

⁹⁰ Hesse, "Reading Signatures," 476.

⁹¹ Donald R. Kelley, "Men of the Law and the French Revolution," in Bakos, *Politics, Ideology, and the Law*, suggesting the legal tradition was not transformed until the Revolution of 1848; and Kelley, *Historians and the Law in Postrevolutionary France* (Princeton, N.J., 1984), chap. 3.

⁹² Levy, et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 3–17, 309–12, and documents; Paule Marie Duhet, ed., *Cahiers de doléances des femmes en 1789 et autres textes* (Paris, 1989). See Fauré, *Democracy without Women*, chap. 5; and Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988).

⁹³ See Countess Pierre Lecointre, 42–57, who stated that women lost their "rights" with the code; Thérèse Pottecher, 58–63, women's worst "adversaries" were "lawyers and sociologists . . . [who] represent a tradition that is hostile to women"; Hélène Brion and Nelly Roussel, 157, 278, recalling

destined to be revisited in political attempts to construct workable republics right into the 1900s.⁹⁴

Gouges, all in *Feminisms of the Belle Epoque: A Historical and Literary Anthology*, Jennifer Waelti-Walters and Steven C. Hause, eds. (Lincoln, Neb., 1994); Jean-Yves Sayn and Jean-Yves Chevallier, *Les règles générales des régimes matrimoniaux* (Paris, 1968), 57, female capacity declared in 1938, again in 1942, refined in 1965; and 4, noting equality of citizens as the grand theme of the French Revolution, equality of the sexes that of modern times.

⁹⁴ See Scott, *Only Paradoxes*, for the struggle of feminists with the epistemological problem of sameness and difference that stilted concepts of the citizen and the individual cast in a milieu circumscribed by the "rights of man"; Fauré, *Democracy without Women?* posing the pertinent modern question; and Françoise Gaspard, Claude Servan-Schreiber, and Anne Le Gall, *Au pouvoir, citoyennes! Liberté, égalité, parité* (Paris, 1992), positing an answer.

Sarah Hanley, who teaches European history at the University of Iowa, specializes in the field of early modern France, 1500–1800. Focusing on political culture, she traced in *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (1983) the symbolic articulation of constitutional ideologies in the ritual of the Lit de Justice assembly, first convoked in 1527, institutionalized by 1610, a ritual in the Parlement of Paris that not only reflected governing precepts but also refashioned them over time. This work was published in a French edition in 1991. In recent works, Hanley, still indebted to anthropological insights, suggests ways for understanding how history is culturally configured and culture is historically shaped by relations of practice over time. Executive director of the Society for French Historical Studies (1989–1996), recently a Guggenheim Fellow, and at present a Camargo Foundation Fellow, Hanley treats in her current work state-building and family formation in France, and studies the repeated collisions between civil laws and lawsuits in a monarchic state framed by a system of "marital regime governance," domestic and political, 1600s to 1789.

Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950–1972

DONNA HARSCH

ON MARCH 9, 1972, THE LEGISLATURE OF THE German Democratic Republic (GDR) legalized abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy. Other East Bloc countries had liberalized abortion laws in the late 1950s. The GDR, however, introduced liberalization in the midst of the wave of abortion reform that swept over the democratic, capitalist West from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s.¹ Despite its timing, the East German case was interpreted as a *Communist* reform and examined, when at all, with the methods peculiar to the analysis of socialist regimes.² One can understand why. The vote in the People's Chamber was prompted not by public discussion, much less a popular movement, but by decision of the Politburo, ruling body of the Socialist Unity Party (SED). Thus scholars considered abortion reform almost exclusively from the perspective of Erich Honecker, recently ensconced as First Secretary of the Politburo, and treated it as one piece of the social policies (such as benefits for working mothers) he introduced. His "New Course" was intended, they explained, to bring the GDR into closer alignment with the Socialist Bloc, to demonstrate the GDR's ideological commitment to women's equality, and to institute social policies that met more of the real needs of East Germans. Whichever motive they underscored, commentators paid scant attention to the domestic context of legalization and, in particular, to the social repercussions of the restrictive abortion policy that preceded it, if only because few data were available to them.³ Students of the Western liberalizations,

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¹ Between 1962 and 1972, abortion laws were liberalized in the "West" in Australia, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States and in the "East" in Czechoslovakia (1966) and the GDR. Between 1973 and 1975, various degrees of liberalization were enacted in the United States, France, Austria, Italy, Sweden, and West Germany, and in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, the CSSR had returned to a more restrictive policy, joining Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary among East Bloc states that moved in a more conservative direction.

² The GDR's case is implicitly included in, but not explicitly addressed by, the comparative political science model in Marilyn Jane Field, *The Comparative Politics of Birth Control* (New York, 1983).

³ See, for example, Harry G. Shaffer, *Women in the Two Germanies* (New York, 1981), 50–51; Hermann Weber, ed., *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1945–1985* (Munich, 1986), 317–18; Dietrich Staritz, *Geschichte der DDR, 1949–1985* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985),

in contrast, used the tools of social history and discourse analysis to situate liberalization in its social and cultural context. They interpreted it as the culmination of a piecemeal process of reform driven by the rise of popular demands for change and the breakdown of old controls.⁴

Since 1990, it has become possible to explore the *terra incognita* of the era before liberalization in the GDR with the methods applied to the Western cases.⁵ The archives of the Ministry of Health and the Socialist Unity Party hold abundant data with which to reconstruct the story: reports by Communist and health officials at the national and local levels, transcripts of discussions between physicians and party bureaucrats, and individual pleas to state officials from women throughout the GDR who wanted an abortion. This article examines this evidence. From the perspective of a social history of politics, it looks at whose interests the state took into consideration as it regulated abortion. It appraises the role of doctors in the process of reform and discusses the arguments they made for and against restrictions. Turning to an analysis of popular discourse, it examines the rhetorical strategies that citizens employed when they challenged an official ruling against an abortion and reflects on the origins and impact of their claims. The process of reform in the GDR, I conclude, bore significant similarities to that in Western capitalist democracies. Although the drama played itself out behind closed doors and within an authoritarian framework, its central players, its tempo and stages, and the domestic dilemmas that lay behind reform resembled those in the West. Most important, doctors and health officials who favored reform and women who wanted a repeal of restrictive measures used the same arguments as their Western counterparts.

I address the problem of abortion reform in East Germany out of an interest in two wider historical debates, the first about relations between Communist states and their societies, the second about the determinants and path of abortion reform and, more broadly, the rights of women in industrial economies since 1945. The history of the liberalization of abortion in the GDR has significant implications for our interpretation of the association between public policy and private behavior under Communism. My analysis rests on a particular interpretation of the nature of the East German state. I agree with the historian Jürgen Kocka that the SED

201, 204–05. The one exception to the focus on the Politburo's aims was commentary on the opposition of the Catholic church and fourteen deputies of the Christian Democratic Union to the new law. See, for example, Gisela Helwig, "Künftig Fristenlösung in der DDR," *Deutschland Archiv* no. 2 (1972): 120–21.

⁴ See, for example, Jane Jenson, "Changing Discourse, Changing Agendas: Political Rights and Reproductive Policies in France," in *The Women's Movements of the United States and Western Europe*, Mary F. Katzenstein and Carol M. Mueller, eds. (Philadelphia, 1987); Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England, 1900–1967* (London, 1988); Kristin Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); Celeste Michelle Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric: Communicating Social Change* (Urbana, Ill., 1990). Finally, see the interesting study of Czechoslovakia by Alena Heitlinger, *Reproduction, Medicine and the Socialist State* (New York, 1987).

⁵ A very useful collection of documents tells part of this story: *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit? Die Abschaffung des Paragraphen 218 in der DDR: Dokumente*, Kirsten Thietz, ed. (Berlin, 1992). A brief treatment of the history of abortion in the GDR can be found in Lykke Aresin, "Schwangerschaftsabbruch in der DDR," in *In anderen Umständen: Zur Geschichte der Abtreibung* (Berlin, 1993). There is also some discussion of the history of abortion in the chapter on the GDR in Henry P. David and Robert J. McIntyre, *Reproductive Behavior: Central and East European Experience* (New York, 1981).

tried to forge a “thoroughly dominated society” (*durchherrschte Gesellschaft*).⁶ I disagree, however, with many postulates of the totalitarian model that is experiencing a revival in post-unification studies of the GDR.⁷ I reject the tendency of its adherents to confuse, much as party ideologues did, Communist intent with social reality. I challenge, too, the assumption that the state’s domination of the public world and suppression of civil society effectively quashed the autonomous development of domestic life.⁸ Rather than focus on the state’s manipulation of the individual, I join other social historians who have begun to investigate the “limits of dictatorship” (*Grenzen der Diktatur*) in social context.⁹ In the case of abortion policy, I argue, doctors, women, and low-level Communists took advantage of these limits to press their diverse agendas. Private behavior, such as recourse to illegal abortion, thwarted the best-laid plans, forcing the state to adapt to the concerns of repressed social interests and, finally, to amend the law to fit popular behavior.

If the case of abortion can cast light on relations between an authoritarian state and its society, so an analysis of abortion reform in East Germany can add to our understanding of how beliefs, rhetoric, and social experience interact to spawn changes in women’s legal rights. In studies of the popular bases of liberalization in the United States of the 1960s, scholars have argued about the significance of women’s increasing role in the work force relative to the importance of the feminist movement’s turn to a language of reproductive rights.¹⁰ The East German case provides evidence of a strong correlation between ideas about women’s equality and their participation in production, but it also suggests that talk about women’s rights

⁶ Jürgen Kocka, “Eine durchherrschte Gesellschaft,” in *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, Hartmut Kaelble, Jürgen Kocka, and Hartmut Zwahr, eds. (Stuttgart, 1994).

⁷ A nuanced version of the totalitarian thesis can be found in the work of Sigrid Meuschel. See, for example, “Überlegungen zu einer Herrschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte der DDR,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 19 (1993). An entire issue of *German Studies Review* was devoted to the debate about totalitarianism in the GDR: “Special Issue: Totalitäre Herrschaft und totalitäres Erbe,” *German Studies Review* (Fall 1994), Wolfgang-Uwe Friedrich, ed. For critical discussions of the post-unification historiography of the GDR and the resurgence of the totalitarian model, see Anna-Sabine Ernst, “A Survey of Institutional Research on the GDR: Between ‘Investigative History’ and Solid Research: The Reorganization of Historical Studies about the Former German Democratic Republic,” *Central European History* (1995); Jürgen Kocka, “Die Geschichte der DDR als Forschungsproblem,” and “Nationalsozialismus und SED-Diktatur im Vergleich,” in Jürgen Kocka, *Vereinigungskrise: Zur Geschichte der Gegenwart* (Göttingen, 1995); Mary Fulbrook, “Methodologische Überlegungen zu einer Gesellschaftsgeschichte der DDR,” in *Die Grenzen der Diktatur: Staat und Gesellschaft in der DDR*, Richard Bessel and Ralph Jessen, eds. (Göttingen, 1996). For a discussion of historiographical trends of the 1950s–1980s, see Hermann Weber, *Die DDR, 1945–1990* (Munich, 1993).

⁸ See the similar critique of the totalitarian thesis in Fulbrook, “Methodologische Überlegungen,” 282–83.

⁹ The quote is from Richard Bessel and Ralph Jessen, “Einleitung: Die Grenzen der Diktatur,” in Bessel and Jessen, *Die Grenzen der Diktatur*, esp. 9, 12–13, 14, 16. Also see Ralph Jessen, “Die Gesellschaft im Staatssozialismus: Probleme einer Sozialgeschichte der DDR,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 21 (1995). For social-historical studies of the GDR, see Christoph Klessmann, *Zwei Staaten, eine Nation: Deutsche Geschichte 1955–1970* (Göttingen, 1988); Lutz Niethammer, Alexander von Plato, and Dorothee Wierling, *Die Volkseigene Erfahrung: Eine Archäologie des Lebens in der Industrieprovinz der DDR* (Berlin, 1991); Kaelble, Kocka, and Zwahr, eds., *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*; Mary Fulbrook, *Anatomy of a Dictatorship: Inside the GDR, 1949–1989* (Oxford, 1995).

¹⁰ See, for example, the opposing interpretations of the rhetorician Celeste Michelle Condit (and the social historian Kristin Luker, both of whom have written studies of the arguments and movements for and against abortion reform in the United States. Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric*, esp. 1–5, and Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 108 and following.

was associated with an emerging self-confidence of citizens vis-à-vis the state. Between 1950 and 1970, a mixed social, psychological, and rights discourse displaced an older medical terminology about reproductive issues. This shift was accompanied by the rise of a pronounced appreciation of women's claim to equality. The parallel transition in the understanding of abortion and women's rights occurred among physicians and party/state officials, but the degree of change was most dramatic among well-educated working women. These developments were related to a wider, if less tangible, shift in popular perceptions of the relationship between the state and the individual, a change manifested by a (discreet) insistence on citizens' prerogatives. By the late 1960s, rhetoric about abortion communicated a robust sense of women's plight and rights *and* a notable, if peculiarly state-socialist, sense of entitlement.

In considering the history of discourse in a state that monopolized public speech while it promoted rapid social change, this essay seeks to link the longstanding debate about the characteristics of Communist rule to recent controversies about the relationship between language, society, and politics. Rather than delve into the theoretical quandaries that poststructuralism poses for social-historical explanation, I confront an empirical dilemma: How can we explain a change in the construction of "abortion" in a state with no public sphere, no civil society in which competing interests could debate the pros and cons of disparate legal solutions? Rather than a discourse, one hears, on one side, the monologue of the state and, on the other, a whispered dialogue—neither completely suppressed nor genuinely public—whose traces must be pursued in semi-open medical proceedings, closed policy debates, confidential correspondence, and journalistic allusions.¹¹ I hope to persuade my readers that, its deformations notwithstanding, the exchange of views in the GDR forged a discourse whose content the Politburo of the SED did not preordain and whose terms it appropriated and finally accommodated.

THE GDR DID NOT INHERIT ITS RESTRICTIVE ABORTION POLICY of the 1950s directly from its predecessor state, the Third Reich. Indeed, in the dreadful conditions of the immediate postwar period, legislators in the Soviet zone of occupation had substantially dismantled Germany's longstanding prohibition of abortion, encapsulated in Paragraph 218 of the penal code. Initially, a *de facto* relaxation occurred: women could terminate pregnancies that resulted from the hundreds of thousands of rapes they suffered at the war's end.¹² As the economic, social, and private

¹¹ The problem bears some resemblance to ones associated with interpreting the origins of a public sphere and opinion in *ancien régime* Europe, but only some. Unlike the situation in eighteenth-century France, analyzed brilliantly by Sarah Maza in a recent book, East Germans enjoyed no legally protected "free" venues of expression. In the GDR, no gradual crystallization of *public* opinion could emerge out of controversies about private matters. See Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Cause Célèbre of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

¹² Kirsten Poutrus, "Von den Massenvergewaltigungen zum Mutterschutzgesetz: Abtreibungspolitik und Abtreibungspraxis in Ostdeutschland, 1945–1950," in Bessel and Jessen, *Die Grenzen der Diktatur*; Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," *October* 72 (Spring 1995); Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (Oxford, 1995), 193–97; Ingrid Schmidt Harzbach, "Eine Woche im April, Berlin 1945: Vergewaltigung als Massenschicksal," *Feministische Studien* 2 (1984).

disaster spilled over into 1947–1948, several provincial legislatures in the Soviet zone voted to replace Paragraph 218 with an “indications regulation” that allowed terminations on medical, social (e.g., poverty), or ethical grounds (rape or incest, for example). In the public discussion that preceded reform, women in the newly formed SED revived the critique of Paragraph 218 made by Weimar Social Democracy (SPD) and the Communist Party (KPD). Postwar rhetoric was stamped, however, not by the KPD’s famous slogan, “Your body belongs to you!” but by the SPD’s emphasis on the dire situation of proletarian women and the dangers of illegal abortion.¹³ When she spoke in favor of an indications solution at a women’s conference in late 1946, one notes with interest, State Prosecutor (and future GDR minister of justice) Hilde Benjamin guardedly left open the door to a retraction of liberalization once the crisis had ebbed.¹⁴ After the founding of the GDR in 1949, the new liberal measures remained briefly in force. In September 1950, however, the “Law for the Protection of Mother and Child and the Rights of Women” annulled them. The legislation included numerous measures to promote the welfare of mothers and children such as child allowances, special health centers, and pregnancy leave. Its “Article 11” contained the new conditions for abortion. A termination would be authorized only if the pregnancy “seriously threatened the life or health of the pregnant woman” or if one parent suffered from a grave inherited condition. Article 11 thus recognized medical and eugenic indications. Every request for an abortion would be evaluated by a “termination commission” composed of three physicians, a (female) representative of the “Division of Mother and Child” (a department of the Ministry of Health), and an envoy of the mass women’s organization, the Democratic Women’s League (DFD). Those who performed unauthorized abortions on themselves or others or who underwent an illegal abortion were liable to imprisonment.¹⁵

Article 11 was the outcome of a secretive decision-making process whose route cannot be traced even in the minutes of the Central Committee, the SED’s second-tier ruling body. Oblique references suggest that the Soviet Union, whose own abortion ban of 1936 was still in force in 1950, put pressure on the SED to introduce prohibitions earlier than it had intended.¹⁶ It seems likely, too, that the

¹³ Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 198–99; Poutrus, “Von den Massenvergewaltigungen,” 184–85. The SED’s preparations for the introduction of the indications laws can be followed in Maxim Zetkin, “Entwurf einer Verordnung über die Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft, 2. Oktober 1947,” 32–33, and “3. Folge: Juristische Grundlagen für die Diskussion über den Para. 218 von Oberstaatsanwalt Hilde Benjamin, 25.2.1947,” 40–49, both in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* For the arguments against Paragraph 218 put forward in the Weimar Republic, see Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, chap. 4; Cornelia Osborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), chap. 4.

¹⁴ Stiftung der Arbeiterpartei und Massenorganisationen der DDR (hereafter, SAPMO), DY 30, IV 2/17/50, Bl. 124; SAPMO, Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund Bundesvorstand (hereafter, FDGB Buvo), A1670, “Bericht über eine am 23.10.46 vom Bezirksfrauenausschuss Steglitz einberufene Tagung . . .,” p. 3.

¹⁵ Bundesarchiv Potsdam (hereafter, BA Potsdam), DQ1, 1843/1, Bl. 309. The penalties were greater for abortionists who worked for money (3–5 years as opposed to 1–3 years for self-aborters). I have only gathered the paltry data on criminal prosecutions found in the files of the Ministry of Health or the SED. Judging by a summary of arrests and sentences made from 1960 to 1963, by then the police appear not to have pursued such cases vigorously nor judges to have treated them severely. See SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/17/83, Kriminalität und Abtreibung.

¹⁶ Poutrus, “Von den Massenvergewaltigungen,” 192.

SED listened to the opinions of the conservative gynecologists who dominated East German academic faculties far into the 1950s and who almost unanimously pushed for a narrow definition of therapeutic abortion.¹⁷ At their meetings in the 1940s, gynecologists, though not general practitioners, expressed strong antagonism to the social indication as a ground for abortion.¹⁸ In a lecture of mid-1949 to social workers and physicians employed at centers for marriage and sexual counseling, a senior gynecologist at the University Clinic in Leipzig, for example, delivered a ringing call for the sovereignty of medical expertise in abortion decisions and a shrewd critique of the social indication as a slippery slope.¹⁹ It is also suggestive that Article 11 dropped the ethical indication, while reintroducing a eugenics one. In the 1940s, gynecologists had openly voiced doubts about the verifiability of rape as a ground for abortion, while in closed consultations of the 1950s they expressed views on hereditary illness that one might expect from doctors who had trained in the heyday of the eugenics movement and practiced under National Socialism.²⁰

The new Communist state's ambivalent relationship to Nazi population policy was evident not only in the eugenics indication but in the official and, no doubt, essential explanation of the curbs on abortion: anxiety about the GDR's devastated demographic structure and low birth rate.²¹ At trade union meetings, working women denounced the blatant pro-natalism trotted out to justify Article 11, wondering, "Why do they want so many children—that would be like Hitler." Such attacks had no effect and were soon silenced.²² Worries about the birth rate also underlay plans of the Division of Mother and Child to shower mothers and children with the attention of social workers, nurses, and physicians and to grant them

¹⁷ Dr. Karl-Heinz Mehlan recently described the hostility of gynecologists to all but the most narrowly prescribed therapeutic abortions (interview with Dr. Mehlan, July 25, 1995, conducted by the author). Also see short biographies of Walter Stoeckel and Helmut Kraatz in Anna-Sabine Ernst, "Die beste Prophylaxe ist der Sozialismus": Ärzte und medizinische Hochschullehrer in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1961" (Dissertation, Humboldt University, 1996). On medical professors' deficient denazification, bourgeois social profile, low SED membership, and conservatism into the 1950s, see Ernst, "Die beste Prophylaxe"; Anna-Sabine Ernst, "Von der bürgerlichen zur sozialistischen Profession? Ärzte in der DDR, 1945–1961," in Bessel and Jessen, *Die Grenzen der Diktatur*; Christoph Klessmann, "Relikte des Bildungsbürgertums in der DDR," in Kaelble, Kocka, and Zwahr, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, 257–62.

¹⁸ See, for example, "Berichte aus gynäkologischen Gesellschaften," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* no. 2 (1947): 182–94. Also see "An den Kreisvorstand der SD, Abt. Arbeit und Sozialfürsorge vom Landesvorstand Thüringen der SED, Abt. Arbeit und Sozialfürsorge, 23.4.48," reprinted in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 50–51. In correspondence with state officials, general practitioners articulated much weaker opposition to the new liberal laws. Poutrus, "Von den Massenvergewaltigungen," 192.

¹⁹ Dr. H. Lax, "Die soziale Indikation," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* no. 9 (1950): 517–22.

²⁰ Many gynecologists believed that up to "75 percent" of rape claims were false. "Berichte aus gynäkologischen Gesellschaften," *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* no. 2 (1947). For an example of a eugenicist argument, see the comments at a physicians' consultation about the case of a "feeble-minded" twelve-year-old girl, five months pregnant, who had been raped by an "unknown" who "can't have been a worthwhile man." A eugenically indicated termination was, a gynecologist reflected, possibly justifiable on these two grounds (BA Potsdam, DQ1, 5145, Protokoll, Berlin, 27.3.52). On physicians' views in the Weimar era, see Osborne, *Politics of the Body*, 181–201. On the high rate of NSDAP membership and collusion of doctors in the Third Reich, see Fridolf Kudlien, with the collaboration of G. Baader, M. Gaspar et al., *Ärzte im Nationalsozialismus* (Cologne, 1985); Robert N. Proctor, *Racial Hygiene: Medicine under the Nazis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

²¹ See the text of Article 11 and its clarification in a speech by Minister President Otto Grotewohl promoting the "Law for Mother and Child and the Rights of Women." "Für das Glück unserer Mütter und Kinder," *Neues Deutschland* no. 227 (September 28, 1950).

²² Quoted in Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 198.

double food rations. The division's effort to identify and examine women early in pregnancy aspired, however, not only to reduce infant and maternal mortality rates and miscarriages but also to prevent abortions. The division's chief was Käthe Kern, one of the few former Social Democratic women who continued in a position of some, albeit peripheral, responsibility after the SED's purge of ex-Social Democrats in 1950.²³ Referred to sardonically by SED members as the party's "fig-leaf" (*Aushängeschild*), Kern's new position was indeed an ironic one. In the Weimar era, she had campaigned against Paragraph 218. Now she had to convince women of the value of Article 11.²⁴

Neither the pro-natalist crusade of the "motherly" Kern, best efforts of the paternalistic Health Ministry, nor vigilant surveillance by Big Brother deterred thousands of women from obtaining illegal abortions.²⁵ Between 1950 and 1955, a later report estimated, 70,000–100,000 illegal interventions took place annually.²⁶ Physicians, nurses, and social workers remarked on the "terrible plague of illegal abortion." The director of a hospital claimed that 90 percent of all miscarriages in his semi-rural district were, in fact, abortions and that older married, divorced, or widowed women terminated pregnancies at an especially high rate. He made clear his opposition to abortion in general and articulated a conservative interpretation of its causes, blaming even the terminations of the early 1950s on the promiscuous wives of the postwar era who had disturbed traditional marital relations. In contrast, correspondence between a nurse and factory social worker, both of whom dealt daily with working-class women, identified (courageously, one might add) the GDR's continuing social misery as the main impetus to illegal abortion.²⁷

Their unhappiness over illegal abortion did not lead these professionals to doubt the regime's policy. Only the social worker mentioned that she opposed "punishment of individual cases" of illegal abortion. The medical superintendent, on the other hand, wanted the state to jack-up criminal penalties. It should, he wrote to a skeptical Käthe Kern, "release physicians from the privacy rule in cases of criminal abortion," "limit midwives to attending duties, withdraw their right to prescribe

²³ Weber, *Die DDR*, 32. Kern was not only an ex-Social Democratic but, with Elli Schmidt (KPD), was one of the two most prominent women in the early SED. Unlike most of their fellow Central Committee members, they were not taken into the newly formed Politburo in 1949. Having consolidated its power, the thoroughly Stalinized "Party of a New Type" lost its motivation to win the votes and membership of women. See Gabriele Gast, *Die Politische Rolle der Frau in der DDR* (Cologne, 1973), 124–25.

²⁴ Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 199. Quote from interview with Dr. Karl-Heinz Mehlan, June 1, 1996, conducted with Anna-Sabine Ernst and Annette Timm.

²⁵ Quote from interview with Mehlan, June 1, 1996. It was generally assumed that women who lived in or near Berlin visited abortionists in West Berlin. Alongside other motives, a campaign to end the independent practice of midwifery was intended to stamp out its presumed contribution to illegal abortion. Some privately employed physicians were known as abortionists; see Dr. Rudolf Koch's comments in *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* no. 7 (1947). Constant references to the method of "Seifenwasserinjektion" (injection of soapy water into the uterus) indicate that self-induction was common. See, for example, interview with Frau J., May 29, 1996, conducted with Martina Dietrich; note by Dr. O.-H. Moell, in *Zentralblatt für Gynäkologie* no. 8 (1947).

²⁶ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, K.-H. Mehlan, "Vortrag gehalten auf der Zentralen Fortbildungstagung der Hebammen . . .," 20.9.63: Abortsituation. The same report offered comparative figures from other countries for the same period: France 400,000–1.2 million; USA 200,000–1.2 million; Great Britain 110,000–150,000; Hungary 250,000; CSSR 150,000. These countries, of course, had larger populations than the GDR.

²⁷ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1843/1, Bl. 312–17 [1952]; 1843/1, Bl. 321, 3.1.52.

TABLE 1
Authorized Abortions in the GDR

<i>year</i>	<i>per 1,000 Inhabitants</i>	<i>per 10,000 Births</i>
1952	2.7	122
1953	2.4	81
1954	1.7	60
1955	1.2	44
1956-1962	from 0.9 down to 0.7	from 35 down to 26

SOURCE: Stiftung der Arbeiterpartei und Massenorganisationen der DDR, DY 30, IV A2/17/83.

injections or medicine or to examine a women before the seventh month of pregnancy," and consistently punish not only abortionists but also "persons who allow an abortion to be performed on them."²⁸ Despite his insistence on harsher measures than those advocated by state officials, the director of the hospital agreed with other observers that even Draconian punishments would not end the scourge, because wide circles of the population refused to expose abortionists, much less "persons" who had an abortion.²⁹

The authorities did massively reduce the number of legal terminations (Table 1). In 1950 (Article 11 went into effect only late in the year), 26,400 legal abortions were performed; in 1951, 5,000; in 1956, 1,000; and in 1962, 700. By the mid-1950s, the GDR had one of the lowest rates of legal abortion in the industrialized world.³⁰ Not only the number of accepted applications for therapeutic abortion declined but also the total number of applications, as shown by figures from Leipzig, an urban district with a higher approval rate than, especially, villages or small towns (Table 2). In the 1950s, state officials and influential physicians emphasized that the decline in applications reflected "the improvement in our economic situation." Looking back from the mid-1960s, however, a report admitted that the approval of "only extraordinarily few procedures" had discouraged most women from beginning the almost hopeless process of application.³¹

Also in the 1960s, party functionaries insinuated that in the 1950s physicians had applied the terms of Article 11 too strictly. At a meeting of gynecologists and SED officials in 1964, Dr. Kurt Winter, a Communist physician of some prominence in the liberal era of the late 1940s, rebuffed this imputation: "I protest vigorously against the tendency to blame physicians for [interpreting Article 11 incorrectly]! In 1946, I helped dismantle Paragraph 218. The 1950 law shocked the physicians who were responsible [for liberalization]. Doctors reacted so restrictively because they were scared."³² The evidence suggests that, in fact, the commissions had acted under considerable pressure from above to interpret Article 11 narrowly. In 1953,

²⁸ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1843/1, Bl. 309, Kern an Steidle, 1.3.52.

²⁹ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1843/1, Bl. 312-17 [1952]; Bl. 321, 3.1.52; Bl. 318-19, "Bericht über die Hauptverhandlung bei Landesgericht in Dessau am 17.12.51."

³⁰ K. H. Mehlan, "German Democratic Republic," in *International Handbook on Abortion* (New York, 1988), table 11.1, p. 183.

³¹ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1796, Besprechung über die Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung, Juni 1954; SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Stellungnahme und Empfehlungen der Kommission zu Problemen der Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung in der DDR [1963]," p. 1.

³² SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Notizen während der Beratung am 21.4.64 mit führenden Gynäkologen, usw."

TABLE 2
Commissioners' Rulings in Leipzig

year	approved	rejected	total
1953	169	183	352
1954	130	173	303
1955	96	138	234

SOURCE: Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Leipzig [SHSTA], 931, Bl. 1-14.

the physician who headed the Division of Mother and Child in Schwerin queried his superiors in Berlin about the possibility of performing an abortion on an indigent forty-two-year-old woman impregnated during a rape. The Ministry of Health refused this request with the laconic remark, "There is no ethical indication."³³ An exchange between an academic gynecologist in Berlin and the central office of Mother and Child demonstrated a cooperative interest in making sure that the commissions approved only cases of unequivocal medical necessity.³⁴

As the last point suggests, the party/state did not call all the shots in the 1950s while medical professionals jumped to its commands. Though not as sovereign as in the United States of the same era, their control over the practice of legal abortion was considerable.³⁵ They constituted a majority of the termination boards. Medical superintendents influenced the general practice of abortion. Medical academics ruled summarily in ambiguous cases. Non-physician health officials such as Kern deferred to the professional opinion about which illnesses endangered the life of a pregnant woman. Indeed, the correspondence of health officials and party bureaucrats in the early 1950s reveals an uncritical reliance on rehashed versions of arguments used by the Weimar and Nazi medical establishments: *every* abortion debased the general health of *any* woman and, worst of all, could cause infertility.³⁶ Motivated by pro-natalism, the SED suppressed the pragmatic inclinations of open-minded general practitioners and struck an agreement with their conservative colleagues, gynecologists, and medical professors.

VIRTUALLY EVERY REFERENCE TO ABORTION disappears from state and party documents between 1954 and 1960. This silence ends in 1961. A new chapter of the story begins whose main motif is no longer restraint but the loosening of Article 11. It is significant that the first sign of SED reservations about Article 11 appeared in 1961. The political scientist Peter Christian Ludz identified the construction of the Berlin Wall as a major "social-political caesura" in the history of the GDR. After the

³³ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1668, 1.7.53. For a similar case, see 1843/1, Bl. 82–83.

³⁴ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1843/1, Bl. 53, 7.7.53. Instructions sent to local commissions in Saxony insisted on a strict interpretation of Article 11 (Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Leipzig [hereafter, SHSTA Leipzig], BuRBL, 5321, Bl. 6–7).

³⁵ Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 43–46.

³⁶ See, for example, BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1668, Bl. 309, Kern an Steidle, 1.3.52; 1843/1, Bl. 54; 5145, 30.8.54. Also see "Die medizinische Indikation zur Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung bei psychiatrischen und neurologischen Erkrankungen," a psychiatrist's treatise discussed at a "consultation on therapeutic abortion" in 1954 (BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1796).

initial shock and the horror of the violent measures that accompanied the wall's erection, a gradual relaxation in relations between the regime and its imprisoned population ensued.³⁷ Relaxation was not a simple response from above to inchoate dissatisfaction from below. In the case at hand, presumably, the loss of access to West Berlin abortionists made the restrictive policy more intolerable. Citizens expressed their frustrations to their physicians, SED functionaries, and through letters to the authorities. Sympathetic Communists set in motion a process of negotiation that led to de facto reform. We will look first at the role of leading physicians, for they were central to the planned exchanges of opinion and acted as mediators in the three-sided tussles between the regime, the commissions, and the populace over reproductive decisions in the early 1960s. In the 1950s, the SED had, in fact, relied on heavily on professional opinion but only acknowledged post hoc advice on narrow medical issues. Now, the Central Committee drew them in as participants in the formation of policy. Leading gynecologists, for their part, demonstrated a new concern about social misery as a cause and maternal mortality as a result of illegal abortion. Their arguments shifted toward a public hygiene discourse that effectively convinced the Politburo of the need for relaxation.

In 1961, "central organs" expressed vague interest in a "widening" of the existing regulations.³⁸ By 1963, the Central Committee had authorized the creation of a "working group on problems concerning abortion" composed of high health officials, SED emissaries, and preeminent gynecologists who were to gather data and make recommendations.³⁹ None of those representing the party was a woman, a reflection of their paucity at its top levels. In fact, troubled by its poor record on the advancement of women, the Central Committee had recently created a Women's Commission. Its head, Inge Lange, represented the Central Committee at the subsequent (lower-level) consultations about Article 11.⁴⁰ Besides Lange, prominent gynecologists from Berlin and the provinces attended these meetings, whose participants discussed and amended the proposals of the working group. In June 1964, the Politburo accepted the revised recommendations, and in March 1965 the Ministry of Health sent the commissions "Instructions for the Implementation of Article 11." In addition to a medical or eugenic condition, the termination boards could take five circumstances into account: if the woman was older than forty; younger than sixteen; already had five children to care for; had her fourth child less than fifteen months after her third child; had become pregnant as the result of rape, incest, or other criminal mishandling. Rather than being prosecuted, women who

³⁷ P. C. Ludz, "Politische Ziele der SED und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in der DDR," *Deutschland Archiv* no. 7 (1974): 1265–66; Ludz, *The German Democratic Republic from the 60s to the 70s: A Socio-Political Analysis*, Occasional Papers in International Affairs, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, no. 26, November 1970, pp. 11–12.

³⁸ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Götzl, 1. Sekretär, SED Frankfurt/O. an Gen. Prof. Kurt Hager, Sekretär des ZK, 10.3.61.

³⁹ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Stellungnahme." Also see SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/17/83, "Vorschläge der Geburtenentwicklung und Erweiterung der geltenden Bestimmungen zur Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung in der DDR."

⁴⁰ There were, of course, limits to the SED elite's goodwill. Lange never advanced beyond candidacy for the Politburo.

obtained an illegal abortion were to be “condemned or castigated by public shame.”⁴¹

Clearly, both the content of the elaborate “instructions” and the decision-making calculus behind them diverged from the repressive practices of the 1950s. Medical academics influenced the process, above all, by supplying a medical justification for a moderate relaxation. They argued that the still-widespread recourse to illegal abortion was responsible for an unacceptably high number of maternal deaths.⁴² Estimates about how many illegal abortions took place every year in the early 1960s ranged from 40,000 to 100,000. Doctors agreed, however, that relatively more young women, many childless, resorted to illegal abortion than earlier, and they all emphasized that about sixty women per year died due to a botched abortion, that such deaths now comprised the single largest component of maternal mortality, and that their number was on the rise.⁴³ The SED’s medical advisers proposed a cure for the continuing scourge of illegal abortion very different from the one proposed by the medical superintendent of the 1950s. Rather than insist on greater controls and punishment, they made much of women’s “understandable lack of trust” in abortion commissions that followed “rigid methods” and were slaves to a “dogmatic viewpoint.” Gynecologists in the working group and at later meetings censured the commissions for the arbitrariness of their rulings, pointing out that the board in Halle approved only one-seventh as many appeals as the one in Potsdam. The boards must regain the confidence of women, the working group reasoned, in order to deter them from turning to abortionists. The commissions would win this trust by interpreting Article 11 according to expanded, standardized instructions. Doctors and state officials still ascribed the failure of criminal penalties to popular refusal to collaborate with the police. Rather than supersede false consciousness with forceful state intervention, however, the working group expressed sympathy with, indeed, endorsement of, such resistance: “The population is, of course, aware of illegal activity, but people don’t believe it contradicts society’s interests. Women’s behavior seems legitimate to them—and to a large extent it is, in fact, legitimate.”⁴⁴

Participants in the deliberations focused almost exclusively on the social roots of the scourge of illegal abortion, even though the SED insisted that the guidelines they produced could *not* refer to a “social indication.”⁴⁵ They noted that large families were plagued by a compound of high prices, low wages, lack of room and amenities, and the overwhelming demands placed on mothers. The emphasis on social distress might strike a Western observer as unremarkable, but, one must keep in mind, such candid discussion of adversity under socialism represented a break

⁴¹ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, “Stellungnahme”; Dr. H. to *Neues Deutschland* (n.d.); Arbeitsgruppe Frauen [bei des ZK], Abteilung Gesundheitspolitik, Entwurf eines Briefes an den 1. Sekretär der Bezirks- und Kreisleitungen, Erich Honecker, 26.3.65; Ministerium für Gesundheitswesen [MfG], “Instruktion zu Anwendung des Artikels 11 . . . , 15.3.65”; SHSTA, BuRBL, 5321, Bl. 19, “Anleitung zur Durchführung der neuen Instruktionen zur Behandlung der Anträge auf Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft, Leipzig, 31.3.65.”

⁴² In the GDR, no epidemics (such as an outbreak of German measles in California) or drug scandals (such as the thalidomide tragedy in Western Europe and, to a much lesser extent, the United States) triggered sympathy for liberalization.

⁴³ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Mehlan, “Vortrag,” p. 6; “Stellungnahme,” p. 2.

⁴⁴ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, “Stellungnahme,” S. 1–2; Mehlan, “Vortrag,” S. 3, 8; “Notizen während der Beratung,” S. 9, 10; SHSTA, BuRBL, 5321, Bl. 17.

⁴⁵ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, “Notizen während der Beratung,” 9–10.

from the "Potemkinesque" denial of reality that pervaded the paranoid, oppressive 1950s. Even more surprising, policymakers and their advisers redefined the legitimate "social" causes of abortion by including marital conflict, family crisis, and "psychological despair" among them. The SED's medical advisers also persistently criticized the scarcity of any methods of birth control in the GDR. Acknowledging this dearth, an internal memorandum of the Ministry of Health noted in 1965, "Abortion is not a desirable method of family planning, but currently it remains a necessary one."⁴⁶ This admission contrasted pointedly with the ministry's earlier routine reproval of distraught petitioners for not having used (scant and defective) means of birth control. Most noteworthy of all, the advisory sessions of the 1960s paid much heed to citizens' voices. The report of the working group underscored that its members had found "numerous complaints" about the prevailing situation in letters to the SED and Ministry of Health (discussed below). The "extraordinarily sharp increase" in numbers of petitions in the early 1960s attested, it concluded, to the "desperate situation of women who are forced to endure an unwanted pregnancy." In contrast to the all-male medical consultations of the 1950s, in the meetings of the 1960s women gynecologists evaluated the issue straightforwardly from their position as working mothers and, in one case, advocated an even looser reinterpretation of Article 11 than that adopted.⁴⁷

When discussing abortion in the 1950s, physicians, health officials, and party functionaries had confined themselves to a medical language that took the human cost of bungled abortions as proof of the danger of all abortion and of the need to obstruct it as much as was "responsible." In the 1960s, in contrast, doctors took the high number of illegal abortions or, rather, the deaths caused by them as evidence in favor of a loosening of restrictions. Even though both indicators had declined since the 1950s, doctors now rated their social cost as higher. In investing illegal abortion with a different meaning, they reverted to the language of public hygiene spoken by leftist politicians and some physicians, though by very few gynecologists, after the First and Second World Wars. Western reformers of the mid-1960s, too, propagated the revised view of how to improve the health of women. In its efforts to convince politicians of its position, the major reform association in England reminded them that illegal abortion had become the chief cause of maternal mortality. The French family-planning league published estimates of rapidly increasing numbers of illegal abortion from 1962 to 1967 and so aroused a sudden surge of public sympathy for the liberalization of abortion law.⁴⁸

One can only speculate about the sources and carriers of the argumentative transformation among physicians in the GDR. In the late 1950s, Dr. Karl-Heinz Mehlan founded an Institute for Public Hygiene in Rostock, which in 1960 hosted an international conference on abortion (illegal and therapeutic), miscarriage, and maternal mortality. Experts from the United States and other Western countries

⁴⁶ SHSTA, BuRBL, 5321, Bl. 19, "Anleitung zur Durchführung der neuen Instruktionen zur Behandlung der Anträge auf Unterbrechung der Schwangerschaft, Leipzig, 31.3.65." Diaphragms made in the CSSR were intermittently and inadequately available in the GDR. Condoms of poor quality were relatively easy to obtain. The GDR was the fifth country in the world to produce the "Pill," but until the late 1960s made it available to only 3 percent of women of child-bearing age.

⁴⁷ See, for example, SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Notizen während der Beratung," S. 3, 8.

⁴⁸ Brookes, *Abortion in England*, 133.

presented their research at this symposium. The conference's findings on the consequences of and cure for illegal abortion corresponded to the views expressed by members of the working group of 1963. Mehlan believes that the symposium single-handedly revived discussion about abortion policy in the GDR.⁴⁹ While he may exaggerate its impact on policy, it seems likely that its international imprimatur impressed East German gynecologists. Such symposia help explain the simultaneous emergence across national boundaries and ideological walls of a new medical rhetoric about illegal abortion and maternal mortality. In the GDR as in, for example, France, Great Britain, and the United States, the new discourse of public hygiene undermined confidence in prevailing definitions of therapeutic abortion. Against the intentions of many of the doctors who adopted it, this language imperceptibly subverted the viability of the entire concept of therapeutic abortion.⁵⁰

The very occurrence of the conference suggests that a more liberal group of medical academics had already begun to wield influence over reproductive issues by 1960. To some extent, the shift toward a family-planning model and a revised view of abortion regulation was the result of a generational turnover at the top of the medical establishment. The case of Dr. Mehlan illustrates the increased clout of progressive Communist physicians. Mehlan trained professionally before 1945, but his political education began after he joined the SED in the late 1940s. While still a student in Berlin, he appeared to support the population policy of the regime, listing in his *Habilitationsschrift*, for example, the negative medical and demographic effects of abortion.⁵¹ After founding the Public Health Institute, however, Mehlan gained a reputation as a "liberal" on sexual and reproductive issues and stepped forward as one of the GDR's first advocates of family planning.⁵² At the symposium in Rostock, he argued that easier access to safe, legal abortion would reduce maternal mortality. Yet, in 1963, he still asserted that the GDR could not permit legalization or even a "social indication" because of its poor demographic prognosis.⁵³ When asked recently how he came to his very liberal views of the later 1960s, Mehlan implied that he had long held them, referring to his stint in a maternity clinic during the war and as a member of an indications commission in 1947–1948. He also cited his membership in the West German family-planning league, Pro Familia, and his contacts with Hans Harmsen, one of its co-founders, in the 1950s.⁵⁴ Mehlan's recollection of his attitudes very likely results from the common memory bias of believing that one has always held one's current

⁴⁹ Interview with Mehlan, June 1, 1996.

⁵⁰ On the similar postwar evolution of medical discourse about abortion in France, see Jenson, "Changing Discourse," esp. 77–79; in England, see Brookes, *Abortion in England*, 133–34, 149–50, 154–55; in the United States, see Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 73–87; Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric*, 22–23.

⁵¹ Poutrus, "Von den Massenvergewaltigungen," 193. His *Habilitationsschrift* qualified Dr. Mehlan as a university lecturer.

⁵² According to Mehlan (interview, July 25, 1995), the Politburo and many on the Central Committee, above all, Margot Honecker, were antagonistic or notably philistine toward questions of birth control. Dr. Mehlan attributed such views in part to prudery, corroborating this point with stories about the elite's dislike of *Freikörperkultur* (nudism).

⁵³ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Mehlan, "Vortrag," 20.9.63, p. 9.

⁵⁴ For a critique of Harmsen's activities in the Third Reich and his role in Pro Familia, see Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 204–06.

convictions.⁵⁵ Whatever his personal history, Mehlan's connections to Pro Familia and his organization of international meetings attest to professional cross-fertilization.

Academic gynecologists whom the regime did not consult also seem to have moved toward a broader construction of therapeutic abortion, presumably as impressed as their Communist colleagues by the refusal of illegal abortion to wither away. In 1958, Helmut Kraatz, medical superintendent of the Women's Clinic at Berlin's university hospital, argued among his colleagues for a social indication.⁵⁶ Did discontent with the existing system emanate first from "working" gynecologists and general practitioners at the local level? Scattered evidence does point to rising dissatisfaction. In 1957, a physician who co-chaired a termination commission published a plea for a "loosening of the guidelines" in the "avant-garde" intellectual weekly, *Die Wochenpost*.⁵⁷ In 1961, after a meeting with physicians in his district, the party secretary of Frankfurt an der Oder reported that the doctors wanted to "widen" Article 11 but did not support its repeal.⁵⁸ According to Mehlan, general practitioners who dealt directly with despondent pregnant patients were more sympathetic to looser regulations than were the academic gynecologists who had little contact with women's daily cares but had to perform any approved abortion.⁵⁹ One should not assume, however, that all local physicians welcomed the relaxation of 1965, much less pushed for it. An internal memorandum on reactions to the new instructions reported that many doctors, especially gynecologists, did not condone them. Their "worries and objections" rested mainly on medical grounds, although religious and moral objections also played a role. "They have accepted our arguments, though, and in only one case was it necessary to replace a head doctor," the report continued.⁶⁰

Insofar as the medical profession was moving toward a new understanding of abortion, the gender composition of the profession surely acted as one lever of the shift. In 1946, 18.2 percent of all practicing physicians in the Soviet zone had been female; by 1960, the ratio had increased to 26.2 percent; four years later, it had leaped to 35.8 percent.⁶¹ Like the female gynecologists whom the regime consulted, women physicians knew firsthand the difficulty of balancing a large family and career in the GDR and voiced arguments in favor of some degree of liberalization of abortion. Yet younger physicians were not more liberal simply because they were more likely to be female. Class origins may have also played a role, for a somewhat higher ratio of younger physicians came from humble social origins.⁶² More important, *no* young doctors had been instilled with the Third Reich's ideological

⁵⁵ On memory bias, see Michael Ross, "Relation of Implicit Theories to the Construction of Personal Histories," *Psychological Review* 96 (1989).

⁵⁶ Kraatz's stand was mentioned, and rejected, by Mehlan in his "Vortrag," 20.9.63, p. 9 (SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22).

⁵⁷ A woman petitioner referred to this article (BA Potsdam, DQ1, 1843, Bl. 164-65, 10.1.58).

⁵⁸ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Götzl, 1. Sekretär, SED Frankfurt/O. an Gen. Prof. Kurt Hager, Sekretär des ZK, 10.3.61.

⁵⁹ Interview with Mehlan, July 25, 1995.

⁶⁰ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Teildokumentation zu Fragen der ungewollten Schwangerschaft, der Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung und den daraus abzuleitenden Konsequenzen [1971]," p. 5.

⁶¹ Ernst, "Die beste Prophylaxe," table 4.4, 4.5. Even higher was the percentage of medical students who were women—51.2 percent in 1961.

⁶² See Klessmann, "Relikte des Bildungsbürgertums," 260. After increasing from the early to

brew of radical eugenics and intense opposition to “Aryan” abortion. Though trained by older professors who presumably inculcated medical students with moral, medical, and “Hippocratic” objections to abortion, younger physicians did not encounter moral, much less religious, arguments against abortion in primary or secondary school or the press. In a part of Germany that had always been overwhelmingly Protestant and was increasingly areligious, it is unlikely that the implicit opposition to abortion of, especially, the Catholic church swayed younger doctors any more than it did the population in general.⁶³ Recently, a gynecologist recalled with horror his efforts as a young resident to save two victims of bungled illegal interventions in the mid-1960s. The death of one of these women, he recalls, turned him into a supporter of liberalization.⁶⁴ This doctor—who was never a Communist but who grew up in the GDR—made sense of his experience exactly as medical experts of the 1960s interpreted data on maternal deaths due to illegal abortions.

The relaxation of the 1960s, then, grew out of negotiations directed from above but shaped by interests outside the central ruling bodies. SED functionaries shut out the opinions of conservative professionals, sought the advice of physicians friendly to a moderate liberalization, and impressed them with the party’s interest in some kind of reform. After all, every member of the 1963 working group on abortion belonged to the SED, while only six of its eleven participants were doctors (including the only two women). Such “selective” consultations, one should note, occurred in Czechoslovakia in 1957–1958 before its abortion law was liberalized to include a social indication.⁶⁵ However, the German Communists, at least, did not ride roughshod over medical opinion. The lengthy cycle of consultations demonstrates that the Central Committee proceeded cautiously and paid close attention to what professionals had to say. The participants, tenor, and conclusions of this early stage of reform in the GDR resembled the situation in California during the mid-1960s. There, motivated by similar concerns about the dangers of illegal abortion and the arbitrary decisions of local abortion boards, professional men and women—lawyers, public health officials, and physicians—“tied to one another by bonds of collegueship and sociability endeavored to create a new compromise on abortion.”⁶⁶ Ironically, the process begun by elite groups led ultimately in both the United States and the GDR to a forfeiture of state license and loss of professional sovereignty over an important private matter. In the GDR, no more than in the

mid-1950s, the percentage of medical students from working-class families began to decline at the end of the 1950s and even more in the 1960s. As a result, “medical dynasties” became more common.

⁶³ If a subset of physicians was canvassed about loosening Article 11, the Lutheran and Catholic churches were completely shut out of negotiations. From allusions in the press, church leaders gleaned that something was up. Through the medium of leading members of the East German Christian Democratic Union, they expressed “strong” opposition to a relaxation of the ban. Catholic bishops also registered a protest of their own. Assured that abortions would be performed only in “state institutions,” church leaders were largely appeased. See SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Dr. We/Str. an Hager, 28.6.65. Of course, there were renewed protests against legalization, including a genuine debate in the People’s Chamber and 14 no-votes and 8 abstentions. In 1972, the party offered a further concession to Catholic sensibilities—any physician could refuse to perform an abortion. I do not address the churches’ views and roles because I have not consulted ecclesiastical holdings.

⁶⁴ Interview with Dr. L., May 30, 1996, conducted with Martina Dietrich.

⁶⁵ Heitlinger, *Reproduction, Medicine and the Socialist State*, 147.

⁶⁶ Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 92.

West of the early 1960s, most physicians or public officials did not foresee, much less desire, the repeal of all restrictions on early term abortions.⁶⁷ But for several reasons, leading members of the SED were interested in a (de facto) reform and were thus impressed by the arguments of medical professionals in favor of a partial relaxation.

INTERNAL REPORTS MAKE CLEAR that a prerequisite of the relaxation of 1965 was the relatively high birth rate of the late 1950s and early 1960s. From 13 births per 1,000 population in 1951, it rose to 16.3 in 1954 and to 17.6 in 1958, reaching its highest level ever in 1961. Gratified health officials noted, "The birth rate is all the more impressive, given that from 1950–1961, the number of women of child-bearing age sank by 23.5 percent . . . With a fertility rate of 90.5 per 1,000 women between 15 and 45 [1963], we compare favorably to other European countries."⁶⁸ This demographic background constituted a necessary, though insufficient, condition of de facto liberalization. Developments in the economic sphere provided the fundamental *context* of reform. Caught in the thrall of the Stalinist fixation with heavy industry, the SED had spent much of the 1950s driven by dreams of the sheer amount of producers' goods that socialized enterprises could put out. As low productivity, the plague of socialist economies, set in and the shortage of labor became worse, planners turned to the panacea of "better and more efficient production." A fetishization of quality goods and a "qualified" (highly trained) work force overrode the earlier mania for quantity. Given that women constituted the majority of the population and the largest reserve of unskilled labor, they were a major target of the effort to upgrade the skills of the work force.⁶⁹ In 1961, the SED opened an effort to enhance the caliber of women's role in production, urging women to "qualify" for skilled work and pressing male bosses to promote women workers. By 1963, the proclamation of women's equality in the workplace had become a full-scale, if never fulfilled, campaign.⁷⁰ The refashioned "model woman" not only labored outside the home but also worked as a skilled and dedicated professional.⁷¹ In 1964, Inge Lange, a key participant in the discussions about Article 11 and the head of the Women's Commission, organized a much-heralded "congress of women." As hundreds of delegates converged on Berlin, *Neues Deutschland*, the SED's national newspaper, announced, "A new, free race of

⁶⁷ Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 43–46, 56–58.

⁶⁸ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Mehlan, "Vortrag," p. 5; "Stellungnahme," p. 3 and Anlage 1. The fertility rate had been 74 in 1957.

⁶⁹ In 1968, the population was composed of 9.3 million females and 7.8 million males.

⁷⁰ Women's level of skill did increase impressively, as did their employment in traditionally male industries such as electronics, chemicals, machine tools, and auto production. See "Bericht über die Entwicklung der Beschäftigung der Frauen in der Produktion, 24.11.71," reprinted in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 140–41.

⁷¹ Susanne Weigandt, "Frauen in der DDR: Präsenz ohne Macht," in *Sozialstruktur u. Sozialer Wandel in der DDR*, Heiner Timmermann, ed. (Saarbrücken, 1988), 118, 121; Irene Dölling, "Gespaltenes Bewusstsein—Frauen- und Männerbilder in der DDR," in *Frauen in Deutschland*, Gisela Helwig and Hildegard Maria Nickel, eds. (Berlin, 1992), 28; Ina Merkel, "Leitbilder und Lebensweisen von Frauen in der DDR," in Kaelble, Kocka, and Zwahr, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, 369.

women has arisen.” Speeches lauded women’s extraordinary contributions to socialism and “our Republic.”⁷²

Women felt the impact of the reformist urge outside the workplace. The Family Law of 1965, for example, lauded the family as the cradle of socialization and made much of “parental” responsibility for producing good citizens. SED ideologues swallowed their distrust of the family as a bourgeois institution. Their plan to mold children in communal institutions had never been truly implemented, but now the party/state left more space to the private sphere on principle.⁷³ If the law reintroduced traditional assumptions about the role of the family, it left in place the conventional roles of husband and wife that the SED had never bothered to challenge. The hierarchy evidently assumed that women could attain men’s level of expertise at work while also honing age-old skills within the domestic division of labor. Presumably, someone realized that something had to give. The groping toward both a family-planning model of reproduction and the expansion of child care facilities began around the same time as the campaigns to expand women’s responsibilities at work and at home. A rethinking of the crude pro-natalism of the 1950s did not have to come in the wake of the retooling of pure productivism, but it did.

The Politburo did not suddenly grasp the logical contradictions among its policies toward women and in its wisdom decide to grant them greater access to abortion. The negotiations over Article 11 suggest instead that members of the inner circle felt a new ambivalence about its reproductive policies.⁷⁴ Peripheral circles in the SED exploited indecision about how to increase reproduction and the quandary about how to raise women’s productivity as openings to argue in favor of a reform of abortion policy. The officials who broached the issue felt the discontent of female functionaries who labored under the triple burden of job, family, and the constant political activity expected of ambitious members of the SED.⁷⁵ These women presumably enjoyed the support of some husbands and other men in the SED, be they progressive physicians or the editors of *Die Wochenpost*. The very first reference to abortion in the SED files of the 1960s shows that “central organs” *planned* to offer preferential treatment to party members to defuse their disgruntlement. When the party secretary in Frankfurt/Oder canvassed the views of local physicians about Article 11 in 1961, he floated a proposal for preferential treatment of politically committed women, asking the doctors to comment on the following formulation: “An abortion can be justified in an individual case on the basis of

⁷² “Ein neues, freies Frauengeschlecht ist herangewachsen,” 27.6.64; “Die Republik braucht alle Frauen—alle Frauen brauchen unsere Republik,” 26.6.64, both in *Neues Deutschland* nos. 179 and 178.

⁷³ Weigandt, “Frauen in der DDR,” 118–20; Gisela Helwig, *Zwischen Familie und Beruf: Die Stellung der Frau in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Cologne, 1974), 95.

⁷⁴ The many deliberations and reports on the demographic situation show that, as leading Communists become less worried about the birth rate, they also grew less confident about how best to sustain it. See, for example, “Stellungnahme,” pp. 9–10; SAPMO, DY 30, A2/17/83 [no title], 27.5.64, pp. 3–6.

⁷⁵ In 1964, the membership of the SED was 24 percent female, in 1966, 26.5 percent. This ratio was just a little higher than that of the late 1940s (before it dipped to below 20 percent in the early 1950s). Gast, *Die Politische Rolle*, 43.

social-political [*gesellschaftlich*] activity." To the secretary's disappointment, they rejected this paragraph as "neither clear nor workable."⁷⁶

The disapproval of local medical notables did not initially deter the plan to cater to political women. Almost the exact same formulation appeared among the original recommendations of the working group on abortion. This phrase, the deputy minister of health explained at a meeting with academic gynecologists, referred to "women who play an outstanding role in public life." With the exception of one gynecologist (a woman), these doctors (most of them men) ridiculed what they called the *Gummiparagraph* as an untenable scheme to introduce a "social indication for the overburdened female functionary." This time, the critics prevailed: the "elastic paragraph" (or, more fitting, the rubber clause) slipped out of the final draft.⁷⁷ Evidently, the weightier opposition of the gynecologists convinced the SED that the *Gummiparagraph* might be stretched to include the doubly-burdened working mothers whom neither professionals nor party authorities wanted to provide with a legitimate claim to an abortion. After all, in 1967, 70 percent of all women in the GDR with one child, 64 percent with two children, and 55 percent with three children worked outside the home.⁷⁸

Other evidence suggests that the SED grasped the prickly pear only under prodding from outside the highest circles of power. The deputy health minister told the gathering of gynecologists that his ministry was proceeding without enthusiastic support from above.⁷⁹ Inge Lange repeatedly reminded physicians that the consultations were confidential, any new regulations would not be publicized, and, above all, a "public dialogue" must be avoided. The urge for secrecy was not a crude Stalinist reflex. In the same period, the SED allowed "managed" public discussions of other issues such as the Family Law.⁸⁰ The seclusive impulse manifested, instead, a Jesuitical sensitivity to the ramifications of the rule of law. The logic of the arguments deployed against open debate ran thus: no explicit social indication because "then we would have to devise a new law"; no change in the law because that would require public debate; no "wide-ranging discussion" because participants would demand "not just single measures but complete liberalization"; no legalization because the experience of other socialist states showed that it would lead to a substantial decline in the birth rate, a decline the GDR could not afford. Only Dr. Winter, disgruntled survivor of the abortion flip-flop of the postwar period, objected to this legalistic justification of a sub-rosa reform. He did so with an appeal that combined a utilitarian argument with a call for free speech: "In my view, it's completely false to think we can regulate such questions without public participation . . . [P]eople have the right to discuss them." Inge Lange and his colleagues rebuffed this reasoning not with 1950s-style defamation but by calmly

⁷⁶ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Götzl, 1. Sekretär, SED Frankfurt/O. an Gen. Prof. Kurt Hager, Sekretär des ZK, 10.3.61.

⁷⁷ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, Götzl an Hager; "Stellungnahme," S. 4; "Notizen während der Beratung," S. 2, 8.

⁷⁸ For further longitudinal statistics, see Hildegard Maria Nickel, "Mitgestalterinnen des Sozialismus—Frauenarbeit in der DDR," in Helwig and Nickel, *Frauenarbeit in Deutschland*, 237.

⁷⁹ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Notizen während der Beratung," S. 1, 10.

⁸⁰ For this point, my thanks to one of the anonymous readers of this article.

reiterating their pragmatic objection: its probable negative fall-out made a public discussion too risky to permit.⁸¹

Several references imply that by 1964 certain circles in the SED were already discussing the repeal of Article 11. A gynecologist reminded her colleagues that SED and DFD speakers at the major women's congress of 1964 would certainly denounce Article 11 if "something doesn't happen" beforehand. Party correspondence and citizens' letters alluded to attacks on Article 11 in the press.⁸² Obviously, the secrecy surrounding the discussions of partial abortion reform was less than airtight. Presumably, Communists who wanted to get rid of Article 11 hoped to influence the party elite and its consultants by addressing the issue in the press. The strongest confirmation of the existence of a real, if muted, popular discussion, however, lies in the letters of complaint that so impressed members of the working group.

BETWEEN THE EARLY 1950s AND LATE 1960s, there occurred a transformation in the language and arguments about abortion found in citizens' letters of complaint.⁸³ The petitions of the 1950s were awash in medical language, though a subcurrent of social discourse eddied alongside it. In the 1960s, a social vocabulary largely supplanted medical claims, only to be adulterated by a new psychological idiom. Most important, the claims of the 1960s increasingly rested on arguments framed in terms of rights and, completely new to the abortion petitions, women's rights. It is one thing to chart these changes, quite another to interpret them. Leaving aside for the moment the question of representativeness, one must ask why petitioners resorted to particular rhetorical strategies. Since each supplicant aimed to obtain something denied her by the authorities, some percentage surely wrote what they thought the "big guns" wanted to hear. Indeed, in certain letters, this tactic assumed absurd forms. Pleading the case of her pregnant unmarried daughter, a mother described the misery that every member of the maternal and paternal families would suffer after the birth of an illegitimate baby, referred to her own long years of service to the state, threw in a pithy adage from General Secretary Walter Ulbricht, only to conclude, "I'd like to add that in principle I'm opposed to abortion."⁸⁴ Even if exaggerated or totally simulated, the convictions expressed in the petitions tell us something about how citizens understood the politics and propaganda of the regime.⁸⁵ In fact, after reading many letters, I have begun to

⁸¹ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Notizen während der Beratung," pp. 9–10.

⁸² SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Notizen während der Beratung," S. 1, 10; Dr. Benjamin an Genossen Professoren Friedeberger, 26.3.64; Ministerium für Gesundheitswesen, Information an das Politbüro.

⁸³ If rejected by a local commission, a woman could apply to a district commission for an abortion. Its decision was final. Her only (legal) recourse then was to the informal system of petitions that gradually spread throughout every institution in the GDR. Most petitioners sent letters directly to the Division of Mother and Child. Whether out of ignorance or special knowledge, a minority wrote to well-known leaders of the SED, editors, and other authorities. Petitions that landed at the false address were forwarded to the central office of the Mother and Child. Certainly not all letters were forwarded, but I did not find any in the district archives that I visited (Berlin, Potsdam, and Leipzig).

⁸⁴ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 6324, Bl. 601–02.

⁸⁵ For a revealing study of the mentality of GDR citizens, see the interviews conducted by Niethammer, Plato, and Wierling, *Die Volkseigene Erfahrung*.

reconstruct the ways in which citizens appropriated official discourse and the purposes to which they put it: to make sense of personal experiences; to expose and exploit contradictions between promise and practice; to justify their own, often contrary, views.⁸⁶ The passionate language and bitter tone of many letters make clear that, even as they hoped to persuade, petitioners wrote straight from the heart.

I have located eighteen petitions from 1951–1955. These families (including two single mothers) had an average of three children, lived in all geographical areas of the GDR, and spanned its social spectrum. Rather than workers or farmers, however, most of the husbands were members of the socialist “middle class,” that is, teachers, white-collar employees, engineers, managers. Only two letters mentioned the woman’s employment, and none emphasized it, a result, presumably, of the lower rate of employment among wives of the intelligentsia compared to those in working-class families. Six petitioners of the early 1950s alluded to the SED membership of the husband, while merely one referred to the political engagement of the pregnant woman.⁸⁷ The most striking characteristic of this group of petitioners as petitioners was its gender make-up: eleven of the eighteen letters were penned by the husband of the pregnant woman, six by the woman herself, and one by the couple together. The meaning of this trend is far from clear. Did couples assume that even in the case of abortion a husband should act as mediator between family and state? The argumentation of several male writers implies that they at least, if not their wives, so understood their role. These husbands repeatedly underscored their own interest in an abortion and listed their own non-domestic obligations and contributions to the state. In two cases, health officials discovered, the husband had protested a negative ruling without informing his wife. The arguments and tone of other husbands’ letters hint, however, at a mutual concern about family limitation and a jointly concocted strategy for dealing with the authorities.

Every single petition of the early 1950s justified its claim for reversal on medical grounds.⁸⁸ To the untrained eye, the great majority of the delineated diseases do

⁸⁶ Jonathan R. Zatlin comes to similar conclusions about the petitions of the 1980s in his insightful essay, “The Vehicle of Desire: The Trabant, the Wartburg, and the End of the GDR” (typescript, 1996), 22–26. More generally, I concur with Mary Fulbrook’s defense of GDR documents against the charge that all of them are so fundamentally contaminated that normal methods of historical evaluation are inadequate (Fulbrook, “Methodologische Überlegungen,” 275–78). Rather farther afield, see the ruminations about comparable sources by Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), esp. 3–6. Most relevant is the work of Atina Grossmann, whose incisive reading of the “overlapping discourses” in women’s applications for abortion immediately after the war has inspired the analysis offered here. See Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 195; Grossmann, “Question of Silence,” 57–58.

⁸⁷ Data on 1,563 women who had legal abortions performed in Dresden between June 1945 and October 1949 suggest that petitioners of the early 1950s at least partially fit the profile of all those who applied for an abortion: in Dresden, 66 percent of the women had zero to two children; 63.3 percent of them were housewives, 21.2 percent clerical workers, 15.5 percent workers. Ernst Bisch, “Statistisches zur Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung und ihren Komplikationen,” *Zeitschrift für ärztliche Fortbildung* 9–10 (1950): 227.

⁸⁸ Only one letter appended a eugenic claim to its medical one. Atina Grossmann found, in contrast, that raped women resorted frequently to eugenic and racial arguments in the hundreds of applications filed in 1945–1946 (Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 194; Grossmann, “Question of Silence,” 57–58). It is difficult to judge whether the disappearance of such claims were due to a change in popular prejudice, the shift in official rhetoric about race and eugenics, or a skewed sample of opinion.

not appear life-threatening.⁸⁹ Rather, one is struck by the profound physical and psychic exhaustion of the pregnant woman, a fact that may have impressed the commissions but could not sway them. Like the applications for abortion of 1945–1946 that Atina Grossmann has examined, many of these letters referred to *social* distress even as they placed medical claims in the foreground.⁹⁰ Most commonly, petitioners asserted that the family was already too large, complained about inadequate housing, claimed serious financial constraints, or referred to problems attributable to the war and its aftermath.

Many writers piled diverse social and psychic grievances on top of each other. Indeed, most petitioners told their entire life story, emphasizing, especially, proletarian lineage or “re-settler” status.⁹¹ Yet only two petitions, both composed by men, stated explicitly that their case should be judged by a social measure. Not a single letter rested its claim for reversal on the right of a woman to control reproduction. No one referred to the constitutional guarantee of equal rights to women, though that pledge stood in the very law that contained Article 11. This silence should be set against two attacks on the “workers-and-farmers state.” In one instance, the only farmer among complainants denounced the regime as anti-farmer, thus criticizing both the state’s goals and their realization. In the other case, one of the few working-class couples in the pool jointly charged that in the GDR “one law [held] for workers, another for the intelligentsia and big men,” highlighting the gap between rhetoric and reality. This pair advanced the only rights-based argument but appealed to class justice rather than to women’s rights. Other arguments also carried a political charge. A woman angrily scolded both health bureaucrats and her physician: “As you should know, our regime of our workers-and-farmers state puts people first [*stellt den Mensch in den Vordergrund*].”⁹² In quoting a prominent slogan of the era, she pleaded for humanitarianism, not for rights, and did not relate her entreaty to the particular situation of women. The few letters that raised “woman” as a category associated femininity with vulnerability, dependence, and maternity. Thus three husbands expressed dismay that a procedure “good for my wife and children” was illegal.⁹³

Indicative of the strict interpretation of Article 11 of the era and of Käthe Kern’s deference to the commissions, not a single petition of the early 1950s met with success.⁹⁴ After 1955, there follow ten years of files with only two petitions that deal

⁸⁹ Complaints ranged from vague circulation troubles to chronic stomach ailments and headaches, to seemingly serious heart problems and tuberculosis. Petitioners often described a previous difficult pregnancy.

⁹⁰ Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 194–96; Grossmann, “Question of Silence,” 57–59.

⁹¹ Refugees from East Prussia, Silesia, and Czechoslovakia were called re-settlers in the GDR. In *Die volkseigene Erfahrung*, Lutz Niethammer notes that all East German citizens learned to present their *Lebenslauf* (curriculum vitae) in a certain prescribed socialist manner. Alongside the evolution of the language of the petitions discussed here, one can trace the development of this skill as well as subtle changes in what a proper résumé entailed. Class status, for example, received much less emphasis in the 1960s than in the 1950s.

⁹² BA Potsdam, 5145, Frau S. an Dr. W., Erfurt, 27.5.54.

⁹³ Quote is from BA Potsdam, 5145, Herr E. an Ministerium für Gesundheitswesen [MfG], 22.11.54; 5145, Herr A. an Gesundheitsamt St. Gera, 23.8.53; 1843/1, Bl. 58. Also see the similar complaint of a single mother: BA Potsdam, 5145, Frau K. an MfG, 20.8.54.

⁹⁴ A minority of petitions were sent after a local commission’s ruling. In a few cases, petitioners still had time to file an application at the district level. These requests may have been approved by the district commission.

with abortion.⁹⁵ Then, in 1965, petitions appear in the records in much larger numbers than in the 1950s—I located 113 from the years 1965, 1967, and 1968. The later group of petitioners, again drawn from all areas of the country, matched the characteristics of the complainants of the 1950s in some respects and not in others. The proportion of single women was essentially the same, but the average number of children among all families fell to 2.6. Seventy-four letters provide information about the profession, social position, or social mobility of at least one spouse. Thirty-six of these seventy-four families could be classified as “upper class” (at least one spouse was a professional, manager, or administrator); twenty-one were middle-level families (skilled workers, white-collar workers, etc.); five were working-class or farmer families. An additional twelve families benefited from the “education boom” of the 1960s: one or even both partners were studying at a *university* and so on the way into the “middle class.”⁹⁶ In sum, this group was as much—or more—disproportionately composed of better-off and better educated citizens than the petitioners of the 1950s.⁹⁷

In sharp contrast to the letters of the 1950s, almost half the petitions of the mid-1960s mentioned the pregnant woman’s employment. Among the forty-six cases with precise information about the woman’s profession were twenty-five women of the intelligentsia (fourteen were teachers), ten white-collar employees or saleswomen, eight skilled workers or police officers, and two workers. Twelve of the women were either currently enrolled in a university or vocational program or about to begin a course of continuing education.⁹⁸ Finally, ten letters mentioned the party membership or “social activity” of the pregnant woman, while fifteen highlighted the political engagement of husbands. If, as these incomplete data suggest, professional women were lopsidedly over-represented among complainants, then complainants epitomized the very group of women the regime hoped to court.⁹⁹ In part, certainly, the higher ratio of working women among complainants of the 1960s was in line with the social evolution of the GDR. In 1955, 52.5 percent of women between 15 and 65 had worked for wages; in 1970, 66.1 percent did. In 1966, in 70 percent of all couples, both wife and husband worked.¹⁰⁰ The accent on

⁹⁵ The reader will remember that at the consultations of the early 1960s much was made of an increase in petitions from those years. No doubt, these letters were removed from the files of “Mother and Child” to be considered by participants. I have not been able to find them.

⁹⁶ On the *Bildungsboom*, see Anne Hampele, “‘Arbeite mit, plane mit, regiere mit’—Zur politischen Partizipation von Frauen in der DDR,” in Helwig and Nickel, *Frauen in Deutschland*, 287.

⁹⁷ The percentages of workers and farmers fell in the later group, but so did their ratios in the general population.

⁹⁸ Statistics on women among all university students show that the increase of women at university was very rapid in the 1960s: 1952–53—20.4 percent; 1960–61—25 percent; 1969–70—34 percent. The percentage of women skilled workers rose rapidly (26.1 percent in 1961 to 50.1 percent in 1967), although women remained a small minority among technicians and “masters.” For these and other statistics on women’s “qualification” in the 1960s, see Helwig, *Zwischen Familie und Beruf*, 68, 78–80.

⁹⁹ The suspicion of professional over-representation is supported by data on 215 women charged between January 1960 and June 1963 with having had an abortion: 31 percent were skilled workers; 22 percent were white-collar workers; 19 percent, housewives; 7 percent, “medical personnel or their family members”; 1.4 percent, unskilled workers. With the possible exception of “medical personnel,” not a single woman was a member of the intelligentsia. The only point of consensus between the two samples was the very low number of unskilled workers (SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, *Kriminalität und Abtreibung*, p. 1).

¹⁰⁰ One should keep in mind that there also occurred a substantial shift among women workers from rural to urban occupations and from the least skilled to more skilled jobs.

women's work in the petitions escalated more dramatically, however, than its actual rate. Having adopted the SED's revised language about "qualified" female labor, women bent it to fit their own objectives. Further evidence of a new sensibility lies in the fact that 60 percent of the petitions were drafted by the pregnant woman herself, in contrast to the 40 percent written by women in the early 1950s. This proportion increased apace between 1965 and 1968.¹⁰¹

In the petitions of the 1960s, a majority of women writers as well as a minority of husbands described the wife's work and continuing education as a necessity for the family *and* a need for the woman. They at least implied that it constituted a reason to authorize an abortion. Many complainants reminded the authorities that the dearth of day care made it difficult to square maternity and profession, but few indicated that they would stop working if they only could.¹⁰² Women petitioners assumed that not only the state but also husbands and children should support their work and schooling. One woman cited lack of such backing as *prima facie* proof of a bad marriage: "My husband has absolutely no understanding for my work, much less for my studies. His ignorant griping drives me to the edge of despair. I'm in the first year of a five-year mathematics program that I will be able to complete only if I leave my husband and have no more children by him."¹⁰³

The explicit grounds given to justify an abortion had also shifted.¹⁰⁴ Only a third now claimed a medical indication. The majority of petitioners obviously possessed at least some information about the new "conditions" and filed a complaint with the intent of proving that they met them. Almost 70 percent emphasized environmental circumstances. As earlier, number of children, spacing of births, and inadequate housing constituted the problems named most often, and the distribution among them changed very little from the 1950s, although the proportion of petitions that cited poverty fell. Opening a new vein of complaint, fifteen petitioners alluded angrily to having relied on some (rarely specified) means of birth control. Several women lamented that constant fear of pregnancy was destroying their sexual lives and marriages.

In the most significant rhetorical transition, petitioners' arguments lurched toward a language of rights. As earlier, many writers, and virtually all single mothers, appealed to socialist altruism and reciprocity. Yet they now frequently combined such entreaties with a demand for justice. The invocation of "rights" could carry a distinctly modern charge, as in the case of a divorced mother of six who could not believe that she was to be so grievously punished "for a few pleasurable hours" to which everyone has "a right." Alternatively, petitioners could wield the rights weapon in defense of patriarchalism. One husband wrote, "My right to provide my children with a more or less healthy mother confronts the physicians'

¹⁰¹ In 1965, 50 percent of petitioners were the women in question; in 1967, 57.5 percent; in 1968, 68.3 percent.

¹⁰² Sociological studies by DDR investigators in the early 1970s suggest that such attitudes fit with those of better educated and more highly skilled female employees. These women listed "idealistic" reasons when asked why they worked. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers, on the other hand, named material reasons. Among all women, 50 percent said they worked because of the social contact, professional esteem, or educational opportunities it provided. For a discussion of these studies, see Helwig, *Zwischen Familie und Beruf*, 94–97.

¹⁰³ BA Potsdam, 6324, Bl. 134, 658.

¹⁰⁴ As in the 1950s, only 5 percent claimed a eugenic indication.

prerogative. Why should my rights be weaker?"¹⁰⁵ Above all, petitioners taunted state/party functionaries with the terms of the social contract that the all-powerful SED itself had written. Various writers reminded authorities of the "democratic foundations . . . of our socialist constitutional state." Pointing to the contradiction between Article 11 and the GDR's other, "democratic" laws, they demanded the repeal of Article 11. Whereas earlier writers pleaded for exceptional treatment, now many complained about the anomalous nature of this law or insisted that it be fairly implemented, alluding to rumors of special favors accorded party members or describing specific cases in which a woman in similar circumstances had been granted an abortion. Some petitioners even listed the precise terms of the unpublicized new regulations, pointed out which ones applied to their case, and called for higher authorities to step in to undo the incompetence or injustice of a local or district abortion commission. In fact, writers constantly attempted to play off higher against lower bureaucrats and physicians against party officials, obviously well-informed about Berlin's irritation at the "rigid" and "dogmatic" methods of certain provincial commissions. They alluded as well to new "anti-bureaucratic" laws that obligated authorities to answer any citizen's petition within fourteen days. (By the late 1960s, East Germans filed thousands of petitions annually about every conceivable subject.) They complained about "intentionally delayed" decisions that came down (automatically negative) only after the first trimester. They denounced the "bureaucratism," high-handedness, backwardness, prudery, and "petit-bourgeois" attitudes of physicians and commissioners.¹⁰⁶ They reminded the authorities that abortion was legal in other Socialist Republics and insisted that the GDR fall in line.

Both of the two most important new appeals, however, raised the rights of woman, whether her right to equal treatment under the law or to self-determination. The letters point, in fact, to the emergence of a new sense of women's rights at precisely this moment. In the thirty-two petitions of 1965, only two men referred to equality of rights; in 1967 and 1968, by comparison, among seventy complainants, fourteen (eleven of them women) raised feminist arguments. A pregnant mother of two children, for example, wondered, "Why can't women decide for themselves? . . . Even today women are subordinated to men and don't possess equal rights." A second woman complained that she had been "left behind by society" because with four children she could neither work nor study. "So, you see," she concluded, "the question of equal rights remains open and totally unresolved for me."¹⁰⁷

Yet what can we conclude from the expression of such sentiments in the letters of the 1960s and their lack in the 1950s? One question, immediately, the small number of 1950s petitioners. In fact, the self-selection of all petitioners is more problematic. We cannot put their language into the mouths of a random group of women or men who wanted permission for an abortion. The two pools are, nonetheless, comparable in social composition and faithfully represent important trends of the period such as rapid social mobility. The rhetoric of the letters,

¹⁰⁵ BA Potsdam, 6015, Bl. 109, 185.

¹⁰⁶ BA Potsdam, 6015 and 6324. Czechoslovaks also lodged complaints against the arrogance and petty bureaucratic ways of their boards (which had the more difficult task of applying a social indication). See Heitlinger, *Reproduction, Medicine and the Socialist State*, 164–65.

¹⁰⁷ BA Potsdam, 6324, Bl. 294–96, 632–33.

therefore, can tell us something about how the new middle class, and especially women within it, made sense of the tensions between family and work that social change generated. Moreover, we can draw conclusions about cultural trends even from the size and lack of randomness of the sample. The increase in petitions between the early 1950s and, according to the report of the working group, early 1960s suggests that, after the wall, citizens became more willing to challenge commissioners' decisions. Even more significant was the rise in the readiness of women to register a protest on their own behalf.

A particularly shrewd petition from January 1965 illustrates the strengths and weaknesses of the petitions as social documents. Even before she opened her complaint, this thirty-one-year-old petitioner displayed uncommon savvy. She addressed herself to "Comrade Renate Credo, member of the Women's Commission of the Central Committee of the SED" and sent a copy to the minister of health. Her letter included the obligatory autobiography but astutely framed it between two poles of stimulus and response: social deprivation overcome through political commitment and male irresponsibility countered with maternal dedication. An orphan who trained as a machine-setter and joined the SED at nineteen, Frau M. later completed a college-preparatory course at the "Workers and Peasants' Faculty" while working days at *Neues Deutschland* (the SED national daily). She then began to read law full-time at Humboldt University (a coveted course of study, to say the least) "under contract to the Ministry of Justice to satisfy certain obligations." Now, she wrote, she had been forced to break off her studies because, as a single mother with three children and a fourth on the way, she had to work. Divorced from a selfish comrade when her older children were very young, she had kept them in communal homes while she labored to support her family. Just when she had finally managed to bring them home to the "nest," fate rained down more blows. Her third child's immature father had abandoned the family soon after the baby's birth. Now she was pregnant for the fourth time by a third undependable man, who had bolted as soon as he heard the news.¹⁰⁸

Frau M. constructed her argument as ingeniously as she structured her autobiography. She emphasized, first, her own desire to continue her studies as well as the Justice Ministry's "understandable interest that she finish without interruption" so that she could quickly become a "good functionary in our justice system." Next, she censured the "incomprehensible" reasoning of the Berlin termination commission, whose assertion that "my studies are absolutely unimportant [implies] that only the fourth child is important." On the heels of this feminist charge, however, came avowal of her determination to be a good mother to the children she already had. "This pregnancy," she regretted, "comes too soon after the last one . . . Physically depleted and psychologically burdened . . . I will have to continue in shift-work and find a fourth berth in a weekly children's home." Finally, she exposed the gap between state claims and social reality. She could "not understand how [such a ruling] fulfilled the intent and nature of our socialist legality . . . for on top of everything else the direct cause—if you will allow me this banal comment—was the failure of available methods of birth control." She closed with a calculated

¹⁰⁸ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 6015, Bl. 27–32, 12.1.65.

disclosure followed by a sad deduction, "I know from the press and a physician that an increase in the number of permissible terminations is under consideration. It will probably come this year but will be too late for me."¹⁰⁹

Neither the experiences of Frau M. nor her rhetorical skills were typical of her generation. Nonetheless, her modern narrative of ardent political engagement, successful incursions into male-dominated occupations, and impressive social mobility, set against an ancient tale of personal misuse and ordeal, embodies an extreme version of the story of public achievement and private affliction that described the lives of many East German women in the 1960s. She offered an eloquent and erudite rendering of the grievances found in many letters—and presumably felt by many other women who lacked the courage or skill to file a complaint. She did not represent her generation any more than Western feminists of the late 1960s did theirs; nonetheless, like them, she spoke for it.

Unfortunately, Frau M.'s revelation of how she learned about the new guidelines was unusual, though not unique. A few other petitioners, too, wrote that they had received precise information from a physician or read press articles that alluded to a liberalization. Even less frequently did a petition illuminate the larger communicative context in which it was embedded. It is obvious, though, that just as the SED consulted with physicians about how to ease the ban on abortion, so citizens consulted with each other and sympathetic party, union, and DFD activists about how to frame a claim. A few letters emphasized that the petitioner enjoyed the support of colleagues, supervisors, factory committee, or a plant-based SED functionary.¹¹⁰ Most difficult of all to ascertain are the sources of the language of rights that crept into the letters of the 1960s. In Western Europe and the United States, of course, an evolving, increasingly combative, and ever more politicized rhetoric of a "woman's right to choose" evolved out of the give-and-take of open exchange and redefined "abortion" for millions of women.¹¹¹ East German government functionaries believed, in fact, that the debate in the West also shaped views in the East, citing the language and increasing number of petitions in 1970–1971 as evidence of the influence of West German television coverage of movements for abortion rights in the West.¹¹² Champions of abortion as a woman's right in the letters of 1967–1968 may have heard pieces of the just emerging Western debate, certainly. It is more likely, however, that they fashioned arguments about abortion from language available to them at home.

Several indigenous sources could have fed the fountain of rights discourse. The GDR constitution of 1949 had guaranteed many individual rights. In the 1950s, however, the SED/state not only egregiously violated "bourgeois" rights in practice but also regularly denigrated the very concept of sovereign justice. In 1968, the People's Chamber ratified a new constitution whose basic rights were very similar

¹⁰⁹ BA Potsdam, DQ1, 6015, Bl. 32, 12.1.65.

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, BA Potsdam, DQ1, 6324, Bl. 584.

¹¹¹ On the United States, see Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, chap. 5; and Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric*, 67. On France, see Jenson, "Changing Discourse," 66, 78–81. On England, see Brookes, *Abortion in England*, 134. On West Germany, see A. Schwarzer, *Frauen gegen den Paragraphen 218* (Frankfurt, 1971); A. Schwarzer, *So fing es an! Die neue Frauenbewegung* (Munich, 1983).

¹¹² SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, "Teildokumentation zu Fragen der ungewollten Schwangerschaft," p. 4.

to those in the earlier code. Yet, unlike earlier, during 1967–1968, Walter Ulbricht, other luminaries, and the press sprinkled their rhetoric about the proposed charter with favorable references to liberal rights and to the rule of law, at least until the Prague Spring frightened the SED into ending all discussion of constitutional revision.¹¹³ When it came to women's rights, the suggestive slogans of *Neues Deutschland*—a “new, free race of women has arisen”—may have provoked the most politically active and loyal women to reflect on the state's promises to them and to think about their unfree personal lives and constrained sexuality. Older women, in particular, could associate the current celebration of women's equality with the most radical arguments made in support of abortion reform in the 1920s and 1940s.¹¹⁴ Within the relatively candid, intimate circles of the GDR's ubiquitous production brigades, working women could share such insights or memories and relate them to the stories of personal woe that they also told each other.¹¹⁵ Thus they learned at work how to turn the “state's own language of liberation” back on their rulers.¹¹⁶ Finally, the work experience per se contributed to the general sense of entitlement that the petitions convey. In an incredibly labor-starved economy, workers enjoyed real, if limited, bargaining power on the job. Men and women carried this sense of leverage into other (nonpolitical) spheres of life. They extended to the case of abortion the terms of an unwritten contract with the state that entailed their political submission in return for its guarantee of certain social rights.¹¹⁷

IN THEIR REPLIES TO PETITIONERS IN THE 1960s, party and health officials greeted citizens' demands with outright and general denial: they often defended the Socialist Republic against charges of inconsistency and injustice, they routinely rejected the plea for reversal, and they always denied the existence of the new regulations. Indeed, the case of the law student Frau M. was perhaps least representative in the positive response it received.¹¹⁸ Among the 113 cases, the

¹¹³ Gerhard Dilcher, “Politische Ideologie und Rechtstheorie, Rechtspolitik und Rechtswissenschaft,” 471–72; Thomas Friedrich, “Aspekte der Verfassungsentwicklung und der individuellen (Grund-)Rechtsposition in der DDR,” both in Kaelble, Zwahr, and Kocka, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*, 487–88, 490–92.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Frau J., June 30, 1996, conducted with Martina Dietrich.

¹¹⁵ On production brigades, see Jörg Roesler, “Die Produktionsbrigaden in der Industrie der DDR: Zentrum der Arbeitswelt?” in Kaelble, Zwahr, and Kocka, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*; Peter Hübner, “‘Die Zukunft war gestern’: Soziale und mentale Trends in der DDR-Industrie,” in Kaelble, Zwahr, and Kocka, *Sozialgeschichte der DDR*. On the tendency of women employees to talk about “everything” with their colleagues in the work brigades, see interviews with Frau H. and Frau P., June 27, 1996, conducted with Martina Dietrich, and with Frau B., June 29, 1996, conducted by the author.

¹¹⁶ So Wendy Goldman describes the rhetoric appropriated by Russian women in letters of protest against the Soviet Union's ban on abortion in 1936. See Goldman, “Women, Abortion, and the State, 1917–1936,” in *Russia's Women*, Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Christine D. Worobec, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 265.

¹¹⁷ Peter Hübner, “Balance des Ungleichgewichtes: Zum Verhältnis von Arbeiterinteressen und SED-Herrschaft,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 19 (1993), esp. 22–23. On the development of the *Anspruchsmoralität* and on the silent “arrangement” over *Sozialpolitik*, see Hübner, “Die Zukunft war gestern,” 179–81.

¹¹⁸ Renate Credo forwarded Frau M.'s letter to SED headquarters, which forwarded it to the health minister with the remark that the case surely met the (nonexistent) “indication of physical and mental strain” and with the request that it be reopened. Meanwhile, on his own initiative, the minister of

Ministry of Health requested a review or ordered a reversal of only eighteen rulings. Although one can guess why Frau M.'s plea caught the attention of party higher-ups and the health minister, it is impossible to detect a general logic to the pattern of response. Of itself, party membership no more guaranteed a reversal than did a medical condition or a threat to commit suicide. Equally obscure are the reasons why commissioners rejected the original applications. After all, the overwhelming majority of the cases described in the petitions of 1965–1968 arose after the relaxation of March 1965 and involved women whose situation met at least one of its conditions. National data on commission rulings deepen the mystery, for there occurred, in fact, a substantial nationwide increase in authorized abortions. In 1964, the ratio of legal abortion to 1,000 live births was 2.7; in 1965, it was 40.5; in 1967, the peak year before 1972, it was 89.0. In 1967, commissions received 78.1 applications per 10,000 women of child-bearing age and approved 61.9 of them. About 21,000 legal abortions were performed annually between 1966 and 1970.¹¹⁹ Yet in every district, expansion was accompanied by numerous rejections of cases that fulfilled one or several of the new conditions. Arbitrary rulings demonstrate, certainly, the resistance of part of the medical community to relaxation. The tracking reports of the Health Ministry indicate, however, that state officials wanted the approval rate to hover just below 70 percent, implying that the commissions ruled according to unwritten quotas.¹²⁰

Their efforts to keep commissioners in line while also refusing to acknowledge to petitioners the boards' inconsistencies, much less to admit the existence of the new rules, ensnared the authorities in verbal contortions. These tactics failed to stop people from spreading the word about the "non-reform." In the district of Leipzig, for example, 270 women requested an abortion in 1963, 436 in 1964, but 1,070 in 1965.¹²¹ The flood of applications strained the cumbersome apparatus of state control and clogged the pipelines of social welfare that undergirded it, such as counseling women who threatened suicide, advising couples about birth control, sending despondent pregnant mothers to a rest-cure and arranging for the care of their children. A commission set up by the Democratic Women's League to review the situation discovered a disturbing increase in the number of applications for a second or third abortion, evidence, its members argued, that the commissions, and especially social workers, could not provide adequate "post-operative care."¹²² Moreover, people gradually became as disgruntled with the new, more liberal

health, Dr. Mecklinger, informed the chairman of the local Berlin commission that the "Ministry objects to the rejection" of Frau M.'s application and wanted it to reconsider its ruling. The commission never got that far. A report arrived that Frau M. had been admitted to the hospital in the midst of a miscarriage (BA Potsdam, 6015, Bl. 35, 14.1.65; Bl. 26, 18.1.65 [the report of Frau M.'s *Abort* is scribbled on the back of this letter to Mecklinger]; Bl. 33, 16.1.65).

¹¹⁹ "Auswertung der Beratung der Zentralen Kommission für Familienplanung am 17. April 1968," in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 111; David and McIntyre, *Reproductive Behavior*, 205. In 1971, 18,700 legal abortions were performed. In 1972, the number shot up to 115,600 and then dropped to around 80,000 in the later 1970s. The number of illegal interventions only declined from 32,000 (in 1971) to 23,700 (in 1976).

¹²⁰ See, for example, statistics on applications and rulings in Berlin from December 1971 in Landesarchiv Berlin, Gesundheits- und Sozialwesen, Rep. 118, Bl. 486.

¹²¹ SHSTA, BuRBL, 5321, Bl. 23, pp. 80–91.

¹²² "Auswertung der Beratung," in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 111.

practice as they had been with the old restrictive one. An evaluation of petitions commented anxiously that after dipping from 1966 to 1970, the number of complaints filed against abortion decisions increased in 1971.¹²³

The SED found itself caught in a process with a life and logic of its own. The chronology of reform in the United States, the case that has been studied most closely, supports this inference. Hospital abortion boards were established in the early 1950s with the aim of alleviating conflicts between strict and broad constructionists of therapeutic abortion. Instead, the boards exacerbated disagreement. Their published figures, moreover, highlighted longstanding regional inconsistencies in approval rates that troubled public health officials and physicians. As the boards degenerated into quota systems, they lost legitimacy, provoked public discussion of their unworkability, and induced the search for a different solution by the elite group of professionals mentioned earlier. In California, that solution came in 1967 in the form of a Therapeutic Abortion Act that legally introduced a “middle way” comparable to the GDR’s silent liberalization of 1965. Just as in East Germany, the new law confused rather than clarified the situation. It ushered in an extremely dramatic rise in the number of approved abortions and turned doctors’ control of abortion into “a legal fiction.” Simultaneously, the California law became the focal point of rising popular discontent and the whipping post of feminists who questioned the entire logic of medical regulation. Quite rapidly, the momentum in favor of repeal, rather than further reform, became irresistible.¹²⁴

For its part, the centralized health bureaucracy in the GDR tried to manage its own increasingly chaotic situation. If nothing else, clerks could diligently track the number of applications, the ratios of approval, and, above all, the birth rate. Their superiors dutifully relayed the information to a nervous Politburo, accompanied by vague assurances that the decline in births remained “within reasonable limits.”¹²⁵ The pro-natalist impulse had not died but it had experienced a mutation: the “reasonable” decrease in the number of births from 1963 to 1969 was 79 percent!¹²⁶ Rather than consider a new crackdown, the SED and Health Ministry set up yet another commission to investigate the social, psychological, and economic causes of the falling birth rate.¹²⁷ Under its new leader Erich Honecker, the Politburo apparently decided that the need to stanch the falling birth rate overrode neither the known negative repercussions of continued control nor the potential positive reverberations of the complete liberalization. On December 22, 1971, the Politburo announced its resolution in favor of a legalization of first-trimester abortions. While we do not know what motivated the Politburo to act exactly when it did, we do have

¹²³ SAPMO, DY 30, IV A2/19/22, “Teildokumentation zu Fragen der ungewollten Schwangerschaft,” p. 4. I did not find these petitions.

¹²⁴ Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 45–46, 56–58, 92–94. Also see Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric*, 22–24, 60–67. On the analogous course of events in France and England, see Jenson, “Changing Discourse,” esp. 66, 77–79; Brookes, *Abortion in England*, 133–34, 154–55.

¹²⁵ Landesarchiv Berlin, Gesundheits- und Sozialwesen, Rep. 118, 1043: “Wirken der Kommission zur vorzeitigen Beendigung einer Schwangerschaft, 1971”; “Protokoll über die Beratung der Kommission . . . am 12.11.70.”

¹²⁶ “Information über den Rückgang der Geborenen in der DDR und seine Auswirkungen auf die Bevölkerungsentwicklung,” reprinted in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 119.

¹²⁷ [Untersuchung der Ursachen für den Rückgang der Anzahl der Geborenen, 1970], reprinted in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 118–27.

evidence on how interested circles reacted to its deed because the SED canvassed their opinions. Prominent gynecologists (most of them academics) generally accepted liberalization, a report explained, but less with enthusiasm than in recognition of the existing system's impracticality. On the other hand, "most women, social workers, and physicians" welcomed the resolution because it recognized "a woman's right to choose," because it would lead to an abatement of illegal abortion, and would allow social workers to spend more time with women who "want children" rather than counseling those who did not. Nonetheless, people criticized the lack of preparatory public discussion and feared a "negative demographic progression." They found it bizarre that a woman did not have to pay for an abortion but bore the cost of the Pill or any other method of birth control that a doctor prescribed for her afterwards. Finally, some women suspected that the Politburo ruled when it did because as of January 1, 1972, citizens of the GDR would no longer need a visa to visit Poland.¹²⁸

GERMAN COMMUNISTS CREATED A ONE-PARTY STATE that managed all aspects of public life and repressed individual freedom. They did so with the intent of transforming the society over which they ruled and forging a "New Socialist Man." The history of the failure, reform, and repeal of Article 11 proves, however, that there were always limits to the state's ability to control private behavior and to its desire to suppress the sovereignty of medical experts. Moreover, political goals, economic exigencies, social claims, and individual desires interacted in ways that increased the limits on the state's power to implement its original agenda. Gradually, a new pragmatism and belief in reform displaced the primacy of ideology, hectic economic and social transformations, and the pressure on workers to produce that had provoked the workers' uprising of 1953 and the massive emigration of professionals throughout the decade.

Especially after the party elite had isolated East Germans behind the Berlin Wall, the SED came to take significantly greater account of the nonpolitical aspirations of the people and to reward occupational achievements without requiring evidence of correct political consciousness. Most citizens resigned themselves to Communist rule and many worked actively to integrate themselves into an apparently permanent state of affairs.¹²⁹ The state pulled back from its unsuccessful attempt to control every aspect of their lives; the "niche society" for which the GDR became renowned in the 1970s began to thrive.¹³⁰ Certainly, the SED elite controlled the framework within which accommodation occurred. The abandonment of abortion reform in favor of the repeal of Article 11 demonstrates, however, that intentional pressures from below and outside the ruling circle could influence the kind of accommodation it had to make.

¹²⁸ "Information über den Stand der Durchführung des Politburo Beschlusses," Landesarchiv Berlin, Gesundheits u. Sozialwesen, Rep. 118, 552; "Betrifft: Kurzinformation Nr. 1/72 über weitere Meinungen . . . der Frauen zum Beschluss des Politburos . . .," in Thietz, *Ende der Selbstverständlichkeit?* 160–61.

¹²⁹ Ludz, "Politische Ziele der SED," 1265–66; Ludz, *GDR from the 60s to the 70s*, 11–12.

¹³⁰ Sigrid Meuschel, "Integration durch Legitimation? Zum Problem der Sozialintegration in der DDR," in Meuschel, *Ideologie und gesellschaftliche Entwicklung in der DDR* (Cologne, 1985), 22–23.

The above points make clear that historians have to place the legalization of abortion in the GDR in its Communist context. This perspective, however, does not explain why the German Communist reform coincided with the wave of liberalization that swept the Western industrialized world and why it shared important features of the content and process in the West. Rather than look at political structure, property relations, or national culture, we need to focus on a variable that is key to the experience of *women* and that changed in the period under consideration—that is, the nature, degree, and social meaning of women's waged work.¹³¹ By 1970, East German women had attained the world's highest percentage of female participation in an industrial work force. An extremely high ratio of mothers with young children worked outside the home. Women were moving into more skilled jobs at a rapid rate. The demographic effects of German history, on the one hand, and the peculiar problems of socialized production, on the other, were largely responsible for these trends. East Germans shared the honors, however, with women in fast-changing market economies. Their employment's rapid pace of growth, its type and quality, and, above all, its extension across their entire adult lives evolved in tandem with the course of women's work in, especially, the United States and France in the 1960s.¹³² The analogous social experiences of the new breed of worker-mothers surely helps explain why the language of, first, public hygiene and, then, reproductive rights emerged at the same time in East and West.

Jane Jenson and Kristin Luker believe that, in France and the United States, respectively, women's changing role in the labor market was a or even *the* key to the emergence of the interpretation of abortion as a right. Celeste Condit, in contrast, argues that in the United States a new public vocabulary developed out of the "discursive process itself" and that this process, not social forces, convinced people of the need for change.¹³³ My research suggests that the experiences of East German women as mothers, wives, and producers shaped the rhetoric about reproduction spoken by medical professionals, party functionaries, and, of course, women themselves. A social-feminist sensibility different from, but akin to, that in the West began to cohere out of the hushed debate in East Germany. This consciousness, however, was forged simultaneously in the "discursive process itself." To make sense of reproductive dilemmas, the East Germans fashioned arguments from existing domestic languages such as socialist humanitarianism, public health, women's equality, and citizens' rights, as well as from the terms of Western discussions. The shift in popular discourse about abortion in the petitions demonstrates, moreover, the power of language to elude political constraint,

¹³¹ In the case of abortion reform, it is particularly hard to see the story as a "German" one. Eva Maleck-Lewy and Myra Marx Ferree note that in post-unification Germany, when the abortion question was revived for East Germans in the form of a public debate, "Legal abortion was an old right and a new issue for East German feminists," while it was "a new right and an old issue for West German feminists." East Germans saw it, in fact, as one of their "individual rights" and were, for that reason, all the more upset by its loss. See the excellent paper by Eva Maleck-Lewy and Myra Marx Ferree, "Talking about Women and Wombs: Discourse about Abortion and Reproductive Rights in the GDR during and after the 'Wende,'" draft paper prepared for conference on Gender and Eastern Europe Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, Il Ciocco, Italy, June 1996, esp. 10–11.

¹³² Luker discusses the shift to "life-time" work and skilled and professional jobs in the United States in the 1960s (*Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 113–18).

¹³³ Jenson, "Changing Discourse," 66; Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, 113; Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric*, 1–5.

showing that even highly controlled ordinary people can manipulate a language structure that is forced on them and use it to influence, at least indirectly, the making of policy. The content of the petitions underscores, finally, the shift in relations among state, society, and private citizen argued for here. The supplicants of the 1950s became the claimants of the 1960s who possessed a hardy sense of their social rights vis-à-vis the state and of their individual right to control reproduction.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

HUGH CUNNINGHAM. *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. 213.

Hugh Cunningham's aim is to trace the development of the belief that children are "real" children only in so far as their experiences are compatible with a particular set of views about childhood. He begins with a careful critique of current scholarship, which has virtually imprisoned the history of childhood within the history of sentiments, thus confining it to the domestic arena rather than locating it within wider political and social worlds. It has also been a largely parent-centered history. Cunningham intends to restore the balance. He distinguishes between children as human beings and childhood as a shifting set of ideas, pointing out that the challenge for scholars is to untangle the relationship between children and childhood and how this changed over time. The connection between public action and thought and private experience should set the agenda for future research.

Cunningham argues that continuity in ideas about and treatment of children is the key throughout the medieval and early modern periods, with Christianity supplying the crucial influence. The emergence of a secular view of children and childhood in the eighteenth century, aided and abetted by John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the Romantic poets, resulted in a significant change in conceptualization and treatment "from a prime focus on the spiritual health of the child to a concern for the development of the individual child" (p. 62). Child-rearing became a matter of allowing natural growth rather than of bending twigs to the desired shape. The period of childhood was viewed as an important time, and, moreover, a time that should be happy.

From 1750 onward, central governments increased their involvement in programs for poor children, designed initially to produce children who would be of service to the state. By the late nineteenth century, however, the concept of child saving became the new rallying cry, accompanied by a separation of the child and adult world. No longer were children to be inured to labor; they were to be saved for the enjoyment of a childhood, a period of life to which all children were

entitled. Children lost any productive role within the economy, becoming consumers instead. Parents responded by having fewer children but valuing them more as individuals and for emotional reasons. The root of present-day angst about childhood, Cunningham argues, can be found in the disjuncture between a public discourse that argues that children are people with rights to a degree of autonomy, implying a fusion of the worlds of adult and child, and the lingering remnant of the romantic view that the right of a child is to be a child, implying a cleavage.

This is a thoughtful, well-written survey, although it is heavily weighted to the period from 1800 onward. Despite the opening critique, the survey of early modern society is kept firmly within the terms of the original debate. The work is really an English-centered account of the rise and spread of the Romantic conception of childhood. This makes the text cohesive, but it leaves the impression of a sweeping tide of homogenous change slowly taking in all classes and both genders. Even though Cunningham is scrupulous enough to point out the limitations of the ideas of Rousseau and the Romantic movement, the middle-class ideal becomes *the* ideal of childhood, and thus the value and importance of contrary views are marginalized, the different importance placed on childhood in earlier periods or by different cultures (portrayed here as sub-cultures resistant to change) is given short weight, and the costs of the ideal, albeit touched on, are not fully explored.

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COLIN SPENCER. *The Heretic's Feast: A History of Vegetarianism*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1995. Pp. xiii, 402. \$29.95.

Colin Spencer's work joins a growing number of volumes dealing with topics in food history. Many historians and philosophers have dealt with ideologies in which vegetarianism plays a role, but there have been few large-scale books written about the ideal itself through time. Like Reay Tannahill's well-known *Food in History* (rev. ed. 1988), this one belongs to the popular history genre. Like its predecessor and despite

its flaws and polemical tone, this is a brave attempt to tackle an important part of food and culinary history.

Non-meat diets—a more apt description than “vegetarianism,” a term first coined in the 1840s—have stemmed over time from one or more major causes. Almost all have to do with religious or secular ideologies. Among them are notions of purity of body, purity of spirit, separation of an individual or group from others, and aversions to killing living beings for food.

Notions of purity historically arose from ascetic impulses exemplified by the Buddha, Christians such as Tertullian, and the Cathars. Food preferences/taboos have always been means of social and personal segregation from societies at large; many professing vegetarians have been accused of thinking themselves morally superior to others. Repugnance for shedding blood might derive from theories of metempsychosis (held by Pythagoras among others) or more secular ethical considerations for the suffering of nonhuman life.

Other reasons for eating wholly or mainly vegetable diets are poverty or scarcity. While claiming to exclude involuntary vegetarianism from his survey, Spencer cannot keep the subject from emerging, especially when discussing impoverished farmers and industrial workers of the last century. These groups illustrate a main theme of the book: vegetarians have been viewed as outside the boundaries of normal or respectable society, that is, heretics.

Using mainly secondary and some original sources, the discussion begins in prehistory and ends in modern times. It is composed largely of summaries of major figures or movements that have featured or provided background ideologies for vegetarianism. Spencer roots the long line of vegetarian thought in Pythagoras, whose doctrines are claimed to have had great influence not only on classical thought but also that of medieval and modern Europe, ancient Persia, and perhaps India. This assertion reveals a familiar form of popular historical thinking. Intellectual enlightenment that began in ancient Greece was mostly, but not entirely, subsumed by Christianity. St. Paul is given special blame/credit for establishing an exploitative, Judeo-Christian concept of human supremacy over the natural world. Except for several heretical sects (Cathars in particular) and a few ascetics (St. Francis), the world of medieval Europe was darkened by ignorance of humanity's true relationship to nonhuman animals: medievals tortured and ate them wherever and whenever they could. Light dawned again with the Renaissance rediscovery of classical thought, including Pythagorean theories, and after that the Enlightenment (save for Descartes, whose “clockwork” vision of the universe made animals into unthinking machines for human use). From this seedbed rose “humanism” (meaning humanitarianism toward other animals) in the eighteenth century, followed by the modern era in which many ideologies compete with one another for human minds, souls, and even existence. A final ques-

tion states the book's case: “If we had accepted other animals as our equals . . . would the world's natural resources have been so depleted?” (p. 343). In its individual parts, this volume will interest students of food history and perhaps specialists in specific areas.

BRUCE KRAIG
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SIMON COLEMAN and JOHN ELSNER. *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. 240; 81 plates. \$29.95.

Pilgrimage entails acts of imagination as well as spatial, temporal, and spiritual displacements. In tracing sacred travels from fifth-century B.C.E. Greece to the Holy Land in the late twentieth century and from monotheistic traditions to those of Indian religions and the Buddhist world, Simon Coleman and John Elsner propose a novel journey of the mind. Their aim is to reconceptualize pilgrimage in terms of cultures of sacred movement rather than merely to think about religions with scripturalist/theological imperatives for performing ritual voyages. A study of pilgrimage across the ages and through so many sacred (and profane) geographies demands multiple lenses and voices. Thus, numerous disciplinary approaches are brought to bear on the topic: anthropology, history and art, religious studies, and sociology. Prefaced by a short introduction devoted to “Landscapes Surveyed,” seven chapters deal with the classical world and Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Indian, and Buddhist pilgrimages. Each of these core chapters grapples with a central problem in the literature on pilgrimage: for example, the relationship between piety and identity in the Greco-Roman world or sainthood in Christianity. Folded within the textual treatment are photographs and illustrations of the monumental structures that have, over the centuries, beckoned pilgrims to their sides, icons, ritual souvenirs embodying the sacred visit and visitor, popular shrines, and processions. These are grouped together under rubrics such as “living saints,” “mapping the sacred,” or “the sacred site.” In an innovative approach, the authors have juxtaposed a photograph of Padre Pio, a Capuchin monk venerated by thousands of Catholic pilgrims as a holy man, with an image of the Dalai Lama receiving homage as a charismatic leader. The reader is invited by both the visual juxtapositions and the accompanying text to consider or re-imagine living saints from dissimilar cultural-religious traditions in disparate settings. But what of the pilgrim, either a solitary seeker of spiritual perfection or the participant in a collective human venture (and adventure) involving masses of the faithful assembled in a highly ritualized performance? Much to their credit, Coleman and Elsner have woven personal narratives and accounts of the pilgrim's progress from the mighty and humble alike. We hear of the travels of Paula of fourth-century Palestine, refracted of course through the prism of St. Jerome's

letters, and of Malcolm X's own experiences as a Muslim hajji in Mecca.

The epilogue, "Landscapes Reviewed," is in many ways the most provocative part of the volume. It is an extended conversation about the difficulties inherent in the study of pilgrimage from within a single disciplinary site as well as from a multidisciplinary vantage point. Indeed, the authors allow that the comparative methodology of pilgrimage within the same religious tradition but across varying historical periods may be as fraught with perils as comparisons between and among different traditions. Coleman and Elsner seem to suggest that the debates and contestations within the academy about how to study pilgrimage should provoke some intellectual displacements on the part of scholars locked in their own sacred academic traditions; like the pilgrim, the scholar must learn to travel through different landscapes and routes.

JULIA CLANCY-SMITH
University of Arizona

PAULA E. HYMAN. *Gender and Assimilation in Modern Jewish History: The Roles and Representations of Women*. (The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 197. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$14.95.

Paula E. Hyman's examination of the effects of gender marks a significant milestone in the study of assimilation in Jewish history, and it suggests new approaches for understanding the process among non-Jewish immigrant groups as well. Past studies of assimilation have concentrated on activities performed in the public sphere, with the concomitant effect of excluding home-based activities. Hyman breaks down the artificial barrier between public and private and demonstrates the importance of understanding how, in both the United States and Western Europe, practices in the home, controlled mainly by women, affected the nature of assimilation.

Two factors in particular had influenced the redefinition of gender roles for Jewish men and women by the turn-of-the-century: anti-Semitism and middle-class gender norms. Hyman shows how the adoption of Western culture by men tended to erode their traditional practices, performed outside the home and thus visible to the non-Jewish world. Yet while men largely abandoned earlier, pre-emancipation roles as transmitters of tradition, Jewish women could retain certain religious practices and be American, or German, at the same time. By preserving Jewish culture in the home, they thus eased the strains of assimilation for their families. This role also fit in with norms of bourgeois culture, which expected women to be more religious than men.

As for the women themselves, in addition to their augmented role in the home, many also pursued a Jewish version of the "New Woman" by becoming active in such organizations as the National Council for Jewish Women in the United States or the Deut-

sches Frauenbund in Germany. They extended their role to caring for the poor and providing Jewish education, which they believed justified their insistence in having a voice in organized Judaism.

The most provocative part of the book explores the ways in which this transmission of authority for the continuation of Jewish traditions to women was fraught, for men, with anxieties that were reflected in ambivalent attitudes toward women. In traditional Eastern European Jewish society, males were largely responsible for passing on culture through the education of their sons. Given the new opportunities of the United States and post-emancipation Europe, however, Jewish men, reacting to anti-Semitism and their own desire to assimilate, simultaneously abandoned this role to women and blamed women for the increased secularization of their families. Hyman traces this tension in the difference between the actual record of women's organized activities and the way these were represented in the Jewish press, where mothers' "modern views" were blamed for the radical assimilation of their children.

In the post-World War II years, Hyman equates the increase in books by Jewish novelists that presented unflattering caricatures of Jewish mothers with the rise in anti-Semitism and the struggle of men to escape their Jewishness by ascribing to women characteristics that they feared Christians attributed to them. In seeking their own identities, Jewish men made women responsible for their own guilt and anxiety.

Hyman offers a convincing explanation of why the role Jewish women actually played was not recognized at the time and why Jewish men, from early community leaders and Zionists to post-World War II writers, blamed these women for the assimilationist zeal of their children while exonerating themselves. Paradoxically, the male leadership of the Jewish community sought to continue the process of assimilation while shifting to Jewish mothers responsibility for the decline in Jewish knowledge and practice. Thus, they could have their cake and eat it too.

In short, this is a book that writers on assimilation of any group would do well to consult.

SYDNEY STAHL WEINBERG
Ramapo College

ROBERT LIBERLES. *Salo Wittmayer Baron: Architect of Jewish History*. (Modern Jewish Masters Series, number 5.) New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 425. \$45.00.

"They don't make 'em like that any more," one is tempted to say after reading Robert Liberles's fine survey of the intellectual career of Salo Wittmayer Baron, the leading Jewish historian of the twentieth century, and, together with Heinrich Graetz and Simon Dubnow, one of the three most important Jewish historians in the modern period. Born into one of the wealthiest Jewish families in Tarnow, in Habsburg Galicia, Baron obtained three doctorates from the

University of Vienna in 1917–1923 and at the same time pursued rabbinical studies at the Israelitisch-Theologischen Lehranstalt. After coming to the United States to teach at Stephen Wise's Jewish Institute of Religion, Baron assumed a chair in Judaica at Columbia University in 1930. From the Department of History, his academic home, Baron soon became "the reigning and unchallenged symbol of the academic study of Jewish history" (p. 3), as Liberles puts it, and even more "the leading academic spokesperson for American Jews" (p. 312). A workaholic, Baron fashioned a daily routine entirely around his scholarship, pursued seven days a week, throughout the entire year, pausing only on Yom Kippur (and on that point the author is not entirely certain). Retirement in 1963, as Liberles notes, simply released more time for Baron's scholarly work. Carrying on for another two decades, until he lost his wife and principal helper, Jeannette, Baron died in 1989 at age ninety-four. Along with prodigious contributions to Jewish scholarly societies and extensive Jewish community work undertaken since the 1930s, he published more than thirty volumes, most notably his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, eighteen volumes of a study unfinished at the time of his death and probably the last "history of the Jews" in the sense of an attempt, by a single, responsible scholar, to encompass the entire panorama of Jewish history within the confines of one work.

Drawing upon extensive interviews with Baron in the late 1980s and upon considerable manuscript material as well as the Baron *oeuvre* itself, Liberles's book is also informed by a familiarity with modern Jewish scholarship and its major protagonists. The author has a particularly good feel for the quarrels between Baron and his leading critics, most notably Yitzhak Baer of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Solomon Zeitlin of Dropsie College—academic titans of the old school, as was Baron himself. Aware of Baron's personal and professional shortcomings—his self-importance, his tendency to parade his omniscience as a Jewish historian, and his failure, at times, to guide his readers down a clear narrative path—Liberles links Baron's ideas on Jewish history with his historical environment and his own personal circumstances.

Although full of creativity, Baron's career was informed by a single major idea, which he elaborated throughout the course of his career. Beginning in 1928, Baron denounced "the lacrymose view of Jewish history"—a perspective, associated primarily with Heinrich Graetz, which accented Jewish suffering as the key to understanding the Jewish past. Baron emphasized the opposite, doing so in various ways—looking at the extent to which Jews controlled their own historical fates, the remarkable strains of Jewish creativity, and the positive interaction of Jews with the surrounding society. Calling attention to social history, to Jewish history seen within a comparative perspective, to the role of religion and institutions in Jewish life, to the increasing standing of America in the Jewish world, and to the leadership of American Jewry after the

catastrophe of the Second World War, Baron underscored the rich variety of the Jewish past even as he challenged this traditional view. Denouncing what he called an isolationist approach to Jewish history and the ghettoization of the Jewish historical experience, he called upon colleagues and students to integrate the Jewish past with the history of other peoples. His approach was that of a proud, self-confident scholar, steeped in Jewish learning, enamored of the American academy that gave him so prestigious a platform, an enthusiastic immigrant who saw in American Jewry the illustrious successor of the wounded Jewish communities of Europe.

Somewhat pessimistically, Liberles sees Baron's legacy to Jewish studies as "significantly weakened by recent trends placing less value on academic integration and deeming historical normalization as counter-productive toward the now more accentuated pursuit of ethnic identity" (p. 356). Perhaps, on this point at least, the author is mistaken. Baron's legacy is alive and well, I think, evidenced in part by this excellent and, one hopes, influential book.

MICHAEL R. MARRUS
University of Toronto

LOUIS KAPLAN. *Laszlo Moholy-Nagy: Biographical Writings*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 232. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$15.95.

Louis Kaplan's self-consciously Derridean study of the Hungarian artist Laszlo Moholy-Nagy (1895–1946) proceeds from an intriguing premise. On the one hand, there is the talented artist, very aware of his own ability, who tried to create works that seemed to be "anonymous," that had the appearance of being mass-produced or products of chance. On the other hand, there is a body of postwar French theory that has proclaimed the "death of the author" and replaced authorial intention with "language effects." The two seem made for each other, so Kaplan applies the latter theoretical perspective to the former artist. The result is this rather irritating book.

One must grant that Kaplan is aware of many of the problems and risks involved in his enterprise. One could argue that his project is a self-fulfilling prediction: insofar as much "postmodern" death-of-the-author theory was inspired by modernist artists' attempts to efface authorship, it is no wonder that the later, derivative theory often fits the earlier art like a glove. But what throws a wrench into that argument is the fact that the theories are serious in denying the importance of authorial intention, whereas the earlier modernist artists *consciously* and *intentionally* sought to create effects that would *appear* to deny their authorship, that would *seem* to be anonymous. Kaplan is aware of "the paradoxical nature of writing a biography of one who seeks to become an anonymous agent" (p. 11), as he valiantly tries to show how there were indeed forces beyond Moholy's intentions that created the anonymous effects in his art.

Kaplan examines a variety of issues and artistic media where authorship and intentionality are questioned, including persistent charges of plagiarism leveled against Moholy, his conscious decision not to sign a number of works, and photograms that are supposed to be self-portraits but that disguise and efface the subject. All of these issues are important and fascinating, but the (quite literal) verbosity of the theory tends to overwhelm the art. Moholy's works get short-changed not only by the relative dearth of illustrations in this volume, which is difficult to read unless one has some other, better-illustrated monograph on Moholy at one's side (like that of Kristina Passuth). The works also suffer because a theory that is based so heavily on words and word-games cannot help but be blind to much that is happening in Moholy's visual art. In "Abstract of an Artist" (1944), the text that Kaplan is most fond of citing, Moholy himself warned that art would have no meaning if "all problems could be solved successfully through intellectual or verbal discourse alone."

The most problematic aspect of Kaplan's book—one that it shares with some (not all) of the theory that inspired it—is its manner of argumentation, which often degenerates into free association. That need not be bad, but sometimes the links are as tenuous as alliteration; if you cannot stomach phrases like "a pen or paintbrush poised for the poisons of plagiarism" (p. 68), then this book is not for you. Even more pervasive is argument-by-punning, which totally dominates the last chapter. Proceeding from the Derridean assumption that one's name (or "signature") can influence one's life, Kaplan tries to read concepts like *ho*, *holy*, *whole*, *hole*, *Höhle*, and *Hohlheit*, as well as *nagen* and *Nagetier*, into the life and works of Moholy-Nagy. Granted, Kaplan expresses concern that the reader might view such speculations as "superficial plays on words which are the results of arbitrary graphic accidents, that they only provide forced and stupid jokes devoid of meaning" (p. 158), but this does not prevent him from proceeding anyway. Indeed, he even concedes (p. 29) that this mode of argumentation is analogous to astrology.

That stop is where I have to get off the train. The trip from Moho to Pomo and back again is circuitous, not esoteric.

PETER JELAVICH
University of Texas,
Austin

ERIC MARKUSEN and DAVID KOPF. *The Holocaust and Strategic Bombing: Genocide and Total War in the Twentieth Century*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xvi, 354. \$34.95.

This is a sociology dissertation revised with the assistance of a historian of India. It argues that mass killing is particularly characteristic of the twentieth century and that the escalation of killing, especially of civilians, has been facilitated by trends and aspects of modern

society common to the Holocaust, strategic bombing, and the planning of war with nuclear weapons. According to Eric Markusen and David Kopf, the Holocaust and strategic bombing have sufficient features in common, in spite of some differences, to make them not essentially different forms of genocide. Markusen and Kopf discuss some of their differences with other scholars of genocide and total war. They also move backward and forward in time, providing a historical overview of what they describe as genocides in the past as well as an analysis of the genocidal implications of nuclear warfare and how the danger of genocide might be reduced in the future.

A substantial portion of the text consists of discussions of terminology and summarization of other authors' works. The thrust of the argument is toward theory and interpretation, since Markusen and Kopf are concerned with propounding their views and not reporting or analyzing new material. The fundamental problems with the work are two: a startling unfamiliarity with the subject matter on which they expatiate and an unnerving insistence on making the past fit their interpretations rather than the other way around. A few samples of each may serve to illustrate both the weakness of the book and the way in which theory dominates all else.

In the discussion of ancient warfare, the Persians are confused with the Phoenicians and the Second with the Third Punic War (p. 23). At one point the Thirty Years War is shifted from the seventeenth to the fifteenth century (p. 22); at another its French participants are retroactively converted to Protestantism (p. 24). Errors abound in the discussion of twentieth-century history as well. Erich Ludendorff, the German general who was forced out of his position before the end of World War I and died in 1937, is described as "the military dictator of Germany between the two world wars" (p. 36); the decree of German President Paul von Hindenburg (whose name they cannot get correct) suspending all civil liberties in Germany is attributed to the German parliament (p. 123). The authors are as unfamiliar with Japan as with Germany: civilian prime ministers like Hirota Koki and Konoye Fumimaro are inducted into the army or navy (p. 95); the Tokyo International Military Tribunal and the American trial of General Yamashita Tomyuki are confused (p. 104). The contention that people in Germany and Japan could do nothing about their governments will astonish all who remember what happened in East Germany in 1989.

The Allies are also subjected to bouts of ignorance: the fall of the Chamberlain government in May 1940 is attributed to the wrong event (p. 153). The list of errors could be extended indefinitely. Particularly alarming is the authors' tossing about of statistics that inspire even less confidence than their descriptions of events. The figures on Soviet prisoners of war held by the Germans and the deaths among them change several times (pp. 112, 117, 138). German World War

1 military deaths are increased from a real 1,800,000 to 3 million (p. 121), and so on.

When the facts do not support the theses advanced, they are altered out of ignorance or intent. Japanese-Americans were "relocated" from the western counties of Washington and Oregon but not the eastern counties; here they are moved out of the whole states (p. 190), perhaps because it would be difficult to convince readers that the government had determined there was a racial difference depending on county of residence. The utterly hopeless discussion of strategic bombing concludes with a picture of the German city of Wesel whose caption attributes the destruction explicitly to 1000 American bombers and implicitly to the strategic bombing offensive (p. 169). In reality, two hundred British bombers dropped the bombs in immediate tactical support of the Rhine crossing of Field Marshal Montgomery's 21st Army Group. Would it have been better if the Allied forces had remained on the left bank?

This brings up a fundamental issue that Markusen and Kopf refuse to engage. In August 1944, as Allied troops raced toward Paris, trains with French Jews were regularly leaving the city for Auschwitz. The defeat of the German air force in the February-March strategic bombing offensive had made the invasion possible; would it have been better, would fewer lives have been lost, if the Allies had not crossed the Channel and the trains had kept running? The topics dealt with in this book are serious ones and deserve serious consideration, but this book is too flawed to fit into that category.

GERHARD L. WEINBERG
University of North Carolina,
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URI BAR-JOSEPH. *Intelligence Intervention in the Politics of Democratic States: The United States, Israel, and Britain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 392. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

In this book, Uri Bar-Joseph proposes to assess why intelligence agencies have intervened in the politics of democratic states. After first reviewing the secondary literature on both intelligence policy and civil-military relations, Bar-Joseph discusses in detail four case studies involving the United States, Israel, and Great Britain: the role of CIA officials in the planning and execution of the Bay of Pigs covert operation to overthrow the Castro government in 1961; the role of Israeli intelligence officers in the so-called Lavon affair of 1954, wherein an untimely sabotage operation involving the recruitment of Egyptian Jews subverted Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharon's delicate negotiations with Egyptian officials; and the so-called Henry Wilson affair of 1920 and Zinoviev Letter affair of 1924, wherein information relating to Soviet subversive activities in England was leaked by British intelligence officials to the conservative British press. Based on these four case studies, Bar-Joseph develops a

model that attributes political intervention by intelligence agencies in democratic societies to the lack of "professionalism at the bureaucratic level and the effectiveness of the control system at the state level" (p. 2).

Bar-Joseph's ambitious attempt at model building adds little to our understanding of intelligence policy or to the factors contributing to intelligence intervention in politics. It is not simply that his four case studies are unrepresentative or that he fails to compare cases of intervention with those when intervention was averted or not attempted. A far more serious deficiency stems from the recognizably incomplete documentation on which his sweeping and impressionistic conclusions are based. Bar-Joseph's account is replete with the qualifying phrases "probable," "likely," "must have," and "could have." He concedes that available documentation does not confirm that intelligence bureaucrats were solely responsible for these four operations. Thus, although contending that Israeli Colonel Benyamin Givli's personality had led him to act without authority, he admits that this assessment "involves the use of speculation and circumstantial evidence no less than hard facts" (p. 244), adding that Givli's personality "best explains the initiation of the operation" (p. 153). Similarly, while concluding that low-level British intelligence officials were solely responsible for leaks to the British press, Bar-Joseph acknowledges that the "nature of the evidence makes it very difficult" to assess responsibility and that his conclusions are based on evidence that "is incomplete and mainly circumstantial" (p. 256).

Classification restrictions and the interest of high-level government officials in securing "deniability" make it very difficult to document the level of authorization for intelligence operations. Had Bar-Joseph's four case studies been based on particularly complete documentation, his proposed model could have served as the basis for further research projects. Political scientists are wont to impose order on complex and chronologically distinctive events through seemingly scientific models of decision making. This book is a particularly egregious example of the questionable value of this genre.

ATHAN THEOHARIS
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CHARLES R. BAMBACH. *Heidegger, Dilthey, and the Crisis of Historicism*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 297. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

Like historical happening itself, the haunted mansion of German historicism has many rooms, and they are arranged more like confounded Chinese boxes or nested catacombs than adjoining chambers. The passageways seem to bring as much labyrinthine involution into perplexity as evolution toward perspicacity. In recent years, a brave "new historicism" has been enlisted into many academic disciplines, even though there is hardly any agreement about what constituted

the old historicism. Charles R. Bambach's suggestive study of German "high historicism" illuminates this still-spiraling process throughout its vertiginous ruptures as well as its subtle spectral shifts; it also engages a whole array of issues agitating contemporary thought. The reader accustomed to today's "culture wars" about values, tradition, and dominant suppositions will find many of the main philosophical fronts carefully elaborated in this work.

Bambach contends that there is a deep affinity between historicism as an intellectual outlook and modernity as a way of life: both call notions of foundation, presupposition, and essence constantly into question. We emerge with the compound paradox of "fundamental anti-foundationalism" linked to "crisis" as the routine matter-of-course for modern life and thought. Bambach furnishes a lucid guide to the way German thought arrived at the predicament of holding to a larger framework to make sense of historical happening while at the same time disallowing any fixed foundations under it or ultimate ends beyond it.

The book's arrangement effectively deploys its argument: after setting forth the larger cultural context of German thought "between scientism and historicism," it provides cumulative, interwoven chapters on Wilhelm Windelband's taxonomy of the sciences, Heinrich Rickert's epistemology of the historical knowledge, Wilhelm Dilthey's critique of historical reason, and Martin Heidegger's deconstructive critique of historicism itself. Bambach strikes a happy balance between general insight and analytical detail.

There are real jewels of insight and thoughtful exposition in this book. Bambach offers terse, probing judgments concerning difficult theoretical issues—notably Dilthey's differences with neo-Kantian thought, the tension between relativity and validity after this crucial confrontation, the different forms of value-philosophy, and the "return to metaphysics." Bambach effectively expounds the wrenching antinomies of historicism, showing how they carried over into the dark nimbus of post-World War I thought, wafting between nihilism and eschatology. The origins of Heidegger's radical "Destruktion" of Western tradition are comprehensively examined. Bambach makes judicious use of recent scholarship, including the best interpretive studies and recent primary source material published in the ongoing collected works of Dilthey and Heidegger.

There are also some problems with this stimulating book—more concerning tone than real substance. But when foundations are being called into question at so many turns of page and event, atmospheric "tone" tends to take on a sort of substance of its own. Awash in the torrent of spiritual crises and radical shifts, the reader undergoes "crisis fatigue," reinforced by Bambach's admission that crisis "sold well" and had become something of a tired cliché even before World War I. If modernity—or at least German modernity—is (was?) a condition of constant crisis, then a

sober, crisis-schooled historicism might be led to ask, "So what else is new?" What can qualify as new, even as a genuinely new crisis, in an ever-shifting framework bereft of normative, "normal," or otherwise traditional notions? Bambach does not press the linkage of actual historical "crisis" and "critical" historical thinking to a convincing conclusion: admittedly, by his reading of the trajectory of historicism, such a conclusion must necessarily remain beyond reach, just as do any fixed foundations. What were the real temporary/temporal compass points defining this engrained and oddly "routine" German tradition of crisis thinking, other than its very fixation on crisis? Was the old historicism simply the absurd exercise of "trying to hold onto the waves amidst a shipwreck," as Heidegger's student, Karl Löwith, once defined it?

In his own version of the teleology of German historicism, Bambach tends to slant the presentation toward Heidegger's darkening and harkening utterances. In his quest for the ultimate and most radical historical "revisionism" of re-thinking Being (including being human)—thereby converting human history into temporalized ontology—Heidegger set up many straw concepts, notably the caricature of historicism itself as purblind "scientism" and smug "all-too-humanism" conspiring in the blindly anthropomorphic project of the empty "will to will." Historicism was "deconstructed" and execrated for furthering not thoughtful reflection and awareness of "otherness" but rather narcissistic self-indulgence.

Bambach rightly insists that German historicism bore little resemblance to Karl Popper's rendition, but in his own zeal to harken to Heidegger's even quirkier version, the author too often rehashes something quite Popperesque in its linear teleology and oddly credulous "progressism." The sort of history (and historicism) that Friedrich Nietzsche and Heidegger attacked was not the historicism that Dilthey, Ernst Troeltsch, and Max Weber defended. The anchorage of historicism in an open-eyed, "critical" humanism awake to the limits of knowledge, will power, science, and technology as well as keenly alert to the inhumane dimensions of history gets somewhat side-lined in Bambach's otherwise probing, fair-minded, and comprehensive work.

MICHAEL ERMARTH
Dartmouth College

M. C. LEMON. *The Discipline of History and the History of Thought*. New York: Routledge. 1995. Pp. vi, 280. \$89.95.

This is a philosophical treatise on history that claims to be based on actual historical practice. M. C. Lemon's background is in political theory from Plato to Karl Marx, which constitutes the primary source material for the study. It is written in the style of British ordinary-language philosophy (in the manner of J. L. Austin and Quentin Skinner) and is relatively innocent of continental philosophy of history. In consequence,

the book is free of the obscurity that comes with jargon but is, unfortunately, burdened by prolixity and repetition, which makes reading it a daunting effort. The discussions are just subtle enough, however, to make this reasonably worthwhile.

Chapter one presents several types of history: descriptive, analytical (i.e., explanatory in terms of cause and effect), comparative, and quantitative. The criterion for delimiting history from other types of inquiry, however, is that of narrative, and Lemon's most original contribution is to provide a logic for historical narrative as an autonomous form of investigation.

Chapter two gives the basic components of this logic: the "narrative identities" of history are continuous sequences of occurrences that form events rendered intelligible by reference to human meaning. Lemon is particularly insistent on the role of human agency in such processes. "Narrative requires . . . agents which are active, which, in responding to states of affairs, are responsible for their temporal sequentiality" (p. 57). He sharply distinguishes this from "scientific" explanation in terms of impersonal causes. "'Factors' such as a fall in the pound, a rise in violent crime figures, or a drop in the birth-rate, never did anything, and never will" (p. 131). Similarly, abstract entities such as deities, Hegelian reason, or "the state" have no place in narrative. Lemon is somewhat skeptical of social history and tends to view political history as the core of the discipline.

Chapters three and four provide miscellaneous applications of these concepts to historical practice. Lemon provides a taxonomy of narrative actions, remarks on terms such as relevance and significance, beginnings and endings, and the proper relationship of history and theory. In the final chapter, the entire apparatus is brought to bear on the history of thought and its legitimacy as a discipline. Lemon allows for the history of particular thoughts; he focuses mainly on thinking as an activity of individuals, but he also admits the reality of schools, traditions, and some "isms" (liberalism, socialism, Marxism, but not materialism) as qualifying narrative identities. Broader categories such as the Renaissance, Enlightenment, or the Industrial Revolution are borderline cases.

I see two major problems connected with Lemon's sharp separation between narrative and causal analysis. First, people often cause events but lose control over them. The Great Depression is a case in point: it was indisputably a human creation, but the suffering it brought was not actively willed. Can impersonal factors such as unemployment rates be omitted from its narrative? Moreover, the desire to impute agency where none exists leads to conspiracy theories as chimerical as the abstract entities that Lemon so rightly decries. Second, narratives often involve sequences whose later occurrences are vastly disproportional in scope and impact to the earlier ones. The Sarajevo assassination and World War I is the classic example. It is just such disproportional results that historians frequently have to account for. This can only

be done by introducing a variety of macro and micro-scope events that are not reducible to a single time sequence. Thus, the narrative identities of nationalism and imperialism may not be as precisely delimitable as the sequence of international crises and treaties that led to 1914, though all may be necessary for an intelligible account of the origins of World War I. Lemon's framework can accommodate this, but it does not fit easily into his overall pronouncements. He sees historians primarily as forgers of chains, whereas they may be more like weavers of tapestries.

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ALEX CALLINICOS. *Theories and Narratives: Reflections on the Philosophy of History*. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 252. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

What role remains for a Marxist historiography in light of "postmodernism," with its denial of grand narratives and representational realism, its anti-Eurocentrism, and its tendencies toward an ironic, depoliticized aestheticism or a particularist "identity politics"? In this latest in a series of books, Alex Callinicos seeks to show that Marxism can withstand some of these post-modern assaults and adjust in response to others. Informed by a leaner, more flexible Marxism, historical inquiry can still serve the radical project of human emancipation.

Concerned first to demonstrate the scope for "historical theory," as opposed to the dubious "metanarrative" of G. W. F. Hegel or Francis Fukuyama, Callinicos invokes the neo-Weberian historical sociologists Anthony Giddens, Michael Mann, W. G. Runciman, and Ernst Gellner as exemplars. Their concern with the whole process of human development does not taint their historical researches but enhances the power of their historical questioning. Though occasionally noting the superiority of a dialectical approach, Callinicos simply wants to show that historical materialism is comparable: an open-ended research program concerned with structure, transformation, and directionality but with no implication of determinism or telos.

Callinicos admires the innovative work of recent Marxist historians like Robert Brenner, Eero Loone, and Chris Wickham, but he finds still greater flexibility essential if Marxist historiography is to surmount the postmodern challenge. Rather than concentrate on the defining features of capitalism, Marxists must attend to the diversity of its forms as they have developed historically. Above all, for Callinicos, a Marxist approach has plenty of room for contingency, for dead ends and catastrophes. The naked history matters, and thus the need for narrative as the mode of relating what in fact happened.

But narrative has itself become problematic, thanks especially to the pioneering work of Hayden White, who seems to invite anti-realist aestheticism and irony.

To show how narrative can convey the real, Callinicos makes appropriate use of R. C. Collingwood and Hans-Georg Gadamer, but he also takes advantage of Imre Lakatos's contributions to the philosophy of science. Counter to skeptics like White, Callinicos concludes that narrative, despite its obvious element of closure, need not foster acceptance of the apparently inevitable present but can serve liberating action.

The political valences of postmodernism are notoriously diverse, and Callinicos tilts with both Richard Rorty, the liberal ironist, and Robert Young, who proposes a distinctly post-Marxist radicalism based on poststructuralism. Whereas Young finds Marxism irredeemably tainted with Eurocentrism, Callinicos insists that a Marxist account can give due weight to the crimes of Western domination and need not privilege the Western pattern of development. Capitalism is the dominant historical force, but it is not specifically European; the contingent fact that capitalism spread from Europe does not make Europe the axis of world history. In accentuating the contingency and open-endedness of the overall process, Callinicos implies that non-Westerners might draw on indigenous traditions to spearhead the response to a systemic crisis of capitalism.

Callinicos is at his best in countering both "identity politics" and the idealization of the pre-capitalist world that has accompanied assaults on Marxism as Eurocentric. But he sometimes does not do justice to the postmodern argument, aspects of which might offer more convincing ways of grounding the reconstructive role for historiography he seeks. It is not clear that his updated versions of metaphysical realism and the correspondence theory of truth afford the most effective way of heading off aestheticized irony. Conversely, we do not require Marxism, or even neo-Weberian historical sociology, to show the ongoing scope, after the postmodern turn, for historical inquiry to serve ongoing action and reconstruction.

Moreover, despite his convincing steps to encompass contingency, diversity, and openness, Callinicos's account betrays some of the reductionism and imperialism that have long lurked in Marxist historiography. He affords privilege to one particular theory, which takes socioeconomic structures as determinant, rather than inviting a theoretical pluralism that recognizes other ways of conceiving the relationship of human being to history.

It is possible to go further in developing a flexible, reflexive, even historicist brand of Marxism. But whereas it is not privileged, or a warrant for reading today's struggles into the past, historical materialism is still among the most powerful research programs we have, and one we need now more than ever. That is the value of Callinicos's ongoing effort to keep Marxism abreast of the postmodern challenge.

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PETER LOEWENBERG. *Fantasy and Reality in History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 235. \$35.00.

Peter Loewenberg has long pursued a dual career as historian and psychoanalyst, achieving a merited visibility in both fields because of the distinctive qualities that also characterize this collection of essays: remarkable breadth of research interest and depth of knowledge.

These essays—gracefully written, accessible, learned, and humane—are unified by a singular focus on the theory and practice of psychoanalysis. They are divided between the two principal interests of psychoanalysis: the interpretation of affecting but puzzling instances of individual behavior, which figures in essays on Sigmund Freud, William E. Gladstone, Walther Rathenau, Karl Renner, and Vladimir Zhirinovsky; and the analysis of social movements, both in terms of the hostile, antagonistic behavior of movement participants and in terms of integrative, cooperative behavior. For example, Loewenberg analyzes the social and psychodynamic conditions that give rise to racism and nationalism on the one side; on the other side, he considers the creative aspirations of a scientific community, examining the work that went on in the decade before World War I at "the Cantonal Psychiatric University Hospital and Clinic of Zurich, known as the Burghöhli" (p. 47), the subject of the most interesting and original essay in the book.

Loewenberg argues that we need a comprehensive account of the human mind in order to understand how social order is established and social change occurs; how commitments to authoritative leaders, moral perspectives, norms, values, and institutions are originated and sustained; and why people experience and react to normatively perceived threats and opportunities in the ways that they do. In the absence of psychoanalytic observations, Loewenberg suggests, we lack such a comprehensive account of the mind. Psychoanalysis is thus especially useful for interpretively integrating the affective expression of the participants in social movements and relating that to historical outcomes. The need to account for affective expression is nowhere better revealed than in the example Loewenberg offers of the still incomprehensible "war crisis of late summer 1914, known to historians as 'the reversal of August,'" which revealed to shocked Europeans "the hubris of rationalism, the tragedy of peoples impelled to catastrophe by forces both within and without themselves beyond their cognitive control or ends-means calculations, and the unappreciated latent power of nationalism. It is as though at one historical moment the entire fabric of belief systems was torn open by underlying forces of envy, aggression, and violence" (p. 200).

In 1980, the esteemed American academic psychologist Robert Zajonc noted: "Affect dominates social interaction, and it is the major currency in which social interaction is conducted" ("Feeling and Thinking Pref-

erences Need No Inferences," *American Psychologist* 35 [1980]: 153). Sociologists Randall Collins and Jon Elster, neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, and historian Peter Stearns have also stressed the paramount importance of affects, but little has been reliably established in any of these disciplines. Moreover, empirical or experimental studies in other areas of vital interest to historians, such as language, memory, and the relationship of affect to cognition, are in a rudimentary state, barely related to the kinds of questions historians routinely ask.

In this context, many academic social psychologists, concerned with the demonstrated weaknesses of various rational-choice and rational-actor theories, are moving once again in the direction of ideology, collective identity, norms, and values. Insofar as Loewenberg is interested in such questions as how "nationalist messages are communicated, transferred, inculcated, and internalized from caretakers to children" (p. 196), the gap between these academic social psychologists and psychoanalytic writers such as Loewenberg is not as great as many would like to think. Indeed, with respect to effective (as distinct from popular) theory, the gap between the social sciences and psychoanalysis is not as great as many would like to think.

There are no breakthroughs in the offing, and historical work remains dependent on the imaginative constructions and intuitions of able researchers and writers. What counts in the writing of history are the questions historians ask, the problems and issues they direct attention to, the research they accomplish, and the significance of their work for others. Theoretical vantage points are important only in these terms, and Loewenberg's psychoanalysis therefore provides an effective vantage point: he asks important questions, he directs attention to crucial problems, his research is excellent, and his work is significant for others.

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RONALD H. CARPENTER. *History as Rhetoric: Style, Narrative, and Persuasion*. (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. 350. \$39.95.

History, unlike mathematics, is a rhetorical discipline. It relies on persuasion, not demonstration. Grounded in the surviving data of past experience, it remains an artful discipline, as reliant on narrative strategy as on evidence. Rhetoric, not philosophy, at least not in the analytic sense, is its charter, for, as Ronald H. Carpenter observes, history, like rhetoric, achieves its meaning in a relation between historian and audience, writer and reader. It is, therefore, a promising domain for rhetorical analysis. In an important article on historiography in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (1968), J. H. Hexter explored the "rhetoric of history" with imagination and wit. Surprisingly, Carpenter's extensive bibliography does not

mention Hexter's work, nor, disappointingly, does his text have much imagination and wit, though it is an earnest, well-meaning, and deeply researched book.

My disappointment may be the result of an inability on my part (or Carpenter's) to close the gap between the horizons of the disciplinary concerns of history and communication studies. Carpenter is a widely published scholar in the field of speech and communications, and he seems to be pursuing questions of importance to that field. But his approach offers little to historians as an explanation of rhetorical strategies central to or perhaps peculiar to their discipline. Nor does Carpenter, in a concluding chapter on the pervasiveness of historical metaphors in the culture at large, indicate much about the place of either history or the historian in public life. (His wide-ranging research turns up some amusing historical references and some scary quotes wherein political leaders seek to emulate movie roles, particularly of the John Wayne type.)

In chapters on Frederick Jackson Turner, Carl Becker, and Alfred Thayer Mahan, Carpenter undertakes what I would call a stylistic rather than a rhetorical analysis. Turner used sequential phrasings of the beginnings of sentences, alliteration, and the union of opposites (or antitheses). Becker also used antitheses but was most notable for his epigrammatic style. At his best, he achieved "epigrammatic antitheses" (p. 96). Mahan provides an especially interesting case: he was memorable when he made pithy, epigrammatic statements, and he was cautious and thoughtful when he was wordy and slightly convoluted. We should all be so lucky. Frank Owsley, the negative case in the study, could not manage to write in any of these ways. Hence he persuaded neither historians nor the public that the slave south was really a happy world of yeoman farmers. Could it be that evidential and interpretive issues had more to do with Owsley's failure than a couple of elementary stylistic devices?

Raising the stakes later in the book, Carpenter argues that Barbara Tuchman's *Guns of August* (1962), which John F. Kennedy had read and admired, provided a virtual blueprint for avoiding miscalculation and adopting the "conservative" policy of blockade and negotiation in the Cuban Missile Crisis. While the chapter provides an interesting documentation of the exchanges between an author, an editor (Denning Miller), and an ideal "reader" at work making a historical text, the causal claims are absurd. A complex array of historical analogies, including a generational familiarity with World War II (especially the negative reference of Pearl Harbor), and a number of strategic concerns framed and motivated that decision.

The rhetoric of history deserves better; so do the authors examined by Carpenter. Whatever value this book has in communication studies, it contributes very little to our understanding of historical narrative or to the analysis of the cultural work of history.

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ANCIENT

DARREL W. AMUNDSEN. *Medicine, Society, and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 391. \$39.95.

This collection of Darrel W. Amundsen's studies on attitudes toward illness is absorbing to read, impressive in range, and riveting in its illustrations of specific aspects of the changing theory and practice of medicine in the Western heritage. The book examines popular views of treatments offered by practitioners that include folk remedies, demonic magic, and miracles. His main focus is on ethical issues such as efforts to prolong life, euthanasia, abortion, and suicide.

Amundsen emphasizes the social context of these issues, particularly in the early and medieval Christian eras. The depth of his study is perhaps explained by his wide reading in related fields; in his preface, he claims to "have profited from the methodological insights of those historians who appear to be frustrated anthropologists, sociologists, or psychologists" (p. x). The book is filled with historical nuggets of absorbing interest. For example, in Greek and Roman times sickness was viewed as bad luck, whereas in the Christian era it was regarded as possible punishment for sin. Early Christians "did not see God as the only source of healing, believing that evil forces healed as well" (p. 9). Early Christians felt that God "inflicts or permits disease and that the practitioner of the secular healing arts thus works against divine purposes" (p. 211). One wonders whether the emerging idea of illness as punishment substantiates E. R. Dodds's thesis of the shift from the ancient Greek emphasis on shame to an emphasis on guilt and expiation through punishment. Also fascinating is the distinction made in the twelfth century between "natural" and "superstitious" astrology. "The physician who did not use astrology was regarded . . . as either incompetent or negligent" (p. 207).

Amundsen's work is a splendid collection that deserves to be widely read.

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MEDIEVAL

MICHAEL RICHTER. *The Formation of the Medieval West: Studies in the Oral Culture of the Barbarians*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiii, 292. \$49.95.

Reviewers of this book have the choice of extolling what is promised or deprecating what is delivered. Michael Richter's subtitle features bell-ringing words: culture, oral, barbarians. The mute will speak. We are told that "source material can be extremely misleading if taken at face value" (p. 40); that Christian zealots, recognizing an alien ethos, combatted barbarian culture; and that literacy lords it over orality, a much-

neglected subject. Richter is championing a victim. Meanwhile, he leaves his many Latin quotations untranslated (except in chapter nine).

The first of the book's three parts examines barbarian settlements summarily under the headings of politics, religion, and literacy. Late antiquity mainly has the guise of churchmen denouncing theatres. Richter will "show that the barbarians already had a culture of their own when they encountered the Romans" (p. 41). Roman orality and our own go unmentioned. Richter, amazed that the clergy enjoyed oral culture (p. 148), seems to forget that many a priest and nun had a "secular" mother and an "oral" childhood.

Part two, ostensibly methodological, makes much of *ioculatores*, "jongleurs," a link between Roman and medieval entertainment. Richter bafflingly annexes them to the transmission of "barbarian" culture. The studies proper, in part three, successively address Carolingian, pre-Carolingian, post-Carolingian, and Celtic phenomena, as well as a German literature called "early medieval" though including the *Nibelungenlied*. The domains of Old English and even Old Norse are left out. To Scandinavia is attributed "a rather similar oral culture" to that of pre-Islamic Spain (p. x).

Anthropology and oral-formulaic theory supply only an aura of up-to-dateness; the methods applied are conventional. Richter aligns Carolingian texts that forbid priests and monks to attend raunchy shows and instruct them to exhort the people to stay away, too. By what he calls "decoding," he detects in these entertainments barbarian oral transmission, reverently evoking pagan heroes and repugnant to the church. Why? Reformers kept clerics away from hunting and taverns as well as vaudeville. The embargoes, without proscribing these recreations for everyone, helped to differentiate clergy from lay people. The latter are impoverished by Richter's "decoding"; no smutty jokes, girl tumbler, topical ballads, or drinking songs cheered Carolingian carousers, only solemn ancestor worship.

Richter focuses on capital "c" culture, the main channel, so he claims, of barbarian cultural transmission. This is something one "practices" (e.g., p. 150), which "holds its own alongside literacy" (p. 45). Far from expressing a richly varied life, orality, as presented here, was the collective "authenticity" of the barbarians. The subtext of all this, the Celtic chapter aside, is *germanische Kontinuität*, an effort to detect unalloyed Germanity in the "formation" of the Middle Ages. Hostility to Christianity goes hand in hand with such endeavors.

Uninhibited in citing himself, Richter often assumes what needs proving (pp. x, 8, 26, 68, 76, 97, 98, 103, 105, 152, 232, 240). He disregards the disparagement of the stage in Roman imperial law; imagines that, before late antiquity, all foreigners were easily absorbed into the Empire; and expects greater familiarity by Romans with their law than we have with ours. The seventh-century lay literacy that he denies is not a "recent claim" but prominent in Henri Pirenne's *Ma-*

homet et Charlemagne (1937). Early medieval oral culture needs to be studied in more creditable ways.

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MICHAEL ANGOLD. *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 604. \$89.95.

More than one hundred years ago, the Russian scholar N. Skabalanovich published a book with the title very similar to that of the book under review: *The State and Church in Byzantium of the Eleventh Century*. The change from the “state” to “society” is characteristic of the development of Byzantine studies during this century. The problems discussed by Michael Angold, such as the attitude of the church toward gender or toward lay piety, were beyond the grasp of Skabalanovich’s contemporaries.

Angold’s book treats two major objects of investigation: church leaders and problems that the church tried to solve. The portrayals of church leaders are brilliant, especially those of Patriarchs Alexios, Nicholas III, and Germanos, who have not yet received adequate attention. Patriarch Basil Kamateros, to whom two contemporary speeches were addressed delineating his career as a diplomat and fiscal official, deserved more attention. We know more about local metropolitans than patriarchs, and Angold’s portraits of them are outstanding. The list could be supplemented by Nicholas Hagiotheodorites: the funeral speech over his coffin reveals unique details of his activity, including taking a census in the Peloponnesus and providing Italy with grain during a famine. It is noteworthy that Angold abstains from picturing great leaders of monastic movements, Neophytos the Recluse being the only exception. Does this lack of monastic leadership reflect the twelfth-century decrease in respect for monasticism?

The problems before the church were manifold. Angold dwells on such questions as the attitude toward marriage (and women in general), foreigners, heresy, and administration of church property, especially the so-called *charistike*. In this connection, one has to recall the 1084 rescript of Alexios I Komnenos granting his brother Adrian some taxes paid by the Lavra of St. Athanasios; the monks were afraid that this rescript transformed them into Adrian’s dependent peasants. The case implies that Alexios’s monastic policy was not as positive as Angold presents it.

Angold considers the relationship between the church and society more or less unilaterally, speaking about the “influence on society at all levels” that the church has exercised. This influence is seriously dealt with, even though not all social levels are taken into consideration: there is no analysis of the attitude of the church vis-à-vis slaves. What probably matters more is the omission of the other side of the equation: how did society influence the church? It is plausible to surmise that the Komnenian military aristocracy had little

interest in taking positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; that was the function of the aristocracy of the second rank, the civil bureaucrats. That Komnenian society was a “male,” military-oriented society was blatantly reflected in the negative treatment of eunuchs as well as in the imitation of Western habits and the pursuit of Western marriages. The epoch of the Komnenians was not very beneficial for the church, and the decrease of the monastic/ascetic ideal was one of the results of the twelfth-century militarization of society.

Angold’s main idea is the existence of a healthy balance of power between the state and church under the Komnenian dynasty that was disturbed after the catastrophe of 1204; thereafter the moral authority of the church increased and the institutional fabric of the church was strengthened. The observation is correct and important. I would only supplement it by indicating that at the end of the twelfth century the composition of the ruling class began to revert to the pre-Komnenian structure and the military elite began to lose its prevailing role. The Komnenian “revolution” failed and the church (especially monasticism) gained from this failure.

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MARIE-CLAUDE GERBET. *Les noblesses espagnoles au Moyen Age XI^e-XV^e siècle*. Paris: Armand Colin. 1994. Pp. 298.

Medieval Iberia has long held a reputation as the land of the nobility *par excellence*. In this ambitious survey, Marie-Claude Gerbet brings out the variety of regional nobilities in the peninsula (excluding Portugal) in order to nuance this picture while affirming its basic accuracy. Given the uneven quality of current scholarship, hers is a daunting task. In the past generation, regional monographs, often of high quality, have proliferated in Spain, but their results have yet to present a serious challenge to traditional political and institutional syntheses. In order to create a manageable framework to contain such disparate studies, Gerbet prudently treats the three principal realms separately in her major chronological divisions: the formation of the nobility (1000–1250); crisis and restructuring (1250–1400); and renewal and homogenization (1400–1517). Gradations of rank and title, royal patronage, lordship, and access to the nobility provide the main analytic categories.

As in other syntheses of Iberian society, this *mise au point* emphasizes the degree to which the nobility of Castile stood apart from general European developments by its unusual size, complex internal divisions, and fluid, relatively low threshold. By the late fifteenth century, roughly ten to fifteen percent of households in Castile and Navarre were considered noble, while in the Crown of Aragon the proportion conformed to the European average of less than two percent. Unlike recent revisionists who wish to “feudalize” Castile,

Gerbet emphasizes the distinctive qualities of Castilian social formation, particularly the imperfect realization of banal lordships, the continued ability of the Castilian kings to distribute honors, and the collaborative nature of noble power in the small town-fortresses of the Meseta. In Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, however, local lordship provided a firm basis for noble power, which in general offered substantial resistance to sovereign authority. In spite of significant regional differences, general patterns do emerge, particularly the high number of middling nobles in the older, northern parts of the Christian realms and substantial urbanization among the noble houses in the recently conquered south.

The great strength of the work lies in its attention to the internal structuring of the nobility in terms of kinship and political alliance. Information about inheritance practices, relations among close family members, and the education of children adds significantly to our understanding of the social motivations and cultural models that the nobility shared. Even more impressive is the discussion of noble factions (*bandos*, *parcialidades*). Originating in confined regional and urban groupings, these alliances by the fifteenth century acted in a broad political arena. Their composition, symbols, and instability are analyzed with considerable subtlety. In contrast to the emphasis on kinship and socialization, the formal aspects of vassalage and fief-holding receive little attention, and the economic foundations of the nobility suffer from the same relative neglect. The narrative oscillates between major political events and the internal structuring of noble houses without always integrating the two developments convincingly. It is difficult to grasp how different segments of the nobility reacted to their political fortunes at the estate level. The formidable challenge of linking political action, household structure, and lordship in an integrated synthesis of Iberian nobilities has not yet been fully met, nor is this likely to occur in the near future. Gerbet, however, has clearly provided researchers with an important guide and a solid point of reference.

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NORMAN ROTH. *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 429. \$50.00.

In the history of fifteenth-century Spain, there are few problems as complex and as hotly contested as that of the *conversos*—the thousands of Jews who converted to Christianity during the anti-Jewish violence of 1391—and their descendants. There is much at stake in the historical debate, since the *conversos* played a significant role in Spain's political, cultural, and religious life and since the Spanish Inquisition was allegedly established to eradicate *converso* crypto-Judaism and the Jews expelled, according to the expulsion edict, to prevent them from influencing the *conversos*.

The debate, often focusing on the extent of *converso* crypto-Judaism, has lent itself to extreme positions. This is the case with Norman Roth's book, which, while it compiles much useful information on *converso* authors and officials, presents a deeply flawed interpretation of the *converso* problem. Roth argues that almost all *conversos* were sincere Catholics, that Jews and *conversos* were mutual enemies, that the Spanish Inquisition was merely a tool of the *conversos'* Old Christian political enemies, and that the expulsion, therefore, had little to do with its stated purpose.

Roth constructs his interpretation on very shaky foundations. He argues, incredibly, that in 1391 the Jews converted voluntarily and not under duress and that the kings of Castile and Aragon allowed all forced converts to return to Judaism either in Spain or in North Africa. Simply stated, this is erroneous and flies in the face of much evidence to the contrary. As for *converso* flight to North Africa—the only point with some basis in historical reality—Aragonese monarchs, at least, took steps to curtail it, and, notwithstanding the criticisms directed at reluctant *émigrés* by refugee rabbis in North Africa, there were substantial emotional and economic costs involved in such emigration.

Roth's attempt to demonstrate the great animosity between *conversos* and Jews is based on unsound methodology. He frequently draws on pre-1391 sources to comment on the post-1391 situation, as if there were no significant differences between the two periods. Certainly there was some friction between Jews and *conversos*, but there were also many instances of mutual cooperation, particularly in the realm of religious life. A number of the sources Roth himself cites attest to this, as do Spanish Inquisition records.

Yet Roth dismisses the evidence of *converso* Judaism found in Inquisition records as "false" (p. 217). He is incredulous that Old Christians could have recognized Jewish practices, that they would have waited so long to inform the Inquisition, and that *conversos* would have been so foolish as to have engaged in such dangerous practices. But many Christians were aware of at least the basic differences between Judaism and Christianity, and it was not until the 1480s that there was a Spanish Inquisition to which Old Christians could turn or which *conversos* needed to fear. As for Roth's rejection of so many of the charges against *conversos* because of their similarity, one wonders how many different ways there could have been to observe, for instance, the Jewish sabbath.

Contrary to Roth's suggestions of monotonous fabrication, Spanish Inquisition records are rich, colorful, and highly nuanced sources. Like all judicial records, they must be handled with great care, treatment that they do not receive from Roth. He dismisses the most important body of edited Inquisition records, Haim Beinart's Ciudad Real records, as largely irrelevant to the fifteenth century, when they in fact contain extensive testimony about *converso* Judaism during the decades prior to the Inquisition's advent. He is similarly careless with the secondary literature. Stephen

Haliczer's book on the Inquisition in Valencia is cast aside, even though its chapter on the *conversos* argues for a broad spectrum of *converso* belief and practice, including a fair amount of "judaizing."

Roth's concluding chapter on the Jewish expulsion is muddled and contradictory. First he asserts that it had something to do with a desire for "national unification" (p. 271), but later he argues against this idea (p. 296). Roth correctly points out that the inquisitors influenced Ferdinand and Isabella in their final decision, but he goes too far in suggesting that they duped and misled the monarchs. Roth does not clearly establish how political opposition to the *conversos* led to the expulsion of the Jews, especially if, as he maintains, there was no *converso* "judaizing." One does not know what to make of Roth's suggestion that Ferdinand and Isabella might have expelled the Jews to protect them from extermination (p. 296) or of his apparent ignorance, or avoidance, of Maurice Kriegel's essential article on the expulsion (*Revue historique* [1978]).

Roth is certainly correct in arguing that the *conversos* had political enemies. Yet accepting that there was political opposition to powerful *conversos* hardly leads to the conclusion that *converso* crypto-Judaism was a hoax. The *converso* problem deserves much more careful and contextualized analysis than it receives in this book.

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LUDWIG SCHMUGGE. *Kirche, Kinder, Karrieren: Päpstliche Dispense von der unehelichen Geburt im Spätmittelalter*. Zurich: Artemis & Winkler. 1995. Pp. 511.

In 1983, the papacy opened to scholars the 4,500 volumes of its carefully guarded archive of the Penitentiary, the church office that handled, and handles, petitions for dispensations from the consequences of all manner of sin, from murder to incest, and for various exemptions from ecclesiastical laws governing, for example, the degrees of blood relatedness of couples who wish to marry. This book is among the first significant fruits of a decade's scholarly access to these materials, which reach back to the early fifteenth century. Ludwig Schmugge analyzes "solely" the category of applications from clergy and would-be clergy to have the stain of illegitimate birth removed, which, if granted, permitted the assumption of ecclesiastical offices entailing the cure of souls and/or, depending on the type of dispensation, allowed shifting from a humble position to a more lucrative, higher-ranking one. The 37,916 such cases treated here, recorded by the scribes of the Penitentiary in very abbreviated form, reach in time from 1449 to 1533, and in space from Iceland to Cyprus. They thus enable an unprecedented evaluation of the condition of the late medieval clergy, which the enflamed anticlericals of the Reformation insisted was riddled with corruption.

And they were right—if corruption included the widespread, often long-term violation of vows of celi-

bacy and chastity. This book is packed with pie charts and other tables summarizing the results of several years' computer evaluation of the data. The findings are multifaceted and almost invariably significant. The petitioners came from virtually every corner of Europe. About three-fifths of their fathers were clergy in higher orders, including bishops and abbots as well as priests and monks; the other two fifths were laymen, mainly unmarried. Their mothers were overwhelmingly (87%) single women, but several abbesses, too, succumbed to what Schmugge repeatedly calls "the joy of living" (*Lebensfreude*). One of the salient conclusions of this book is that every level of society, clergy and laity alike, engaged in concubinage, distinct from opportunistic sex. For those of high rank, the consequences were minimal, unless they had ambitions for their above-the-sheets children, in which case they required dispensations. For the poor, illegitimacy was a handicap, but even without mitigation of their standing they could become simple monks or nuns. As competition for ecclesiastical endowments grew with the population, pressure rose on the contenders to remove the handicap of bastardy. By the time of Alexander VI and Julius II, such applications were a source of considerable revenue, although the truly poor could often managed to win consideration gratis.

Schmugge devotes one chapter to the Holy Roman Empire alone; no other region gets this favor. He takes issue at several points with Erich Meuthen's study (1991) of a much smaller source, the *Repertorium Germanicum*. Schmugge's most consequent conclusion is that, apart from the dioceses of Augsburg and Cologne, petitions from the rest of the German-speaking lands declined dramatically before the Reformation. He takes this as evidence of a pre-Reformation uncoupling (*Abkoppelung*) of the churches of that region from the papacy.

This book contains a wealth that cannot be indicated in such short compass. It most admirably combines statistics and qualitative assessment, taking into account many points of recent social history, such as naming preferences (Michael Mitterauer, 1988), the social and political functions of lay piety (Klaus Schreiner, 1992), and the growth of social discipline (Winfried Schulze, 1987; Heinz Schilling, 1994). It devotes regular if proportional attention to the 516 cases (1.4%) of women seeking relief from their stigma. In the end, it is much more valuable than a purely quantitative treatment because it places the data in a nuanced, up-to-date context. Despite seemingly mountainous evidence, Schmugge is careful not to overdraw his arguments. The possibly numerous petitions that were denied do not, after all, appear in the archival record. Nor are the conclusions transferable to the European populace at large without much circumspection. Nonetheless, every researcher on the late medieval church and every Reformation specialist will profit greatly from reading this book.

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MODERN EUROPE

STEVEN G. ELLIS. *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 303. \$55.00.

In this excellent book, Steven G. Ellis develops several themes, some of which will be familiar to those acquainted with his earlier work. First, he argues that historians of Tudor England have made little effort to see the implications of developments in the borderlands for early modern history. He also contends that historians' preoccupation with London, court politics, and the southeast of England has diverted attention from the fact that the Tudors laid the foundations for the modern British state. To Ellis, the Tudor state consisted of a core region in lowland England and a number of more remote, predominantly upland territories that were more difficult to rule. These peripheral areas, more extensive than the core, provide another test by which the effectiveness of Tudor government can be evaluated.

Ellis explores in this study two peripheries, the lordship of Ireland and the English Far North, through a close examination of two of the more important border magnate families, the Fitzgerald earls of Kildare in the lordship of Ireland and the Dacre family of the English Far North. He focuses primarily on the ninth earl of Kildare and the third Lord Dacre. In this exploration, Ellis displays the estimable scholarly qualities that have marked him as a first-rate historian: an impressive command of a multitude of sources, printed and manuscript, the ability to construct a careful and detailed narrative, and a willingness to tackle controversial issues. It is hard to believe that anyone will be able to add much to Ellis's exposition of Kildare and Dacre.

In Ellis's treatment, Kildare and Dacre emerge not as "overmighty subjects" but as men caught in a vise of conflicting forces who shared many similar experiences. As aristocrats delegated by Tudor monarchs to administer cheaply the areas in which they resided, both served integral purposes in the low-budget government operated by the early Tudors. Although both families exercised authority for considerable periods of time, members of both also suffered humiliations at the hands of the crown. In 1525, the third Lord Dacre was hauled in front of Star Chamber following war with Scotland; his successor, the fourth Lord, was charged with treason in 1534. Both regained royal favor. Kildare was less fortunate. His imprisonment led to the rebellion of 1534, following which Kildare's son, "Silken Thomas," was among those executed. Historians have sometimes asserted that the dual falls of Dacre and Kildare resulted from the centralizing tendencies of Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII in the 1530s, but Ellis sees several factors behind the crisis of 1534. The nature of border lordship was precarious at most times. In 1534, Kildare and Dacre were being undermined by regional opponents, factional struggles

at court, and a legacy of earlier attempts to supplant them.

Few will be able to quarrel with most of Ellis's main points. Too much attention has indeed been placed on London and southeastern England. The Far North and the lordship of Ireland before 1540 did pose many similar problems for Tudor governance. But I do have some mild reservations. Ellis might have placed more stress on the most fundamental problem of governing the borders through aristocratic delegation. Border magnates were not usually chosen on the basis of ability or previous performance but for the location of their estates. This meant that the crown often had no choice but to appoint mediocre men who happened to reside in key areas. At the same time, the border magnates who received appointment had to be powerful enough to control their own areas, but those powerful enough to control their areas were also powerful enough to threaten royal authority, so again the crown was at considerable risk in making appointments.

Finally, although Ellis's narrative concludes with the 1540s, he speculates at several points about how Tudor state building laid the foundations for the British state as it emerged in the seventeenth century. The assertion that the Tudor experience until 1540 helped lay the foundations for the British state is hard to accept without considerably more attention to the border issue after 1540. Arguably, the whole nature of the border question changed with Henry VIII's invasion of Scotland in 1542 and with the power politics of the Counter Reformation, especially after Elizabeth's accession, when Ireland became central to Catholic plotting against schismatic England. The British state does have Tudor origins, but they should be sought primarily after 1540.

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VIVIENNE LARMINIE. *Wealth, Kinship and Culture: The Seventeenth-Century Newdigates of Arbury and Their World*. (Studies in History, number 72.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, in association with the Royal Historical Society. 1995. Pp. 247. \$71.00.

Vivienne Larminie's book is a pleasure. It is a notable addition to the small company of studies of families in early modern Britain that combine detailed attention to the family in question with sophisticated ability to place them in the context of their times. She joins Jacqueline Eales (*Puritans and Roundheads: The Harleys of Brampton Bryan and the Outbreak of the English Civil War* [1990]) and Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes (*The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* [1994]) in presenting the substance and dynamics of gentry life both in routine daily concerns and in response to personal and national crises. Larminie explains much about how members of that fuzzy, much-invoked behemoth, the gentry, survived and operated in the domestic and political spheres. She also shows envi-

able familiarity with the wide range of recent historical and literary studies of the family dealing with such topics as patriarchy, affection between parent and child, and the place of women. On this literature, Larminie casts a knowledgeable, sympathetic, but refreshingly skeptical eye.

Larminie first places the Newdigates against the background of "family, estates and Warwickshire society." Then she analyzes their wealth, for this was the foundation on which manifestations of kinship and culture were built. She discusses its distribution among various members of the Newdigate family and ways in which it was lost, preserved, or augmented. She then turns to relationships within the family, discussing the position of younger sons, daughters, and wives, as well as the heir (to whom special favor has conventionally been assigned, to the detriment of other siblings), and their relations with each other. She traces the network of kinship and its utilitarian functions and illuminatingly distinguishes kinship as a form of obligation from kinship as a vehicle for friendship. Finally, Larminie devotes a chapter each to the three heads of the Newdigate family whose lives spanned the century from 1571 to 1678: John, the "godly magistrate," and his sons John, the "gentleman of leisure," and Richard, the "prudent lawyer" (pp. 142, 157, 175). They represent a progression from godly, public-spirited service familiar in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean church and state to the private pleasures often said to characterize the halcyon days of the 1630s, and, finally, to a profession pursued in the difficult days of the Interregnum and Restoration.

The study is strongly based on manuscript sources, particularly those of the Newdigate family, and on recent published and unpublished work. The writing is always lucid and often pithy. The book is not only learned but informed by a humane common sense. This leads Larminie to notice phenomena previously passed over and to draw fresh conclusions. She demonstrates, for example, that land and cash, in which the eldest son undoubtedly did much better than his siblings, were not the only forms of capital. Both formal education and preparation for a place in society were matters for careful and, it seems, loving attention (a notable example is the care given to the musical education of young Newdigates of both sexes). And generosity in cash to sisters and younger brothers was considerable.

Larminie demonstrates that this family, and by implication many others—although she is careful to make no universalist claims—operated as a whole, and that younger brothers and sisters were valued both for themselves and for their contributions to the health of the larger unit. Beyond the immediate family, remoter kin gave support when bad luck and bad judgment might otherwise have brought the Newdigates low. Family and kin made up an interlocking and interdependent system that helped individuals but also kept the family afloat through the financial misfortunes that

marked most of the century under discussion. Secure fortunes were only restored by the lawyer Richard in the mid-seventeenth century, and then not by such traditional means as marriage or office or land. The family's emergence as affluent gentry had begun with the law. As Larminie shows, they maintained their status by a return to similar professional success.

Larminie's demonstration of flexibility and variability in economic, personal, and professional lives is admirable. So is the treatment of differences, for example in religious and cultural interests. One would like to know more about the younger John, collector and bad poet, and his apparently satisfactory partnership with a wife who brought neither children nor expected riches. If the book has a weakness, it lies in the failure to address in depth the external political and intellectual world. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Richard, whose career as a judge under Oliver Cromwell was only temporarily interrupted by his declaration that plots against the Protector were no treason and who went on to a profitable legal practice after the Restoration. This is, however, only to ask for more when we have already been given so much.

BARBARA DONAGAN
Huntington Library

ANTHONY MILTON. *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 599. \$79.95.

How one reacts to this extensive and important study of the early seventeenth-century English arguments over the church will depend on how one feels about intellectual history. All that an intellectual historian could do to explain those conflicts Anthony Milton has done in his massive and yet readable study. Using the prism of contemporary views of foreign churches, Milton shows us all the subjects then under discussion from a fresh perspective. There is extensive treatment of the debates over Antichrist, Roman diversity and unity, the marks of a true church, the Calvinism of the Church of England, episcopacy and clerical degree, church reunion, salvation and orthodoxy, errors versus deliberate falsehoods, Gallican independence, proto-Protestantism, medieval versus Tridentine Catholicism, and Protestant unity and divisions, with a richness of detail that makes one feel how ignorant we have been. Only devotional practice is ignored.

Milton has looked at manuscript sources as well as the printed works of this extensive debate and has even read the mail of continental Catholics who reflected on England's divisions. In all this it is the skill of the controversialists rather than their lack of charity or intelligence that occupies the author. The Laudians are revealed as more sophisticated scholars than their opponents, though lacking in a spiritual—as distinct from an ecclesiastical—sense. As intellectual history the account is very satisfying, and it holds the reader's

interest by constant reminders of the tensions within and without English Protestantism.

But this raises a question. It is deflating to find that the myriad of intellectual positions Milton uncovers still tend to drift toward the Puritan and Laudian poles with which we are familiar. Clearly, something beyond the merit of the arguments was determining religious politics. In short, we do not get beyond the ideas to the people who held them—that is, to their motivation. What was driving these thinkers apart if not the simple play of their dialectic? Were their violent disagreements determined more by attitudes toward the Catholics' visions of political or social order, their aesthetic or morality, their spirituality, diplomatic considerations, or clericalism? Which Catholics were the controversialists thinking of as they wrote: French, Italian, Irish, English, upper-class, lower-class, clerics? To what extent did the arguments over Catholicism only mask feelings about Puritan arrogance and lay intrusion or about Stuart hauteur?

For answers to these questions, one would have to analyze the rhetoric as well as the dialectic involved. Even Milton hints at what is being left out by frequent reference to the "fears," "threats," "anxieties," and "eagerness" driving the arguments. But what kinds of fears can be identified by authorial asides? Such questions invite the use of other sources than theological literature—newsbooks, ballads, common sermons, plays, and prints, for instance. Leaving them out allows us to see the debates in their pure intellectualism, and it is good to have them treated with this respect, but it does marginalize the study.

This is not to ask for a reduction of religious concerns to some other level of reality. It is a question of what, besides ideas, went into English religious culture and how unacknowledged concerns helped direct the debate. For example, Milton does not clearly indicate which of the many debates was most central, which were peripheral, and why. He seems justified in starting from the fact that English religious debates were always carried out with reference to foreign churches, but adopting this perspective does not recast our knowledge of the period. His conclusions are familiar: that there were not just two or three parties but a spectrum of positions, none of them stable and all undergoing change. Milton does not just say this but shows it.

C. JOHN SOMMERVILLE
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ALAN CROMARTIE. *Sir Matthew Hale 1609–1676: Law, Religion and Natural Philosophy*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 264. \$59.95.

Alan Cromartie's study is not a conventional biography. The circumstances and details of Sir Matthew Hale's life, he argues, have been well documented and are not particularly controversial (or, in his view, very interesting). Hale's importance for Cromartie lies not

so much in what he did as in what he thought and not so much in the way his ideas evolved, in response to extraordinary circumstances of his age, as in how they finally emerged in written form. What is offered here is not even an intellectual biography, in so far as that term implies some kind of developmental narrative. It is instead an attempt to paint a portrait of a great seventeenth-century mind, someone rather too modestly described in the introduction simply as "the bearer of opinions in politics, philosophy, theology and law" (p. 6). Hale was, of course, one of the leading intellectuals of his day, and the very point of the book is to pay tribute to the extraordinary range of his (and his contemporaries') interests and enthusiasms.

Cromartie is primarily interested in the explication of texts, and his book is largely devoted to making sense of Hale's written output in three critical areas: law, religion, and natural philosophy. Each chapter within those sections focuses on a particular work, usually an unpublished manuscript or series of pieces that Hale appears to have written to clarify his own thoughts at a given stage of his life.

The first section, on law, is the most fulsome and is devoted, initially, to outlining Hale's legal philosophy, described here as an almost inevitable synthesis of the ideas of his most distinguished predecessors, Sir Edward Coke and John Selden. Hale embraced both Coke's reverence for the innate rationality of English common law and, more emphatically, Selden's notions about law as contract. Subsequent chapters attempt, rather less successfully, to show how Hale responded to the challenges posed by the English Revolution and by the demands of the Cromwellian governments. The problem here is not with the argument—a perfectly sound suggestion that Hale made every effort to preserve and protect the integrity of English common law because he saw it as the only guarantor of the survival of the English Constitution—but with the methodology. Cromartie abandons his exclusive devotion to textual analysis and combines it with straightforward narrative, drawing from a curious amalgamation of sources—some of Hale's Restoration writings (read backwards into the Interregnum), his decisions in unrelated legal cases, and his participation as head of the Commission on Law Reform—to demonstrate his point.

The discussion does not hold together well. It seems disconnected and patchwork, and, for all of the interesting information made available, the reader is not provided with a clear picture of what surely must have been a critical stage in Hale's intellectual development. The ensuing chapters on the Restoration include a discussion of Hale's moral philosophy, drawn in part from notes for an essay entitled *On the Nature of Laws*, an examination of his views on the constitution, and a discussion of his activities on the bench in important legal controversies. The portrait that emerges is of a remarkably consistent—and consistently conservative—jurist.

The final two sections of the book are in some ways

the most interesting, because they introduce us to a side of Hale that will be unfamiliar to most readers. Drawing once again from Hale's surviving manuscripts, they explore his evolving views on religion and natural philosophy. Much of Hale's thought emerges as unsurprising and conventional. What is striking, however, is the degree to which Hale remained intellectually engaged (given the other demands of his career) in exploring—solely for his own personal satisfaction—the complexities of his universe. Hale was clearly a man of enormous intellectual prowess and curiosity.

This is a very thoughtful and intelligent book. It offers fresh and important insights, not just into the mind of Sir Matthew Hale but into the intellectual world he inhabited. Hale's views are always placed in context and are usefully compared to those of leading contemporaries. One could complain that the author sometimes assumes greater familiarity with some of the more arcane debates of that world than many of his readers will possess. It would have been useful as well to tie together the themes of these sections in a stronger final statement, as chapter introductions and conclusions are consistently weak. Cromartie has, nevertheless, generally served his subject well, and readers will be rewarded for their efforts.

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MARK STOYLE. *Loyalty and Locality: Popular Allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War*. Exeter, U.K.: University of Exeter Press. 1994. pp. xvi, 330. £25.00.

This carefully researched and stimulating book seeks to illuminate the allegiance of the "common people" of Devon during the English Civil War. It is influenced by and seeks to test David Underdown's argument, in *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (1985), that popular politics can be explained by contrasts in regional culture that are themselves based on contrasting ecological and economic patterns of land use, settlement, and industry.

Mark Stoye's comprehensive account is based on wide-ranging research in archival and printed materials, including a fascinating, little-known collective biography of "old Puritans" compiled by the Restoration nonconformist minister, John Quick. Other strengths are its attention to detail, its subtle understanding that military activism is not the only measure of political commitment, and its many memorable stories of ordinary people.

The early chapters describe popular allegiance throughout the county, ultimately endorsing the tradition of Devon as a parliamentary area. Like Underdown, Stoye discerns clear regional patterns; although many communities contained supporters of both sides, the vast majority were overwhelmingly committed to king or Parliament. Parliamentarianism was strong in north Devon, especially in towns like Barnstaple and Bideford. The south Devon ports and towns such as

Dartmouth and Plymouth were similar, as were the smaller towns and villages of the south Hams who rose against the royalists in the summer of 1644. (Totnes was a notable exception.) In east Devon, the most divided part of the county, parliamentary support was more patchy. Evidence of popular royalism was greatest in central Devon, in the town of Tavistock and among the miners of the Dartmoor Stannaries.

In a rather unhelpful structure, the narrative and description are followed by separate chapters of analysis. Stoye rules out "purely fortuitous" military developments as explanations of allegiance and stresses that it was the actions and beliefs of the common people that determined Devon's political character. The parliamentary gentry were, indeed, fewest in north Devon where popular support for Parliament was strongest. Perhaps, here, as in other regions, elites were driven to royalism out of fears for social stability.

Stoye is not convinced by Underdown's ecological and economic analysis but endorses his notion of cultural divisions. In Devon, Stoye argues, there were too many exceptions (notably the south Hams) to support the idea that arable communities tended to be royalist while upland areas favored Parliament. There is more validity to the view that Parliament won most support in partly industrial areas. More mobile populations were also more parliamentary. An interesting discussion of occupational patterns is also deemed inconclusive, although less cautious historians might not agree: tanners were loyal to the king, seamen overwhelmingly hostile, while the parliamentarianism of cloth workers may have been slightly exaggerated but was none the less real. Contrasting notions of legal privilege and of independence were as important as purely economic characteristics of groups of workers.

The book finishes with a misguided general survey of popular allegiance across England and Wales that presents uncritically the conclusions of a range of other local studies without considering how far their purposes and methods may have differed from Stoye's own. The rather simple survey produces simple and unlikely conclusions: south of Yorkshire and east of Worcestershire, "majority opinion was indeed on Parliament's side" and "popular allegiance was a fixed, not a constantly shifting condition." The latter point could be qualified by some of the Devon evidence. Despite its up-to-date scholarship and engagement with Underdown, this is in some ways a pre-revisionist work, a return to the patterns discerned by Christopher Hill in the 1950s (although Stoye rejects Hill's materialist explanations). Stoye's refreshing scepticism about the positive attractions of neutralism also goes against the grain of much recent scholarship. His view of Puritanism is implicitly progressivist. Puritan areas are those involved in trade, as if all who came into contact with radical Protestantism inevitably became adherents of it, while anti-Puritan areas are isolated, "backward and uncouth." There is little acknowledgement here of the work of John Morrill or Judith Maltby stressing the

positive adherence to a non-Puritan, parish-focused Anglicanism.

Stoyle posits an ethnic—or, as he has it, a “racial dimension”—to Civil War allegiance. In the far west of Devon, in Cornwall, and in Wales, Celtic populations were somehow naturally royalist for reasons not reducible to language divisions or geographical remoteness. Gloucestershire formed both a racial and a political frontier (part of the evidence here is the 1920s hostility of the Gloucester boy Laurie Lee to the Welsh). This argument surely needs further elaboration and refinement. Nevertheless, Stoyle has made an important addition to the literature on the English Civil War, amply demonstrating the interest and importance of popular politics.

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DANIEL STATT. *Foreigners and Englishmen: The Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660–1760*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1995. Pp. 301. \$43.50.

In recent years, an increasing number of scholars have focused on the history of immigration into Britain, resulting in the appearance of books and articles on both specific themes and individual minorities. The concentration on the period since 1800 binds most of these studies together. In contrast, although exceptions certainly exist, relatively few works have appeared on the early modern period. The publication of the present volume, covering the period between 1660 and 1760, is especially welcome.

Daniel Statt's book, as its subtitle suggests, aims to outline the debate about immigration from the Restoration to the eve of the population explosion and the industrialization in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The book contains relatively little about the lives of newcomers into the country except in relation to the English. When Statt focuses on individual groups, he concentrates most of his attention on the Huguenots and Palatines. He spends surprisingly little time on reactions to Jews, devoting just a few pages, for example, to the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753 and its repeal later the same year.

Although Statt takes a basically chronological approach to his subject, similar attitudes existed toward immigrants throughout the period under consideration. He devotes a large amount of time to the issue of population growth and its effects on the debate over immigration. As Britain experienced relatively little population increase, which affected economic growth, some economists suggested that one solution to the problem lay in the importation of foreign labor. Immigration opponents expressed concern with the religious and ethnic homogeneity of Britain.

Statt devotes two chapters to the 13,000 Palatinate immigrants who made their way to Britain in 1709, outlining the failure of their settlement in England and their dispersal to Ireland and North America. He also

deals thoroughly with the positive and negative attitudes that developed toward them among natives of all classes. While he takes a balanced view of the reasons for the debacle of the Palatine immigrants, he sounds rather like a contemporary politician when he declares: “The migration had been far greater than England could accommodate” (p. 164). One might ask, as one would of present-day politicians, where one draws the line when it comes to numbers.

Statt also devotes a chapter to popular reaction to immigrants, outlining the hostility, rooted in economic fears, of people in particular trades toward newcomers. Clearly, economic competition means that many immigrants in any society face often violent animosity, but Statt also places the violence against the background of the rampant xenophobia in the written media.

One of the problems with this book is its lack of contextualization. Judging from this volume, Statt is neither a great philosopher nor a theoretically based social scientist, although he is an extremely conscientious and rigorous empirical historian who clearly has detailed knowledge of the period. His insights into the controversy over population growth are useful. What is striking about the issues covered in this volume, however, is the presence of attitudes that became more sophisticated and widespread during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially after 1945. The wish to import people for economic reasons sounds familiar to anyone who has studied the entry of both Europeans and Commonwealth citizens into Britain after 1945. There was no humanitarianism involved: the issues simply revolved around labor as a commodity. Similarly, the xenophobic attitudes of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have become endemic in British society and politics since 1945, as they essentially have been since the seventeenth century.

The controversy over immigration considered by Statt took place in the period treated in Linda Colley's *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (1992), the era when the idea of nation emerged. This process inevitably led to a rise of nationalism, and, like all periods of state creation, to a growth of xenophobia. Unfortunately, Statt fails to appreciate the importance of such processes.

Nevertheless, this remains an important book for anyone interested either in early modern Britain or in the history of immigration into Britain. It is essential reading for scholars working in the latter field, particularly social scientists who sometimes fail to appreciate fully the history of immigration and xenophobia.

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J. C. D. CLARK. *Samuel Johnson: Literature, Religion and English Cultural Politics from the Restoration to Romanticism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 270. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Mention the name of J. C. D. Clark at any gathering of British historians and you will cause an argument. His depiction of eighteenth-century England as an *ancien régime* state is widely discussed, often criticized, and sometimes abominated. The tone of much of his writing has been urgent, polemical, and offensive to many historians. While no longer green enough to be considered an *enfant terrible*, Clark continues to fascinate and aggravate his colleagues, as shown by his recent attempt to extend his ideas to the American colonies.

So let me offer this advice: put whatever you previously thought about Clark—pro or con—out of your minds and read his excellent book on Samuel Johnson. While it is not uncontroversial, this work is free from polemic and satirical jabs. It is solidly based on remarkably wide and thorough research, and it presents a convincing case that should have been made a long time ago. Clark's general theories about the eighteenth century provide a backdrop to his examination of Johnson, but they are never forced upon us; indeed, they seem to fit his subject pretty well.

Clark's interpretation is a response to Donald Greene's worthy but misguided study of Johnson's politics, which for the last thirty years has been the only full-scale consideration of the subject. Greene refused to accept that Johnson was a Tory and a Jacobite—a view propounded not only by his early biographers, John Hawkins and James Boswell, but by his close friends, like Hester Thrale, by virtually all of his contemporary opponents, and, most notoriously, by Thomas Babington Macaulay in a famous denunciation. While he rightly perceived that Johnson's political ideas were complex, and at times radical, Greene misrepresented them by accepting a Namierite distortion of their historical context.

To point out the inadequacies in Greene's work would not be much of a challenge for Clark. Instead, he constructs an elaborate interpretive framework based on the concept of an "Anglo-Latin tradition." Johnson, he argues, was the last great representative of a humanist culture of Latinity that was closely associated with royalism and high Anglicanism. Although the full scope of "Anglo-Latin culture" is not explored here, this approach is an important way of understanding the intellectual roots of the High Church mentality. Hugh Trevor-Roper (no admirer of Clark) has suggested a similar humanist connection between Erasmus and the English Arminians who gathered around Archbishop Laud. In this book, Clark builds on the work of Howard Erskine-Hill in tracing the "Anglo-Latin tradition" through John Dryden and Alexander Pope (both Catholics sympathetic to High Church and Jacobite positions), Lord Orrery and Francis Atterbury (both Tory-Jacobite politicians), the Scottish scholar William Ruddiman and the Oxford don William King (both ardent Jacobites), to the brooding and intense figure of Johnson himself.

A compelling case is made here for viewing Johnson as a nonjuror who would not swear loyalty to the

Hanoverians. He could matriculate but not graduate from Oxford, according to Clark, because he would not take the oath of allegiance. He could only accept an honorary doctorate from the university because it did not require any oaths. Johnson did not worship with the separatist nonjurors, but at St. Clement Danes he prayed alongside non-separatists like John Byrom. His facetious comment that no nonjuror could reason prefaced a fuller statement in support of their writings, in which he admitted that Charles Leslie was "*a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against.*" His *Dictionary* quoted extensively from nonjuring works.

Johnson's Tory and Jacobite politics remained consistent throughout his career, and they informed all of his major writings, from the anti-Walpole political pamphlets of the 1730s to the *Lives of the Poets* (1779–1781). By that time, he had taken a pension from George III and written in support of Lord North's ministry. Yet, as Clark emphasizes, his attachment to the Church of England, to monarchy, and to "Anglo-Latin culture" remained undiminished. His affection for the Stuarts, which had grown out of these convictions, was expressed in increasingly vague terms, but it remained strong as late as 1773, when Johnson made his celebrated visit to the Highland haunts of Bonnie Prince Charlie.

Clark's argument has some limitations. Little is said about the competing Whig tradition of "Anglo-Latinity" whose heroes were Cicero, John Milton, Richard Bentley, and Joseph Addison. Personal friendships and commercial pressures, both of which mitigated the zeal of political commitment, are not much taken into account here. Like Greene, Clark does not have much regard for Boswell's perspicacity and at times too readily dismisses his analysis of Johnson's mind. Overall, however, this book is an impressive achievement. No scholar who is interested in eighteenth-century literary culture should ignore it.

PAUL MONOD
Middlebury College

SAM SMILES. *The Image of Antiquity: Ancient Britain and the Romantic Imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1994. Pp. x, 252. \$35.00.

With this book, Sam Smiles makes his contribution to a growing body of literature exploring the political uses of history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Smiles takes as his subject the pictures and writings of those British Romantics who interpreted their country's prehistoric past. His cast of characters includes the poets Thomas Gray and James Macpherson and the artists John Martin and William Blake, as well as numerous other poets, artists, antiquarians and historians. Their depictions of bards and druids, of Boadicea and Caractacus, of Stonehenge and other megalithic ruins constitute his evidence. Smiles has written a work not of historiography but of cultural history. He is concerned neither with the accuracy of his

antiquarians nor with their contribution to our current understanding of Britain's archaic past. Rather, he is interested in the ideological dimension of their writings and pictures. His antiquarians and artists are engaged intellectuals who use the past in imaginative but meaningful ways to address contemporary concerns, often with little regard for historical veracity.

The emergence of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provides Smiles with an overall context. The Romantic fascination with national origins prompted many northern Europeans to investigate the Celtic past in an attempt to construct a common national identity. On this topic Smiles offers some useful comparative analysis. Whereas in some countries the archaic past functioned as a source of unity, in Britain it became a battleground for competing national identities. Spokesmen for Welsh, Scottish, or Irish nationalism could appeal to the Celtic past in order to assert their freedom from an imperious Anglo-Saxon center. In this case, bards became the advocates of Celtic independence, Caractacus was portrayed as a Welsh freedom fighter, and the *Ossian* poems were used as evidence for a distinct Scottish culture. But English writers could also enlist the Celtic past in their efforts to establish an overriding English nationalism. Ancient Britons defending their land against invading Romans provided a powerful image for boosting the nation's morale during the eighteenth-century wars against France. In this way, England's love of freedom became rooted in the Celtic past and the contemporary contest with France became associated with the earlier battle against Rome.

Eventually, however, the English began to turn away from the archaic past as a source for their national identity, looking instead to their Anglo-Saxon heritage. Smiles argues that, by the mid-Victorian years, "Saxonism" had triumphed and that nationalistic appeals to the aboriginal Celts occurred only among the Welsh, Scots, and Irish. When the Victorians interpreted the remote past, they transferred their allegiance from the Celts to the Romans, whom they portrayed as the bearers of civilization. Smiles attributes this changed attitude partly to England's emergence as an imperial power that was now able to identify with the Roman Empire and partly to new ideas about race that put an impenetrable barrier between backward Celts and advanced Anglo-Saxons. The Victorians still found Celtic heroes such as Boadicea or Caractacus inspiring, but only when they were presented in universally heroic ways, without obvious ties to a supposedly inferior and vanquished Celtic race.

Smiles has written an interesting book on an important subject. He is aware of how susceptible the Celtic past was to competing interpretations. Given the dearth of evidence, there were few restraints on how imaginatively this fragment of antiquity could be used. Smiles is sensitive to the complexity of his materials and interprets his texts perceptively. He is particularly insightful on the relationship between visual and writ-

ten interpretations, ending the book with two chapters devoted solely to visual representations of the prehistoric past, one on paintings of megalithic landscapes, the other on the use of archaic remains in eighteenth-century garden design. In one area, however, Smiles could have done more: the book would have benefited had he described the political context more fully. For a work that explores the ideological dimension of historical representation there is surprisingly little discussion of politics. Many of his subjects are unfamiliar to us, and it would have been helpful to know precisely where they and their patrons stood on the political issues that informed their work.

TIMOTHY LANG
Dickinson College

GEOFFREY TWEEDALE. *Steel City: Entrepreneurship, Strategy, and Technology in Sheffield, 1743–1993*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 436. \$55.00.

Sheffield was long synonymous with excellence in the metal trades. From the discovery of crucible steel in 1743 to the development of alloy and high-speed steels in the late nineteenth century and stainless steel in the twentieth, the northern English city led the world in special steelmaking, cutlery, toolmaking, and engineering. A center of "high-technology, added-value, specialist" manufacture (p. 408), Sheffield made its mark with high-quality products, superb craftsmanship, a dedication to research and innovation, and bold marketing. All that is very much a memory now. By the early 1990s, metalmaking and metalworking in the city "had shrivelled almost into insignificance" (p. 6), and the local council, the regional health authority, and Meadowhall shopping mall each "was a bigger employer than any local steel company" (p. 395).

Geoffrey Tweedale's encyclopedic study aims "to provide a chronology and an explanation" of "Sheffield's dramatic rise and fall" (p. 7). The remarkable success of the city's metal trades, he shows, owed a good deal to the availability of land, water, and minerals, the accumulation over centuries of a wealth of metallurgical skill, and, with industrialization, a growing demand for steel, machinery, and tools. What gave Sheffield its decisive competitive advantage, Tweedale argues, was its unique industrial structure. In a "largely unplanned" (p. 407) fashion, there emerged in this part of South Yorkshire a dense "cluster" of complementary steelmaking and fabricating establishments that were "at once atomistic, yet at the same time closely interlocked; competitive and yet co-operative" (p. 54).

The firms that composed this "vast workshop" (p. 54) were "owner-operated, rather than corporate and bureaucratic; agglomerated, rather than monolithic; craft-based, instead of machine-oriented" (p. 12). Contracting intermediate work out to their competitors and employing skilled workers located off their premises, Sheffield producers were above all adaptable.

Their readiness to take the most diverse orders and their ability to meet the most idiosyncratic specifications made the city "the world's largest cutlery industry . . . the leading center for saw, scythe, and file manufacture" (p. 15) and the "arsenal of the world" (p. 188).

The competitive advantage that the clustering of small, flexible producers conferred on the Sheffield metal trades lasted only as long as the demand for steel, tools, and machinery was more a matter of quality than cost. When customers came to prefer standardized wares at lower prices, Sheffield's enterprises had to meet the competition from overseas on those terms or go to the wall. Already in the last decades before World War I, the cutlery industry had begun to decline in the face of foreign manufacturers employing large-scale production techniques. The special-steels firms held their own against European, North American, and Far Eastern competitors until the 1960s before succumbing.

The crucial question is why Sheffield's entrepreneurs did not respond effectively to the challenge of mass production. Tweedale argues that, with the prices of inputs increasing and a government unable either to act constructively or leave steel alone, they had little room for maneuver and that decline was "mostly inevitable" (p. 400). At the same time, however, he demonstrates that a parochial indifference to consumers overseas, the complacent belief "that the world could teach them little about steelmaking," and a "liking for independence" (p. 402) were part of the make-up of Sheffield industrialists. Why the Steel City's business leaders did not transform an industrial structure that had ceased to serve their interests in the marketplace requires more sustained attention than the epilogue to a history of two hundred and fifty years allows. Perhaps Tweedale will yet devote his unrivaled knowledge of Sheffield's commercial and technological development to a more comprehensive consideration of this matter.

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KARL ITTMANN. *Work, Gender, and Family in Victorian England*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 341. \$45.00.

Why did English working people begin to limit the size of their families in the late nineteenth century? Karl Ittmann is dissatisfied with the standard answer, which associates this change with "modernization," the lure of higher incomes, the revolution of rising expectations, and a new approach to children that placed a premium on quality over quantity. To provide a more accurate and nuanced explanation, he has conducted an intensive study of conditions in one industrial town, Bradford, Yorkshire, during the second half of the century. Since the documentary evidence reveals little about individual motivations in such intimate matters as sexuality, Ittmann is compelled to draw indirect

inferences and, like most other students of the subject, to seek correlations with other, contemporaneous trends. In Ittmann's case, this has deflected him from his original focus on family and demographic history toward providing what amounts to a general social history of working-class life in the town. It is here that he makes his most useful contribution. Bradford was the fastest-growing industrial city in Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century and, after several tumultuous decades of explosive development, ideological division, and class conflict, social relations slowly began to stabilize after 1850, when Ittmann takes his story up.

Ittmann builds on the work of other scholars (whom he might have more fully acknowledged in the body of his book), but he also makes several important contributions of his own and provides a reliable synthesis of what is known about Bradford's mid-Victorian working class. While his surveys of local entrepreneurship, religion, politics, and culture are largely derivative, his analysis of the labor process in the worsted industry and of working-class family roles and relationships breaks some significant new ground. As Ittmann demonstrates, the mid-Victorian boom was a period of rapid expansion in worsted production when some of the benefits of local prosperity trickled down to Bradford's working class. After 1874, however, the local economy entered a new and more troublesome era as prices fell, international markets weakened, and industrial competition (both internally and with the French) became increasingly cutthroat. Under the circumstances, employers moved to reduce labor costs, and wages for most categories of workers either stagnated or fell. Particularly hard hit, according to Ittmann, were the better-paid male workers in ancillary and still unmechanized occupations (such as dyeing, wool-sorting, engineering, or construction) who had been the main beneficiaries of the mid-Victorian expansion and who now found their earning power significantly reduced.

At the same time, class divisions were deepening and tensions were reviving, as mid-Victorian voluntarism proved inadequate to resolve social problems. Middle and working-class people became ever more separated from one another in both a physical and a cultural sense. While Ittmann makes many interesting observations about these developments and musters a wealth of empirical evidence to support his points, his overall analysis at this point becomes somewhat fragmentary and diffuse. Child and female labor were ubiquitous in Bradford but restricted to certain occupations. Family employment patterns varied over the course of the life cycle in ways that had been established during the 1830s and 1840s and had proved remarkably resistant to change. Local government became increasingly reform conscious and interventionist, especially in matters of sanitation, although its role remained limited at the century's end. Even the advent of mass education was a slow, gradual process of development in Bradford, beginning thirty years

before the passage of Forster's Act in 1870. Nevertheless, the pool of child labor was not diminished by its expansion until the twentieth century.

In the end, Ittmann returns to his original demographic questions and notes a strong correlation between the first stages of the decline of working-class fertility and the diminished economic prospects for working-class families in the late 1870s and 1880s. Hence, he concludes that it was the specter of poverty, rather than the prospect of improvement, which initially motivated working families to limit their family size. The argument is plausible, but given the nature of the evidence, Ittmann has not really demonstrated a watertight relationship between cause and effect. What about the gradually increasing role of education in altering the cost/benefit ratio of having children? Were there any changes in the role or position of women that might have enabled them to gain greater control over their own reproduction? How did Bradford's working people actually learn about contraception, and what made them suddenly willing to engage in a practice that most of their ancestors would have regarded with horror and disgust? Ittmann's evidence provides only the sketchiest hints of answers to these questions. They are, however, central to our ability to understand the dynamics of fertility decline. Nevertheless, if Ittmann has not been able entirely satisfactorily to answer the questions that he posed at the outset, he has produced a valuable and welcome book, presenting important new research on work and family life in late-nineteenth-century Bradford. As such, his book provides a valuable synthesis of what we now know about the demographic/family experience of the nineteenth-century industrial working class.

THEODORE KODITSCHKE
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ROBERT HUMPHREYS. *Sin, Organized Charity and the Poor Law in Victorian England*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xii, 226. \$59.95.

Victorian England (like recent Britain and America) was trying to come to grips with the persistent problem of widespread poverty. Some suspected that lazy, able-bodied adults were being supported by official and voluntary organizations in sinful indolence. Outdoor relief—the granting of aid to families and individuals living on their own—was targeted as the main problem. The Poor Law Act of 1834 aimed to abolish most outdoor relief in favor of workhouses segregated by age and sex, with strict character-building discipline.

In the late 1860s, however, outdoor relief was still the predominant form of aid, and reformers sought a new and more scientific approach to the problem. A “crusade” was initiated to reduce the emphasis on outdoor relief and at the same time to set up a new national network, the Charity Organization Society (COS), to transform private charity. Charity would

henceforth go only to “deserving” paupers, as identified by systematic investigation by professional bureaucrats.

Historians and conservatives have tended to accept the COS's own claims of great success. It is Robert Humphreys's thesis that a study of the London COS and the neglected provincial branches shows that the factual premises of the COS strategy were faulty and its results unsatisfactory even by its own criteria. The bulk of the poor were not able-bodied males but destitute or permanently disabled women and children. In 1872, only 13.5 percent of identified outdoor paupers were men. And, despite COS efforts, ratepayers and charities in most areas persisted in the view that misfortune could come to any individual and that it was preferable to give through outdoor relief to keep the families together. Particularly in the provinces, traditional charities, both official and private, rejected the leadership and methods of the COS. Humphreys points out a paradox of the COS (and similar ventures): it sought to make its clients independent by imposing on them a paternalistic authority.

In hindsight, the COS enterprise was one more Victorian attempt to solve a social problem by imposing middle-class values on the rest of society. In fact, poverty was more widespread and intractable than was usually admitted, endemic not only in London (as shown by Charles Booth), York (as revealed by B. Seebohm Rowntree), and Liverpool (as demonstrated by Margaret Simey), but throughout Britain. Economic conditions were changing rapidly and the primacy of the self-help doctrine was already giving way to the new doctrine of the common good. State intervention was soon to increase both locally and nationally. Curiously, the most enduring legacy of the COS was its method of case investigation, taken over by the welfare state.

An economic historian, Humphreys has assembled an impressive array of statistics, charts, and other evidence to back up his thesis. The interaction, or lack of it, between the London COS and the provincial societies and the emerging difficulties between the two are interesting to historians who find similar conflicts in other areas of activity. This book should prove to be an important resource for scholars concerned with responses to poverty in Victorian England.

LILIAN LEWIS SHIMAN
Nichols College

TIMOTHY LANG. *The Victorians and the Stuart Heritage: Interpretations of a Discordant Past*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 232. \$49.95.

For most of this century, historians from Carl Becker to Peter Novick have been intermittently attentive to relativism and the problem of objectivity. On the whole, they have preferred to approach the problem historiographically, showing how a work of history reflected the situation and circumstances in which it was written. From a similar perspective, Timothy Lang

has written a perceptive and nuanced study of the manner in which successive generations of nineteenth-century historians interpreted the Puritan Revolution. Two themes stand out: first, that "one of the Victorians' great historiographical achievements was to reverse the prejudice against Cromwell and the Puritans" (p. 20); second, that the writing of history contributed to "a larger process of nation-building that had as one of its aims the removal of sectarian divisions" (p. 21).

Lang takes as his point of departure David Hume's *History of England* (1754–1762), which showed little sympathy for the "intoxicating poison" and "epidemic frenzy" of Presbyterian religion. Historians critical of Hume—among them Catherine Macaulay, Charles James Fox, and Henry Hallam—expressed a somewhat more favorable view of what came to be called Puritanism. They, like Thomas Babington Macaulay, however, stopped well short of full rehabilitation. Opinion shifted in part as a result of the work of such Nonconformist historians as Robert Vaughan and John Forster, who celebrated Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans. By mid-century, Lang argues, the construction of a national, nonsectarian history had become a "liberal imperative." That goal was achieved in the work of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, who emphasized "the equal contributions that both Puritan and Anglican had made to the building of modern England" (p. 22).

Gardiner's "famed impartiality" (p. 167) and total command of the manuscript sources set him apart from his predecessors. Lang notes that Gardiner has long been esteemed as "one of England's first objective historians, a professional . . . who refused to allow contemporary political debate to color his interpretation" (p. 199). Affirming the principle of historicist empathy, Gardiner urged the historian to become "instinctively familiar" with the "aims and ideas" of the period he was describing, "however strange they may seem" (p. 166). He characterized Macaulay's "outrageous caricature of Strafford" as the result of a lack of the "suppleness" and broad-mindedness" (p. 164) necessary to sympathize with unfamiliar points of view. An admirer of Leopold von Ranke, Gardiner believed that the historian's scientific method enabled him to rise above contemporary prejudices and produce "real historical knowledge."

Lang shows how Gardiner's political and religious beliefs contributed to his determination to write unbiased history. Although his evenhandedness "owed something to Victorian ideas about science and something to a Rankean conception of the historian's craft, it was above all a Liberal historian's attempt to foster national unity" (p. 167). Lang also offers an ingenious interpretation of the manner in which the Irvingite beliefs of Gardiner's youth contributed to his empathetic understanding of Anglican and Puritan. The end product was a double-barreled Whig interpretation, in which both sides in the Civil War contributed to constitutional progress.

The limitations of Gardiner's interpretation do not

lessen the magnitude of his historiographical achievement. His ten-volume *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642* (1901–1908) still provides an indispensable narrative foundation for more sophisticated modes of analysis. For that matter, it can also be said that the interpretive themes singled out in this review do no more than skim the surface of Lang's richly textured intellectual history.

TRYGVE R. THOLFSEN
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DAVID McLEAN. *War, Diplomacy and Informal Empire: Britain and the Republics of La Plata, 1836–1853*. New York: British Academic of I. B. Tauris. 1995. Pp. 241. \$59.50.

Great Britain's relationship with the emerging nations of the Río de la Plata in the first half of the nineteenth century has often been interpreted within the context of informal empire or dependency theory. It is David McLean's intention to examine the years 1836–1853, a particularly contentious period when Britain and France tried to impose their will on a resistant Argentina. Their failure raises serious questions for the proponents of either informal empire or dependency theory. McLean relies primarily on British archival material, supplemented by published documentary and secondary sources, to reveal a complex, confused amalgam of policies, motives, and methods pursued by the various powers and interests in the region.

The focus of the study is the struggle for control of Uruguay. Civil war in that country resulted in various forms of intervention by regional powers (Buenos Aires and Brazil), international powers (Great Britain and France), provincial interests (Entre Ríos and Corrientes), contesting foreign mercantile interests in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and the individualistic policies of diplomats and admirals. Further complicating factors included the competitive policies pursued by France and Great Britain in Europe and public and commercial opinion in both countries. Changes of government in Britain and France produced yet another context, as did changing battlefield fortunes in Uruguay.

McLean deftly works his way through scenes that constantly change. He shows that the British "concern to restore peace to the region developed at least as much from Britain's past involvement in its policies as from any anxiety for her future trade" (p. 203). The formulation of that policy was made very difficult by misleading commercial opinion as well as the misinformation provided by Britain's own diplomats on the scene. Indeed, the economic motivation central to theories of informal empire and dependency was clearly secondary in the Río de la Plata. The primary object of British policy was to preserve the independence of Uruguay. A no less important political factor was Britain's competitive and distrustful relationship

with France. French power in the Río de la Plata was a concern, as were French interests in Spain.

From a Latin American context, Juan Manuel Rosas refused to bow to French and British pressure and adeptly divided the two powers. The great powers failed to force Rosas to abandon his intervention in Uruguay, although they probably did forestall an Argentinian victory. Ultimately, however, it was the decisive military intervention of Brazil that brought the civil war to an end and laid the groundwork for the successful attack against Rosas by his enemies. Local rather than international factors determined the outcome of Uruguay's independence struggle. Britain learned, according to McLean, "that influence in South America was not readily attainable by the coordination of diplomacy and naval power" (p. 206).

This well-written work is a welcome addition to the literature on Europe's relations with Latin America. It is "old-fashioned" diplomatic history but presented in a way that is refreshing. The often superficial generalizations of theorists of informal empire and dependency fail to stand up to the record revealed by the archives. McLean demonstrates that the weaker power, Argentina, had its own leverage and that the power of the British and French effectively ended on the shores of the Río de la Plata.

PAUL B. GOODWIN, JR.
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ROBERT T. HARRISON. *Gladstone's Imperialism in Egypt: Techniques of Domination*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 53.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. Pp. 184. \$55.00.

As Robert T. Harrison correctly notes in this book, Britain's 1882 incursion into Egypt had wide-reaching consequences. It led to the assertion of British authority in Egypt and to new territorial commitments by which the European imperial states partitioned Africa. In recognition of these global ramifications, Harrison underscores the need to re-examine the premises that persuaded the Liberal government headed by William Ewart Gladstone of the rightness of its actions. Although this volume focuses on the deliberations of politicians working within metropolitan frameworks, it also assesses the forces of change in Egypt. It is enriched by previously unpublished photographs graphically illustrating the effects of the British bombardment of Alexandria.

Harrison argues, contrary to the familiar historical literature, that the Gladstone government was not drawn reluctantly into Egypt in defiance of Liberal values. Instead, he asserts that Gladstone wanted Egypt to remain within the orbit of the Ottoman Empire and under British influence. Gladstone's response to the nationalist movement, according to Harrison, was ingeniously rationalized. Convinced that Colonel Arabi was betraying rather than advancing the Egyptian nationalist cause, Gladstone justified the

invasion on the ground that Britain was rescuing Egypt from Arabi. In this way, writes Harrison, Gladstone avoided the dilemma of choosing between his Liberal heritage of support for nationalist movements and his duty to defend the empire.

As Harrison acknowledges, his interpretation of the reasons why the Gladstone government became involved in Egypt differs from other well-known accounts that excuse Gladstone's part in the invasion and stress instead his aversion to imperial expansion and his preoccupation with Ireland. Harrison, however, agrees with imperial historians who, following the logic of Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, and Alice Denny (*Africa and the Victorians* [1961]), connect the Egyptian crisis to the global shift from the informal rule of collaborators and sub-imperialist agents to formal imperial administration. Harrison also endorses works that have detailed the financial calculations driving Britain's expansion.

Ultimately, Harrison's attempt to reinforce recent developments in the scholarship on British imperialism is stronger than his portrait of Gladstone. While Harrison is right that Gladstone, even if reluctantly, understood the demands of empire, he does not paint a fully convincing picture of Gladstone's views and their foundation in Liberal thought. Harrison frequently refers to an 1858 speech in which Gladstone anticipated the completion of the Suez Canal as a means to secure Britain's power in the Red Sea and beyond. For Harrison, this statement predicts the direction that Gladstone would follow in 1882.

Gladstone's imperial policy and his ideas about Britain's role in Egypt were, however, more complex than Harrison allows. Although his bibliography includes well-known sources on the campaigns of the 1870s that drew Gladstone's attention to Egypt and the Eastern Question, Harrison does not make enough use of their analyses. He relies instead on the 1858 speech as an authoritative indicator of what Gladstone later would do in Egypt. Harrison might evaluate other expressions of Gladstone's imperial vision, such as an influential trilogy of articles published in 1877-1878 that questioned whether protection of the route to India should guide Britain's global policy and whether a British occupation of Egypt was inevitable. When Gladstone's articles are read along with his diary entries, a more nuanced critique of his views about Egypt and empire emerges. Gladstone's diaries also document how his cabinet dealt simultaneously with major challenges in Ireland and Egypt, an intersection of responsibilities that had more impact on Gladstone and his ministers than Harrison suggests. One can reconcile the apparent contradiction that Harrison discerns between the Gladstone who, as Liberal politician, was a skeptic about imperial expansion and the Gladstone who, as prime minister, accepted the need to act in Egypt. To do so requires a deeper review of Gladstone's career and ideas than Harrison offers.

This book will be of most interest to scholars familiar with basic issues raised by the Egyptian occu-

pation and their reflection in a scholarship of empire that emphasizes both metropolitan politics and local conditions. Those who have not previously studied Egypt may find the shifting scene in successive chapters confusing and may lack the broader knowledge necessary to evaluate Harrison's contribution. Those who concentrate on late Victorian politics will take note of Harrison's revision of the conventional wisdom about Gladstone and Egypt, even if it only partially explores the complex imperial philosophy of the Grand Old Man.

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CYRIL EHRLICH. *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. 307. \$49.95.

The reader fearing a routine hagiography of a venerable musical institution will be surprised and delighted by this masterly study. Cyril Ehrlich, doyen of social historians of music, has achieved a remarkable fusion: an entertaining, readable, chronological account packed with lively incident and vivid character sketches that at the same time gives a true picture of the stresses faced by a developing institution over nearly two centuries. For, after the initial glory days, when it established artistic and financial capital from its association with Ludwig van Beethoven and Felix Mendelssohn, the Royal Philharmonic Society was almost always in financial straits or racked by artistic doubts, and the preservation of its own tradition became an overriding *raison d'être*.

Ehrlich's quotations revel in nineteenth-century inadequacy, felling some mighty oaks in the process. Henry Bishop, for instance, could not hinder the orchestra "from sometimes escaping into the right tempo" (p. 57); Arthur Sullivan listlessly conducted "from the comfortable recesses of a commodious arm-chair" (p. 146). Equally sharp is Ehrlich's own analysis of the Society's administrative lethargy and its haughtily complacent reliance on reputation and professional goodwill. After any number of deathbed recoveries, it was a hitherto unsung hero who turned the Society's fortunes around.

The two chapters relating to Francesco Berger, secretary from 1884 to 1911, form the crux of the book. The period was a golden age of vitality and cosmopolitanism, when the Royal Philharmonic Society at last responded to the administrative challenges of the new age and placed its finances on a sounder footing. Here Ehrlich wrestles with the major themes that make this book such a significant contribution to the history of concert life and the development of the music profession as a whole: the cost of a labor-intensive symphony orchestra and ever rising solo fees (Adelina Patti and Ignacy Jan Paderewski could only be attracted by "paroxysms of diligence and servility" [p. 168]); the

role of agents and pianomakers in facilitating international connections and regulating a hierarchy of artistic drawing power; the continuing bugbears of inadequate rehearsal time and the deputy system; conflicting tastes for older music, newer repertoire from the continent, and home-grown compositions. Over and above all this, Ehrlich treats London's perennial central musical problem: "It is still not clear why long-run effective demand—as distinct from briefly profitable enthusiasm—fell so far short of perpetual supply" (p. 159).

The history of the Royal Philharmonic Society after Berger is inextricably tied to Sir Thomas Beecham, whose seasons with the London Philharmonic in the 1930s and the Royal Philharmonic after World War II are landmarks of musical riches and imaginative programming. But the Society itself, once at the forefront of artistic enterprise and innovation, was losing its influence in London's concert life, a loss symbolized by the controversial salvation of the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra by divorce from the Society in 1964. Ehrlich rightly ends his fine book with a challenge to the Society to make another self-assessment to determine whether its future lies in anything more than the essentially honorary function of awarding its prestigious gold medals.

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RALF DAHRENDORF. *LSE: A History of the London School of Economics and Political Science, 1895–1995*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 584. \$39.95.

Ralf Dahrendorf has written a scholarly centennial history of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). The literature on the LSE includes works by two previous directors (Sydney Caine and William Beveridge), memoirs, biographical studies of LSE personalities, and some excellent recent studies of its early years and of particular departments. This, however, is the first large-scale history of the school that played the central role in defining the social sciences in Britain. Alumni will find references to the idiosyncrasies of favorite professors, well-loved porters, lunch-time dances, the hockey team, the cramped and noisy school site, and a gripping account of the "troubles" of 1966–1969. Mostly, however, they will find a scholarly account of the founding, development, and transformation of the school and a thoughtful analysis of the history of the social sciences in the twentieth century.

While this is not an official history, Dahrendorf generously acknowledges the help he received from a research team at the LSE. The work makes excellent use of the LSE archives and other manuscript collections, such as the W. A. S. Hewins papers at Sheffield and those of the Rockefeller Foundation. The latter are especially interesting since Rockefeller money paid

for a fourth of the school's expenditures during the interwar period.

Dahrendorf demonstrates that the LSE's reputation as a left-wing university was largely unearned. Its distinguished faculty included not only such figures as Harold Laski and R. H. Tawney but also such towering conservatives as F. A. Hayek and Karl Popper. If the LSE had a bias, it was the widely shared early twentieth-century faith that the age of individualism was over and that the twentieth century would bring a benevolent state guided by the social sciences. This belief was shared by its Fabian founder, Sydney Webb, as well as its social imperialist first director, W. A. S. Hewins. The location of the school in the heart of London has been crucial to its success. Neither its location nor its cramped quarters could provide comfortable isolation from worldly pressures. Instead, it encouraged a fruitful and sometimes tumultuous dialectic between scholarship and the external world. A central characteristic of the school has always been this tension between facts and values, the ascetic and the worldly.

Dahrendorf argues that the LSE is rightly credited with having played a crucial role in the development of the welfare state. It not only provided a good deal of the theory but also helped make professionals out of the social services providers, planners, and public administrators. However, it always trained more business and financial leaders. It was founded in 1895 as an institution designed to serve primarily part-time students but developed into one where nearly half are full-time postgraduates. From the very beginning, women constituted about forty percent of its students. Especially in its earlier years, female faculty, such as Eileen Power and Vera Anstey, were crucial to its success. Also from the outset, the LSE attracted many international students. Today, only one third of its students are from Britain. Although the LSE was never an institution that sought out the underprivileged, government subsidies and private grants allowed for modest fees in the early years. After World War II, it became a truly publicly funded university. Since the late 1970s, public funds constitute less than thirty percent of its budget. Today, differential student fees for domestic, European Union, and foreign students have ended the dream of providing an education for the best and the brightest regardless of a student's economic resources or origin.

Dahrendorf has combined his administrative experience and his skill as a social analyst to produce a first-rate study of a major British university, an excellent introduction to the development of the social sciences in the twentieth century, and a thoughtful analysis of their present problems. Inevitably, the work provides a much fuller perspective on the first half than on the second half of the century. While there is much of interest here about student life at LSE, this is primarily a history organized by the terms of its directors, the careers of its famous teachers, and the development of its programs. Dahrendorf and his research team are to be congratulated for producing a

centennial history that is also a major scholarly contribution.

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JOANNA BOURKE. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. 336. \$32.50.

From its title, readers might expect this book to be a study of discourse, heavily laden with cultural theory. Instead, they will find a refreshingly jargon-free exploration of Britain's treatment of soldiers and the subjective experience of masculinity in Britain during and after World War I. Joanna Bourke's primary theme is the male body as the object of concern, scrutiny, training, regulation, mutilation, rehabilitation, and mourning by British officials and public. Separate chapters discuss efforts to improve physical manliness prior to and during the war, the treatment of the war-maimed, attitudes toward malingers, and feelings about the dead. A second theme, explored in a chapter on male bonding, concerns the impact of World War I on masculine identity.

Bourke addresses the large question of World War I's role in transforming Victorian into modern society, an issue debated by Paul Fussell (*The Great War and Modern Memory* [1975]) and Modris Eksteins (*Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* [1989]). She also addresses an intersecting debate on the influence of the war on modern gender identity and thus joins company with Klaus Theweleit (*Male Fantasies* [1987–1989]), Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (*No Man's Land* [1989]), and George Mosse (*Fallen Soldiers* [1990]). Compared to the large claims of these works, Bourke's conclusions are modest. She warns against crediting to the war changes due simply to time and maturation and also against taking the war out of historical context, either by attributing to it trends that were already in course or major effects that quickly dissipated a few years after its conclusion.

By carefully locating the war in a longer time frame and larger context, for example by discussing the treatment of men disabled by the war in comparison with the treatment of civilians disabled before and after the war, Bourke is not only able to pin down the war's specific impact but also to show where wartime policies and attitudes came from and where they went. In general, her conclusions about the war's effect on British men are similar to those of James MacMillan concerning its impact on French women (*Housewife or Harlot: The Place of Women in French Society 1870–1940* [1981]); both argue that the war crystallized and speeded up developments already underway. In the case of British men, Bourke argues, this meant an increasing emphasis on discipline and conformity. As she demonstrates, techniques to achieve these ends passed first from civilian employers to the military and then back to employers, strengthened and colored by

the war experience. Bourke also identifies two shifts in masculine identity: less differentiation by social class and a heightened focus on heterosexual domesticity as central to maturity.

Drawing on a wide-ranging collection of sources, from soldiers' unpublished writings to government reports, Bourke produces a fascinating array of information, from the value the government placed on various male body parts, to the battle between advocates of Swedish and German drill, to the cranks of the male dress reform movement, to the hoax about Field Marshall Kitchener's corpse. The range of topics makes it difficult to grasp the argument as a whole. The book works best as a series of forays into the complex interrelationship of male bodies, masculinity, and war. As Bourke states in the introduction, she makes no distinction between the study of male bodies and the study of masculinity, but neither is there any "inevitable association" between them (p. 11). Similarly, masculinity and male bodies are both connected to war, especially this war, both so devastating to men's bodies and so promoted and memorialized as exclusively masculine. Perhaps prudently, Bourke never states exactly what she believes the relationship between male bodies and masculinity to be, but, given the immense body of knowledge at her command, readers may wish she showed more daring in her formulation of the problem.

Appropriately for a book on bodies, the University of Chicago Press has done an excellent job in physical presentation. Not only are the illustrations copious, they are located near the relevant text. I regret, however, the lack of bibliography and the poor editing. Passive voice, dangling modifiers, and sentences of the *we-threw-mother-from-the-train-a-kiss* variety mar what could have been a delightful read as well as an impressive piece of scholarship.

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G. H. BENNETT. *British Foreign Policy during the Curzon Period, 1919-24*. New York: St. Martin's. 1995. Pp. xi, 243. \$65.00.

As G. H. Bennett rightly remarks, there has been no serious study of George Nathaniel Curzon's tenure as Foreign Secretary since Harold Nicolson's *Curzon: The Last Phase* (1934), a book that is still valuable but rather dated. To some extent, Bennett supplies the needed updating, but, as his title indicates, his study is of foreign policy overall, not only Curzon. For a work of such scope, there is no fully satisfactory methodology. Bennett has chosen to organize his material by region, with chapters on Western European security, Eastern Europe, the Bolshevik empire, Asia Minor, the Arab Middle East, Persia (Iran), the Mediterranean, the United States, and East Asia. This approach is most useful in elucidating the problems of each zone, but at the inevitable cost of a sense of larger British policy evolving over time.

Bennett does not lose sight of the complexities of policymaking for a Britain that had apparently won World War I but suddenly found itself without the resources to preserve that victory. He works carefully through the public and private papers to make this point; his account is concise, balanced, and readable, certainly to be recommended as a survey of this particular half-decade. Where Curzon himself is concerned, however, some readers may find Bennett overly charitable. Admittedly, Curzon did not have much influence on Western European affairs as long as David Lloyd George was in power, but neither man understood how to satisfy French needs for security and yet avoid creating unwanted French hegemony in postwar Europe. Similarly, Curzon had neither the power nor the desire to check Lloyd George's chimera of Greek power in western Asia Minor, and in the Arab world, he was soon to lock horns with Winston Churchill's new Colonial Office mandate for Middle East policy. In Persia, however, Curzon could not resist the extension of British authority, refusing for too long to face the fact that it was not going to work, not least because authorities in India were not interested in cooperating.

Curzon did have his triumphs, without doubt, and Bennett is quite correct to list the Treaty of Lausanne, which finally settled the war with Turkey, as one of the most notable. But Curzon's admitted expertise on Middle Eastern foreign policy was always offset by his arrogant pomposity, his physical frailties, and, at bottom, a deep-seated reluctance (to put the best face on it) to stand up to Lloyd George or similar hard men who saw through and disdained his façade. Bennett only occasionally refers to such factors, believing that they were less important than the real limits of Britain's power; indeed they were, but they further complicated an already difficult situation.

Two larger criticisms, however, may be made of this book. The first is that the interconnections between the several areas are not always as clear as they might be, nor is every conclusion supported by the evidence. One example will have to serve: "If Britain had given stronger support to French policy in Europe, France would have been more willing to help Britain against the Kemalists" (p. 94) is how Bennett summarizes the Turkish question. But this is a most unlikely scenario, given deep-seated French suspicions of Britain's desire for an exclusive position in the Arab world.

The second difficulty is Bennett's consignment to the final chapter of "conclusions" a discussion of the general constraints under which post-World War I foreign policy was made: that the "new diplomacy" was always in the public eye, the developing role of labor interests in foreign affairs, and the pressure of Irish and Indian nationalism. Some of these were technically not matters under the purview of the Foreign Office, but there is no question that they affected significant areas that were, such as Egypt. This chapter, indeed, might better be read first.

Overall, however, this book is a sound study of an

important era. Bennett makes a good case that Curzon and the three prime ministers he served with great difficulty managed to build and preserve a viable peace. That their successors could not make it last was hardly their fault.

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GORDON W. MORRELL. *Britain Confronts the Stalin Revolution: Anglo-Soviet Relations and the Metro-Vickers Crisis*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 204. \$34.95.

In March of 1933, Soviet secret police operatives arrested six British engineers, representatives of the Metropolitan-Vickers Electrical Export Company on assignment to the USSR. Their alleged offenses, made public a month later, included directing a "wrecking" campaign against Soviet electrical power stations and building an espionage network to collect secret intelligence about Soviet military and economic capabilities. More than twenty Soviet citizens were arrested at about the same time and charged with aiding and abetting the imperialist criminals.

All six foreigners and eleven of their local "lackeys" appeared before a special session of the Supreme Court of the USSR in mid-April. Andrei Vyshinskii made his debut as Stalin's Public Prosecutor, a warm-up for his starring role in the more notorious show trials of 1936–1938. In the Metro-Vickers proceedings, he played a gentler part. The accused had not, he conceded, done the Soviet economy any serious damage. The most culpable of the defendants were therefore sentenced to only ten years' imprisonment. One British national was acquitted outright. Three others were merely expelled from the country. Only two served time in prison, and in fact, both were freed on July 1, 1933, as part of a Anglo-Soviet deal to end the bilateral face-off resulting from the trial.

The Metro-Vickers incident has been variously interpreted by historians. Some writers have seen it as just one more of the many mini-crises that plagued Anglo-Soviet state relations in the interwar era—in this case, a diplomatic confrontation made in Moscow, from which the USSR finally backed away when it released the prisoners. Other commentators have analyzed the incident in terms of Anglo-Soviet economic relationships. London had just announced its intention to renegotiate its trade agreement with the USSR. The old commercial treaty was due to expire in April. Stalin wanted to put pressure on Britain to get the best possible economic deal, and the Metro-Vickers scandal was invented to further that objective. It worked, too: Moscow came up a winner in bilateral trade relations after the engineers were freed.

One of the many virtues in Gordon W. Morrell's monograph is that he does not treat his subject one-dimensionally. He explores the implications of the trial for both the Foreign Office and the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs), and he does

not stop there. He suggests the very real possibility, for example, that the accused might indeed have served the purposes of British intelligence, assisting the newly established Industrial Intelligence Centre in assessing the Soviets' military and economic capabilities.

Morrell also scrutinizes the Metro-Vickers affair as a Soviet domestic issue. The evidence suggests, for example, that the OGPU did not consult the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs before making the arrests. Maxim Litvinov may have been the man who persuaded Stalin to back away from the confrontation and to rein in the men who had instigated it. Morrell ventures the possibility that Vyshinskii may have taken advantage of the trial to advance his goal of a more professionalized and centralized Soviet legal structure. Just what constituted "socialist legality" was a controversial issue for the Soviets in the early 1930s. Morrell proposes that Metro-Vickers may have played a significant role in the resolution of that debate.

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SIMON C. SMITH. *British Relations with the Malay Rulers from Decentralization to Malayan Independence, 1930–1957*. (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 234. \$59.00.

Scholars who examine constitutional changes during Britain's imperial sunset tend to look for parallels among emerging nations and between them and the metropole. Simon C. Smith, in this study of the decolonization process in Malaya, although he demonstrates that he is cognizant of concurrent developments in India, Africa, and the Middle East, as well as the great weight of British tradition, shows the futility of such transnational assumptions. Rather, following a more indigenous historiographic approach established by J. M. Gullick (*Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya* [1988]), A. J. Stockwell (*British Policy and Malay Politics during the Malayan Union Experiment, 1942–1948* [1972]), and Yeo Kim Wah (*The Politics of Decentralization: Colonial Controversy in Malaya, 1920–1929* [1982]), Smith reveals the critical role played by the rulers in Malaya's unique constitutional development.

"A collaborative elite upholding Britain's imperial interests" (p. 7) is Smith's apt description of the British-Malay ruling bond that persisted until World War II. This casual relationship, consisting of four federated and five unfederated states under the guidance of British advisers, coincided with the prevailing colonial practice of indirect rule. Japanese wartime occupation, followed by growing nationalist sentiment, anti-imperialist pressure from the United States, defense considerations, and the need to consolidate resources, led to a reformulation of this order. But attempts by British officials to institute a union that would draw the states closer together, provide wider citizenship for non-Malays, and sidestep the sultans'

authority aroused unexpected popular loyalty to Malaya's traditional rulers. Sir Edward Gent, governor of the new order, quickly recognized the impossibility of ruling against the national will and instigated talks that led to the creation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948.

This compromise settlement, a transitional stage for independence, was fraught with ambiguities. Smith carefully shows how the rulers were led to believe that their prewar status had been restored while British officials clung to the spirit of the aborted union scheme. Struggles over the method for appointing the Federation's High Commissioner and demands by Ibrahim, Sultan of Johore, for legal immunity brought the issue of sovereignty to the fore. Tensions were exacerbated by Britain's need to incorporate the views of the industrious Chinese minority without alienating the Malays, whose support had been critical in suppressing the Communist Chinese insurrection called "the Emergency." Likewise, however much the Colonial Office wanted to regard the rulers as an anachronism, it could ill afford to lose their cooperation against the insurgents. Nor could British advisers dare employ powers of "formal advice" (or coercion) against a recalcitrant Conference of Rulers whose constitutional status had deliberately been left vague, as illustrated in the crises over the Prisoners Removal Act and the Social and Welfare Lotteries Board Ordinance in the early 1950s. Through the course of these crises, British authority was parried and the rulers gained considerable latitude. Even on the state level, Smith concludes, "the Mentris Besar [Chief Ministers] were assuming the role of advising the Rulers" (p. 120), thereby altering forever the dynamics of Britain's imperial presence.

The British made overt attempts, based partly on orientalist prejudice, to implant a British-style constitutional monarchy in Malaya. But, although a Yang di-Pertuan Agong (Head of State) appeared in the eventual independence settlement, it hardly coincided with the British concept that rulers' public and private conduct be merged and that the rulers' powers be limited to ritual. Even the implementation of elections and rotation, features normally debilitating to elitist institutions, could not prevent the rulers from exercising powers that went beyond the traditional province of religion. Recalling the postwar union fiasco, British officials wisely avoided direct action, choosing instead to pin their constitutional hopes on the erstwhile rivalry between rulers and various popular parties. But the United Malay National Organization and its successors, deferring to conservative Malay opinion, instead reached an uneasy accommodation with the rulers. Restraint and resignation characterized British policy in the difficult period leading up to independence in 1957, the result being "a new informal relationship with Malaya based on friendship and mutual interest" (p. 191).

The extent to which the rulers' loose interpretation of constitutional monarchy prevailed becomes evident

in Smith's brief but telling epilogue. One politician observed in 1978 that the rulers retained "more rights than they had once enjoyed in British colonial days" (p. 204). But periodic post-independence assertions of power are hardly surprising when the Malay sovereignty issue is viewed in historical perspective, the principal strength of this account. Well-documented and effectively argued, Smith's study provides a strong antidote to ahistorical approaches to the decolonization phenomenon and shows how indigenous forces and traditions largely determined the course of Malaya's transition from imperial to commonwealth status.

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S. P. MACKENZIE. *The Home Guard: A Military and Political History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 262. \$29.95.

In popular memory, the British Home Guard of World War II consisted of ineffectual elderly men playing at being soldiers. In this book, the first full-length scholarly study of the Home Guard, S. P. Mackenzie challenges this perception, placing the group instead in the British tradition of amateur militias, thus building on the earlier work of Ian Beckett (*The Amateur Military Tradition 1558-1945* [1991]).

The Home Guard originated with civilians forming armed groups at the peak of the public fear of German invasion in 1940. Alarmed at the prospect of armed bands outside of its control, the government hurriedly established the Home Guard in May 1940, without a clear sense of how it might be used. By 1941, almost 20 percent of the adult male working population not engaged in the armed forces, essential police, or civil defense work was a Home Guard member.

Although Mackenzie acknowledges the Home Guard's limitations as a military force, he stresses its political importance. Political pressure from powerful local leaders contributed to the government's decision to create the Home Guard and made it difficult for the War Office to impose its authority over the group once it was established. Mackenzie also suggests that Winston Churchill supported the Home Guard for his own political benefit. As early as July 1940, Churchill thought a German invasion of Britain unlikely, but even though it was unnecessary on military grounds he insisted that the Home Guard be maintained to encourage civilians to believe that they were helping defend their country.

Mackenzie suggests the Home Guard contributed to wartime social unity, but his study draws attention to the continuation of prewar social conflicts during the war. Women's requests to join were initially rejected; eventually, the War Office allowed a volunteer women's auxiliary to be formed but denied its members weapons or uniforms. A proposal to create a Home Guard in Northern Ireland foundered due to Protes-

tant concern that, if Catholics were allowed to join, their weapons might end up in the hands of the IRA. Mackenzie is unable to say whether the Home Guard undermined prewar class divisions or reinforced them by placing members of the local elite in leadership positions. He suggests, plausibly, that rural and urban units tended to mirror the social structure in their respective regions.

Although the Home Guard claimed to be contributing to social unity, trade unionists' fears that it would become an anti-labor organization led to its demise. Mackenzie cites examples of local units intervening in labor disputes on behalf of employers. When the Home Guard was not disbanded at the war's end, the General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress informed the Labour government that suspicions were growing that the militia was being maintained for use in the event of labor unrest. After he voiced these concerns to the prime minister, the Home Guard was finally disbanded.

This study is a traditional narrative history that makes good use of files at the Public Record Office and local record offices to reassess the Home Guard. Although Mackenzie has chosen to focus on the group's military and political dimensions, the evidence he provides hints at the Home Guard's significance for wartime social history as well.

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STEVEN FIELDING, PETER THOMPSON and NICK TIRATSOO. *"England Arise!": The Labour Party and Popular Politics in 1940s Britain*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 244. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

Steven Fielding, Peter Thompson, and Nick Tiratsoo cover in this study an increasingly familiar period in modern British history, World War II and its aftermath. Rightly, however, they highlight the need for a more eclectic and revisionist view of its politics, particularly one that will provide "an approach that genuinely embraces the popular" (p. 5), in contrast to conventional accounts of the wartime coalition and postwar Labour governments that concentrate exclusively on the politics of Downing Street, Transport House, and Central Office. It is particularly important to understand popular politics at a point when the British public first witnessed the formal emergence of a comprehensive welfare state, full employment, rigorous state intervention in industry, and the tenure of a clearly socialist party. It is a pity, then, that this book does little to advance our understanding of the politics of either the center or the public.

This failure is not for lack of trying. The monograph's six chapters cover wartime popular and party politics, the Labour Party's ideas about socialism, electoral politics after 1945, and questions about community and leisure under the Labour government.

Using Mass-Observation reports and opinion polls, the authors add some worthwhile qualifications to our understanding of wartime radicalism, although these still depend on reviewing rather worn landmarks such as evacuation, bombing, and reconstruction. There are useful discussions of the election of 1945 and the political jockeying before and after it; these, however, tend to offer new material, such as a discussion of party organization, rather than challenging new conclusions.

The authors' main claim to revisionism rests on their exploration of Labour's socialism and the two themes of community and leisure. In this they are only partly successful. The chapter on community is striking, addressing a central problem of the democratic socialist experiment in Britain over the last century: the translation of the ideas of fellowship and community into practice. The monograph includes an insightful analysis of communitarian efforts in housing and industry after 1945. One chapter does not, however, a coherent monograph make. In their discussion of Labour's socialism, for instance, the authors rightly offer a corrective to the assumed dominance of Fabian ideas, bringing out the ethical aspects of the party's ideology. They do so, however, by replacing one monolithic version of Labour's socialism with another. As more nuanced contributions such as Martin Francis and Nick Ellison have shown (in, respectively, "Economics and Ethics: The Nature of Labour's Socialism, 1945-51," *20th Century British History*, Volume 6/2 and *Egalitarian Thought and Labour Politics* [1994]), the ethical elements of the party's thought were highly complex and sometimes contradictory at this time, a subtlety given short shrift in this account.

The chapter on leisure brings out the fundamental weaknesses of the monograph. The authors offer an illuminating and sometimes entertaining social history of postwar leisure. One must ask, however, why they felt leisure deserved more attention in an exploration of popular politics in the 1940s than austerity and living standards, only brief discussions of which figure in a chapter on Labour's political fortunes after 1945. They suggest that leisure was an issue favored by Labour intellectuals and leaders, but the evidence presented for this is at best skimpy, consisting of one comment by Stafford Cripps, three Transport House memoranda in 1946 and 1947, a brace of remarks in *New Statesman* and *Tribune*, and some remarks by Nye Bevan. Leisure is an interesting question, but the authors do not make clear why it is so important to popular politics at this time.

In many respects, the discussion of leisure illustrates a central difficulty with the monograph as a whole: its failure to present a clear argument or theoretical underpinning for what popular politics is. Obviously, this is not an easy question, but it is one that should have been undertaken. Fielding, Thompson, and Tiratsoo should be applauded for their attempt to present a new reading of the politics of the 1940s. But for a monograph that wears the badge of revisionism

so proudly on its sleeve, the actual results are disappointing.

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RICHARD THURLOW. *The Secret State: British Internal Security in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1995. Pp. xiii, 458.

Over the past two decades, the study of intelligence—the “missing dimension”—has developed into a serious academic endeavor. There remains, however, one consistent problem in intelligence studies: lack of access to documents and other reliable primary sources (even in open societies).

This has been a source of particular frustration for those working in Britain, which possesses no equivalent to the U.S. Freedom of Information Act. For popular writers like John Costello, it has provided the excuse for conspiratorial speculation that borders on fantasy, the results being very much akin to the shadow world of spy novelists such as John Le Carré and Len Deighton. For professional historians tied to the conventional rules of historical evidence, lack of access to the archives of MI5 and MI6—and much else besides—has proved rather more of a challenge.

Richard Thurlow, hitherto known for his work on British fascism, grapples with this difficulty in his examination of the secret security apparatus in twentieth-century Britain. As he points out throughout the book, the release of Home Office and other government documents relating to security has been highly selective; so that, for example, it is easier to piece together reactions to the British Union of Fascists (BUF) than the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in the interwar years.

Having recognized this problem and sensibly resisted lending too much credence to “ripping yarn memoirs” (p. 398) of the Peter Wright variety, Thurlow has chosen cautiously to extrapolate trends in state reactions from the relatively small number of subjects, including the Suffragettes and the National Unemployed Workers Movement as well as the BUF, on which Home Office files are available. The result is an important contribution to our understanding of the relationship between the traditions of individual freedom and the internal security needs of the state in modern Britain.

Several themes emerge. The first concerns the way in which traditional English liberal values in the Home Office have tended to limit the size and power of the secret state in peacetime (the major exception being Ireland). The second involves the ways in which the needs of total war vastly extended the scope of domestic intelligence operations in line with the overall expansion of the state’s role in wartime society: gains that were rolled back but not entirely eliminated after 1918 and 1945. A third theme concerns the evident assumption of the security authorities that domestic dissent must, *ipso facto*, be foreign inspired and the

consequent tendency to focus on relatively harmless organizations such as the CPGB rather than the much greater threat posed by establishment moles.

Overall, this is a balanced work in which Thurlow is at pains to point out the limited nature of his sources. One hopes that the files will eventually become available with which to test its hypotheses and measure the degree to which the security services have been as conscious of constitutional niceties as the Home Office.

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STEPHEN GAUKROGER. *Descartes: An Intellectual Biography*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 499. \$35.00.

René Descartes was born on March 31, 1596, a date that he was loath to disclose lest it fell into the hands of astrologers who might use it to cast his horoscope. He died in his fifty-fourth year on February 11, 1650, and his faithful disciple and translator, Claude Picot, later declared that, had he not been carried away by pneumonia, “he could have lived five hundred years since he had discovered the art of living for several centuries.” The biography of such a man cannot be reduced, as it too often is, to an exercise in introspection that eventuated in the declaration, “Cogito ergo sum,” hailed by rationalists as the benchmark of modern philosophy. There was more to Descartes’s life than is found in standard textbooks, and with Stephen Gaukroger’s biography we are now in a position to appreciate the whole range of Descartes’s interests: music, psychology, mathematics, hydraulics, physics, linguistics, biology, metaphysics, and theology.

By studying the genesis of Descartes’s ideas instead of attending exclusively to their formulation in the works of his maturity, Gaukroger is able to make a strong case for claiming that skepticism did not motivate his quest for a new theory of knowledge. What he was seeking was a foundation for the natural philosophy that he began to elaborate years before publishing *Meditations* in 1641. The culmination of Descartes’s creative labor in physics, according to Gaukroger, was *Le monde*, written in the early 1630s but only made available in a revised version in *Principles of Philosophy* (1644). What caused the long delay was the condemnation of Galileo in 1632 and Descartes’s fear that his own advocacy of Copernicanism would lead to similar consequences. After the completion of *Principles of Philosophy*, which he hoped the Jesuits would adopt as an official textbook in their colleges, Descartes turned mainly to the study of the passions, but he continued to pursue research in botany, anatomy, and physiology. He corresponded with Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Elizabeth Stuart and Frederic V of Bohemia, on a wide range of personal and philosophical matters, and, in 1649, he acceded to the request of Queen Christina of Sweden and left for Stockholm. The queen wanted to be instructed at five o’clock in

the morning, three days a week. The harsh winter and the ice-cold coach that fetched him at 4.30 A.M. put an end to the philosopher's dream of a long life. Even wine flavored with tobacco proved of no avail as a remedy, and Descartes passed away after less than five months in Sweden.

Gaukroger carries his scholarship lightly, but he never trivializes or caricatures the complex scientific and philosophical problems that Descartes tackled in a bold and innovative way. He shows how Descartes's mechanistic conception of nature worked, and he gives a clear account of Descartes's comparison of the human body to a machine. In an age when churchgoing was a common experience, Descartes could appeal to general knowledge about organs and the fact that sound was produced by air being pushed by bellows and released into one or another of the pipes, depending on how the organist moved his fingers on the keyboard. He likened the heart to bellows and external stimuli to the fingers of the organist. The advantage of this approach, as well as its shortcomings, are discussed by Gaukroger, who argues that Descartes was not unaware of the difference between sensory input and motor output. The subtleties of Descartes's model are well brought out, and the significance of his research is disclosed in a way that Descartes would have himself appreciated for its clarity and elegance. Anyone interested in Descartes will read this book with pleasure and profit, and it should be made available in paperback.

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PHILIP T. HOFFMAN. *Growth in a Traditional Society: The French Countryside, 1450–1815.* (The Princeton Economic History of the Western World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 361. \$39.50.

The subject of rural production in France during the *ancien régime* has been treated by a number of historians in the last fifty years—Marc Bloch, Pierre Goubert, Fernand Braudel, and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie—and it is at the heart of a major synthesis, *Histoire de la France rurale* (1975), compiled under the direction of Georges Duby. Philip T. Hoffman begins his new treatment of the question with a sophisticated critique of previous works, their assumptions, the limitations of their analyses, and their frequent lack of proof.

Hoffman notes that most of these historians based their image analyses on notions of the agricultural self-sufficiency of the peasants, and they portrayed yields as stagnating in France from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the 1720s. He argues that they dwelt on the stereotype of the poor struggling peasant opposing the capitalist seigneur bent on enclosing commons and wasteland. They overemphasized the image of cooperation and collective farming meth-

ods among peasants and rural communities and paid little attention to microeconomic analysis of the functioning of local markets. For Hoffman, all of these problems revolved around the false notion of the self-sufficient peasant.

Hoffman shows that only a distinct minority of peasants ever possessed enough land (5–10 hectares) to be self-sustaining. The great majority of them had to negotiate their survival in the local marketplace, working in cottage industry, doing wage labor, and renting land from absentee landlords. Almost everyone worked on the side, Hoffman argues, pointing to a flourishing labor and rental market where wages, rights, and responsibilities were constantly negotiated between servants and masters, tenants and landlords. All of these elements must be calculated to attain any true economic measure of rural growth or stagnation.

After pointing out the problems with the existing synthesis, Hoffman comes to the key to his approach. He proposes a new source—leases—to measure agricultural output. The book uses impressive samples of these leases from various parts of France. Hoffman bases most of his hypotheses and calculations on a study of 809 leases drawn up between Notre Dame Cathedral and the tenants of its lands in the Paris basin. The results from these documents are then compared with other, smaller samples from Normandy, Angers, Nantes, the Gâtine Poitevine, Lorraine, Beaujolais, Marseille, Avignon, and Languedoc, as well as with data from England and Germany. To isolate the variables and calculate the data from these series, he used Total Factor Production (TFP), a method first used by Donald McCloskey to analyze English enclosures ("The Economics of Enclosure: A Market Analysis" in *European Peasants and Their Markets*, ed. William N. Parker and Eric Jones [1975]). Using this method enables Hoffman to produce important insights into early modern French agriculture.

Hoffman shows that, rather than the long period of uniform stagnation presented by the rural-synthesis historians, each region behaved differently. The Paris basin and Normandy shot up during the early seventeenth century before falling back between 1650 and 1750. Even then, however, the productivity of those lands "stagnated" at a very high yield ratio, even higher than the TFP calculated for Hertfordshire, one of the most productive English regions. Other areas of France did not perform as well: in the west there was a decline in TFP, and most other regions could not do more than achieve bursts of growth punctuated by decline. Nevertheless, Hoffman shows that, contrary to the current rural synthesis, it was not impossible for any of these regions to achieve healthy growth at any given time. They were certainly not uniformly depressed.

What explains growth or decline in any given region? Through sophisticated regression and the use of comparative analysis, Hoffman convincingly shows that, as Jean Meuvret ("Demographic Crisis in France from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century" in

Population and History, ed. D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley [1965]) and others have argued, wars and taxes were formidable obstacles to productivity. Explaining growth, he again agrees with traditional analyses that transportation, the proximity to urban markets, and, in a marginal way, land consolidation all contributed to increased productivity. Going beyond his data, he argues that small changes—increased access to urban manure, the reorganization of the grain trade, and the development of artificial fodder—must have had snowballing effects to produce higher yield ratios. One of my only criticisms of Hoffman's otherwise superb methodology is that he has to go beyond his data series and resort to suppositions to explain much of the observed growth.

This is a very readable book that could be easily placed in the hands of upper-level undergraduates. Its statistical base is constantly subjected to historical, sociological, and ethnological theory. It contains important new discoveries concerning the difficult analysis of growth in a traditional society. Above all, it demonstrates the importance of bringing new methodological approaches to historical questions.

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JEAN-MICHEL BOEHLER. *Une société rurale en milieu rhénan: La paysannerie de la plaine d'Alsace (1648–1789)*. In three volumes. Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg. 1994. Pp. vi, 968; 968–2000; 2000–2469. 580 fr. the set.

The massiveness of Jean-Michel Boehler's report on rural Alsace under the Old Regime—two thousand pages of text plus nearly five hundred pages of bibliography and appendices—will daunt all but the most dedicated aficionados of heavily documented social and economic history. Based on exhaustive and intelligent reading of a heterogeneous corpus of material written in two languages and deposited in the local archives of three different countries, this rural history is a *tour de force* of sustained research effort and organization. Had it appeared at the same time as Georges Lefebvre's *Paysans du Nord* (1924) or C. E. Labrousse's *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus* (1933), it would rightly hold a place as a monument of twentieth-century French historiography. Appearing more than six decades after Marc Bloch's *Caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale Française* (1931), however, it is a monument to a historical tradition that has reached the end of the line. Bloated though not boring, sprawling though not padded, and intelligent though not especially insightful, the book disappoints the reader not by deficiencies of historical craftsmanship but by lack of anything fundamentally new to say. It fills a gap in a wall that no longer has meaning.

Boehler offers an encyclopedic survey of Alsatian rural life under the Old Regime organized on the classic lines of the French regional thesis. It is descrip-

tive rather than analytical or synthetic. Given the book's size, it is impossible here to list all the matters it treats, much less to summarize the conclusions reached on each point. Suffice it to say that the work is competently and at times imaginatively executed. Scholars working on the history of this province and the adjoining German principalities will find it indispensable; general social and economic historians of the period it covers can glean useful examples on almost all aspects of social and economic life.

Boehler's intent throughout is not to defend a particular thesis but to make a full report on the state of the Alsatian peasantry before the Revolution. The unintended consequence of his competence and integrity in following through on this project is to make visible the shortcomings of the *Annales* approach to social and economic history. Stripped of the brilliance that makes the works of Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, Georges Duby, or Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie masterpieces of historical writing and reduced to its scientific essence as a program of research, the *Annales* paradigm is a shaky *bricolage* of late nineteenth-century positivism and Marxist dynamics.

The first volume is primarily concerned with economic history. The economic dynamics are drawn from Malthus and Ricardo, which inevitably exaggerates the degree of regional economic isolation. This account accepts the conventional view that pre-modern agriculture was fundamentally limited by costly transportation, a rigid technology, and social impediments to agricultural progress arising out of the distribution of property and the peasantry's defence of its rights to common pasture. In this agriculturally inelastic context, prolonged population growth meant increased economic insecurity and intensified the stresses of an inegalitarian society. All this is documented by movements in wage rates, the size distribution of agricultural holdings, and the incidence of crimes against property. The sociological dynamics mixes ideas of Weber and Durkheim. Durkheim's influence shows up in the notion of collective peasant consciousness and local solidarity, always threatened by the metropolitan influence of the market, and Weber's in the view that the social classes were inherently and continuously in conflict over the distribution of a limited economic product. This loose analytical structure is imposed on rather than inferred from the detailed description of the Alsatian economy and society. The narrative backdrop is provided by the recovery from the Thirty Years War. From 1660 to 1720, latent social tensions were moderated by the availability of land due to war-induced depopulation; from 1720 to 1789 the story became one of increasing deprivation and social tension. The difficulty with all this is that although Alsace was one of France's most densely populated and intensively cultivated regions in 1789, living standards there did not decline all that much as population expanded. From Boehler's account it is clear that Alsace owed as much to market outlets due to its location along the Rhine as it did to its dense popula-

tion, yet this conjuncture, which allowed living standards to be roughly maintained as the population grew, is hardly explored because it does not fit in with the canonical Malthusian model of the Old Regime.

Boehler's second volume traces the region's social history. It defines occupational and social classes, measures wealth and income, describes the paths of social mobility and the lives of those few local functionaries like the pastor and school teacher who stood partly outside this economy and the situation of the Jews, who were the true outsiders. The development of rural credit and its counterpart, rural indebtedness, are traced through the notarial archives. The family and the village community receive their due, as do the different forms of authority. The archives of the police render their contribution to the history of criminality. Houses are described along with the furniture, clothing and the kinds and quantity of food consumed. The state of health, the state of literacy, and indeed the state of mind of the people who inhabited the Alsatian plain are all documented. This is total history with a vengeance. Its usefulness and interest is undeniable, and yet one comes away from this essay in social morphology with the sense that it is misdirected and old fashioned.

No one can work his or her way through this vast ensemble without asking whether the result was worth the effort. Each chapter, indeed each subsection is a publishable article, yet in contrast to a work like Jean Meuvret's *Problème des substances à l'époque Louis XIV* (1977–1988), the erudition is not directed at resolving well-defined problems but at reconstituting the life of a society according to a schema laid down in advance. The book is essentially an exercise in populism that aims to give a class or a region or a people its historical due. Despite its solid documentation, history constructed on this principle is in the end antiquarian and impressionistic. It has its uses, but they are essentially aesthetic ones. The mental life of a person and *a fortiori* that of a society with vague defining boundaries cannot be reconstructed empirically from administrative documents. It exists only in the mind of the historian who pieces together bits of information according to a preconceived plan. The plan of this book is fundamentally flawed. Those who read it for information will be well rewarded; those who look to it for historical insight will come away empty handed.

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DAVID VAN ZANTEN. *Building Paris: Architectural Institutions and the Transformation of the French Capital, 1830–1870*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 360. \$80.00.

Behind this apparently simple and straightforward title lie many intricate and complex issues, with which David van Zanten courageously comes to grips. He divides his subject into seven chapters, beginning, as a

sort of springboard, with a study of what could be claimed to be the most outstanding feature of his period: the building of the new *Opera* (completed in 1875) and of the *quartier* immediately surrounding it. In chapter 2, he presents in detail the services embraced by French state architecture generally, before examining its central role in urban creation in chapters 3 and 4. Chapters 5 and 6 move on to examine in more specific detail the place of individual architects in the system and, especially, the nature of the rebuilding of Paris under Baron Haussmann. A seventh chapter studies churches and historic monuments emphasizing the declining ecclesiastical sense of the former and their increasing role as what van Zanten calls "street furniture" (p. 4). A concluding chapter pulls together the various threads of the author's arguments and foreshadows a further volume on this subject.

The present volume is indeed an architectural history of the administrative systems prevailing, how and why various styles and architects were selected, the different types of buildings constructed (banks, hotels, churches, monuments). It is also very much a political and social history that reveals, for example, how the creation of so much of modern-day Paris was "political theatre" (p.101) for both the royal and imperial rulers of France during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century, the government's power steadily declined to the advantage of the private architectural sector.

Van Zanten appears to omit no detail that comes to hand, and on occasion this gives an important insight into his subject. The harmony of today's architecture in Paris, for example, is due in part to a royal declaration of September 7, 1784, stipulating that in any new construction "building height shall correspond to street width" (p. 66). Some seventy years later, Baron Haussmann would reiterate and reinforce these requirements, demanding that builders "give the same major facade lines to each block so that the continuous balconies, the cornices and the roofs might be as far as possible on the same planes" (p. 72).

On occasion, however, there may be so much detail that the text and its argument can be difficult to follow. Lengthy enumerations abound, containing lists of names, dates, places, house numbers, institutions, persons, salaries received, costs involved, and administrative structures and their functions that make this no text for the faint-hearted. The only map of Paris (p.12) is indecipherable. The other illustrations, however, are excellent, immediately relevant, and close to their references in the text. There is a bibliography of some 400 titles, and the sources are usually clearly and fully indicated.

This erudite tome is clearly for the committed cognoscenti rather than the general reader, who would be well advised to read David Pinkney's *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (1954) before embarking

here. Be assured that, after reading van Zanten's work, a walk around Paris will never be the same again.

COLIN DYER
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PHILIPPE PRÉVOST. *La France et la Canada: D'une après-guerre à l'autre (1918-1944)*. (Collection Soleil.) Saint-Boniface, Manitoba: Les Éditions du Blé. 1994. Pp. xi, 492. \$39.95.

Since the early 1960s, relations between France and Canada have been a subject of considerable interest. They even became front-page news in July 1967, when French President Charles de Gaulle, visiting Montreal, uttered his famous cry, "Vive le Québec libre!" Today French visitors are not usually so illustrious, but they are far more numerous, attracted by the legendary hospitality of their Quebec cousins and, more to the point, by a cheap Canadian dollar. They do not make newsworthy speeches but rather visit maple-sugar cabins and whales in the St. Lawrence River. In addition, student exchanges have proliferated, a television channel brings news and culture from one country to the other, and mutual trade and investment have become important.

Before 1960, is there anything remarkable worth noting? Philippe Prévost certainly believes so. He begins his study in 1918, at which time relations between France and Canada began to acquire a new intensity. He ends it in 1944 in order to present the interesting political relations that Canada developed, first with the Vichy regime and then with the Free French movement.

A major strength of this work is the meticulous research that Prévost has done combing French archival collections. A major weakness, however, is the total lack of research in Canadian collections. For this aspect of his work, he has relied mainly on Canadian published materials; even here, he appears not to have consulted many studies of Canadian foreign policy and society, particularly in English, including the writings of James Eayrs and J. L. Granatstein.

The book is divided into three parts: interwar cultural relations, interwar economic links, and wartime developments. Internal plans are more complex: there are parts with introductions, subparts with introductions, conclusions, and notes, and then sub-subparts with more notes and conclusions. The structure could surely have been simplified had the editor insisted on the need to transform a doctoral dissertation into a readable book.

Regarding cultural relations, Prévost shows that France made some modest financial grants to Canadian institutions in the 1920s. Thirteen French professors, mostly in the sciences, came to Quebec universities, "showing the important aid that France gave Quebec between the two wars in order to enable it to catch up technologically" with English-speaking Canada (p. 60). (Yet historian Jean Hamelin, in his recent

Histoire de l'Université Laval [1994], barely mentions visiting professors from France.) In the late 1930s, two colleges offering the French academic curriculum were founded in Montreal. Although they certainly brought in some fresh air, Prévost again seems overly enthusiastic: "France had now given itself the means to assist Quebec's political and ecclesiastical authorities in modernizing classical and technical education" (p. 136).

The story of economic relations between France and Canada deserves little space. Trade never developed between the two countries. Many French investments in Canada failed, although Canada gained a minor financial and industrial presence in France.

An interesting chapter opens with the fall of France in 1940. Canada, like the United States, maintained diplomatic links with the unoccupied zone whose seat was at Vichy at the behest of Britain. The Canadian government resisted pressure, mainly from English-speaking Canadians, to break with Vichy until the Germans occupied the zone in November 1942. Support for de Gaulle developed only slowly in Canada, and Prévost blames internal dissension in the Free French ranks for this slow progress.

Prévost maintains that "formidable changes occurred in all aspects" (p. 427) of relations between France and Canada between 1918 and 1944. A more modest conclusion would seem warranted by his demonstration, and a volume half the size would have been more appropriate.

RICHARD JONES
Université Laval

FANIA OZ-SALZBERGER. *Translating the Enlightenment: Scottish Civic Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Germany*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 356. \$55.00.

The eighteenth century was not always an age of enlightenment in the German empire. Fania Oz-Salzberger attempts to contradict this notion by demonstrating the significant influence of the Scottish Enlightenment in Germany as it was mediated through the works of Adam Ferguson. History, politics, and morals make up the subject matter. Separate chapters are devoted to Ferguson's influence at Göttingen University, on the Swiss historian Isaak Iselin, on the philosopher F. H. Jacobi, on Christian Garve, and even on Friedrich Schiller.

Ferguson's chief claim to fame was his belief in active citizenship. Certainly one must agree with Oz-Salzberger that the German language could not adequately translate British ideas of government. She has presented a new horizon for German intellectual history, and many will welcome this work for the clarifications it offers to students of German thought.

Given the continuing hostility to Calvinism found in eighteenth-century Germany, the openness to Scottish writers appears surprising. Ferguson's reception was

more pronounced where British influence prevailed, as it did in Hanover, for example. The influence of the existing censorship system also ought to be taken into account, for it explains the weak reception for Montesquieu's work alluded to here.

Most of the writers discussed were German Protestants who shared some of Ferguson's historical beliefs if not his religion. Like him, they rejected social contract theory. That society had evolved gradually was another common idea, yet most eighteenth-century German historians preferred their belief in an inevitable perfectibilism to Ferguson's more punctuated and less perfect view of social evolution.

Happiness was deemed to be the goal of society by German and Scottish writers alike. Yet Iselin and his generation of world historians believed more strongly in reason than Ferguson did. Happiness was believed to result from benevolent despotism, a term preferred to the American usage, enlightened despotism. The most anti-absolutist writer was F. H. Jacobi, a Düsseldorf official. Like Schiller's work, Jacobi's reflected the suppressed political dissent that existed in Germany on the eve of the French Revolution. Oz-Salzberger seems to doubt Schiller's role as a champion of freedom and finds the ideas expressed by some of his famous characters (Marquis Posa, for example) to be somewhat inadequate.

She concludes that, whatever the course of German political thought before 1789, all hope of a moderate constitutionalism ended when fears aroused by Jacobinism made all constitutional ideas appear suspect. Many contemporary eighteenth-century specialists would agree that Germany did not have a constitution capable of encouraging active citizenship. Yet Oz-Salzberger has made it abundantly clear that most of the German writers discussed never wanted to create a new system.

The research presented in this volume is stimulating, the bibliography is impressive, and the analysis and interpretations are challenging. The creative impulse at work may yield further interest in eighteenth-century German studies.

HELEN LIEBEL-WECKOWICZ
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HERMANN BECK. *The Origins of the Authoritarian Welfare State in Prussia: Conservatives, Bureaucracy, and the Social Question, 1815–70*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 298. \$47.50.

Hermann Beck's study of the authoritarian welfare state in Prussia in the generation before 1870 is an interesting combination of intellectual, social, and political history. The book is well researched, strategically utilizing some documents from the old German Central Archive in Merseburg but based primarily on the wealth of published primary sources that historians of nineteenth-century Germany must master. In an introductory chapter, Beck analyzes the origins of the

social question. This is followed by a series of chapters dealing with conservative social critics like Ludwig von Gerlach, Josef Maria von Radowitz, Victor Huber, Carl Rodbertus, and Hermann Wagener. The second part looks at the response of the bureaucracy to social problems.

For orientation to Beck's historiographical locus, the reader should begin with the conclusion on Germany's "special path" (*Sonderweg*) to modernity. Valuable on its own, this passage concentrates on the Germanic origins of the *Sonderweg* thesis, for it was the German elite of the Second Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the Third Reich who praised Germany's unique developmental course between the extremes of West and East. After the horror and tragedy of World War II, émigré Germans turned the optimists on their heads with the negative continuity thesis that charted a course from German ideas of the early nineteenth century to the gas chambers. The variations on this theme offered by the so-called Bielefeld School are also traced, as are the challenges and revisions of the so-called English School.

The point of departure for part one would seem to be the immediate postwar writings of Leonard Krieger, Fritz Stern, and George Mosse. The first chapters of intellectual history on Gerlach *et al.* delve into the conservatives' rejection of liberalism and capitalism, hostility toward an allegedly liberal bureaucracy, authoritarian concern for the welfare of the lower classes, and gradual acceptance of strict state measures to solve these problems and preserve the conservative order. Then Beck bridges the decades with a discussion of the re-emergence of these ideas in the 1920s and 1930s. Interestingly enough, the Nazis claimed these nineteenth-century writers as their precursors.

The point of departure for part two appears to be a blend of the Bielefeld and English schools that concentrates on social and political structures—in this case, the Prussian bureaucracy before 1870 (but primarily in the 1840s). The main items of discussion are the Poor Law of 1842, the internal bureaucratic struggle over the Association for the Welfare of Workers, and the first protective labor legislation of this period. Beck adds to the growing realization among scholars of these years that the bureaucracy was no monolithic body but rather was split between different political factions. He also contributes to our understanding of the conservative drift of the bureaucracy at this time. Indeed, the response of civil servants to social problems was an authoritarian one that sought to maximize control of the unruly masses while beginning to solve their problems—not unlike the approach of the conservatives, Beck argues. Despite their political differences, conservatives and bureaucrats exhibited a common authoritarian mode of thinking or "the common bond of a Prussian *juste milieu*" (p. 207). Here, too, it is interesting to read that the Nazis were extremely proud of their own "Prussian" values (see p. 258 n. 66).

Although Beck makes many positive contributions in this book, numerous negative factors mar his worthy

effort. First, there are too many errors. We are told, for instance, that conservatives' emphasis on the social responsibility attached to the ownership of property was unique for this period, when in fact the Neo-Thomist movement in the Catholic camp that began with Kolping and Ketteler and culminated with Leo XIII placed a much stronger emphasis here. To take another example, Beck writes that there was little state involvement in the Prussian economy after 1815, completely overlooking state road building, the mining corps, and a whole series of negative influences like deflationary monetary policy and opposition to limited liability corporations. While these (and other errors of this sort) are not really central to the argument, they nevertheless undermine the success of the book. Beck's writing style is another blemish on the overall effort. Like too many monographs published these days, it is littered with split infinitives, extended adjectival phrases, and paragraphs weighted down with German words and phrases that could easily have been translated. But the major drawback to the book, in this reviewer's opinion, is its central thesis. It is doubtful that a common mode of thinking united conservative opponents of modernization and liberal bureaucrats—even those like Peter Beuth who gradually recoiled from the emerging modern world. It seems contradictory to argue for such a union, moreover, while simultaneously demonstrating the importance of rifts between liberals and conservatives within the bureaucracy. Finally, it is one thing to demonstrate that the Nazis identified with nineteenth-century conservatives. It is quite another matter, however, to show that a meaningful line of development leads from pre-Bismarckian conservatism to the Nazis. In terms of the evidence, Beck has not shown this. Some readers may wish to walk in his seven league boots. I do not.

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PATRICIA KOLLANDER. *Frederick III: Germany's Liberal Emperor*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 50.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1995. Pp. xvii, 215. \$55.00.

The principal attraction of Kaiser Friedrich III of Germany for historians lies not so much in what he did as in what he might have done had his father, Wilhelm I, died sooner or had Friedrich himself lived longer. As it was, his father lived to be nearly ninety-one, and when Friedrich finally became kaiser in March, 1888, he was already incapacitated by the throat cancer that would take his life ninety-nine days later. Because Otto von Bismarck and the kaiser effectively prevented Friedrich from exercising significant political influence as crown prince, and because his reign was essentially an interregnum, it is tempting to speculate on what might have been. Would the course of twentieth-century German history have been different had Friedrich ascended the throne earlier or as a healthy and vigorous man? Might the German empire have

evolved into a parliamentary democracy? Could the world have been spared two wars and the Holocaust? Since counterfactual history is unfashionable, historians have been inclined to answer these questions indirectly, by attempting to determine just how liberal Friedrich actually was. A "liberal" Kaiser Friedrich presumably would have changed the course of history; a traditionally "conservative" Kaiser Friedrich presumably would not.

Like other investigators of this tragic figure, Patricia Kollander makes the question of Friedrich's liberalism the focus of her well-written and sensible study. She adopts a position between those claiming that Friedrich was a devoted liberal who sought to transform the government of Prussia/Germany into a parliamentary system based on the British model and those claiming that Friedrich was a traditional Prussian monarchist whose outspoken liberal wife, Victoria, obscured his essential conservatism. Instead, Kollander asserts that Friedrich was a "constitutional liberal" who "never wavered in his conviction that the monarch and the people were subject to the rule of law and that the constitution was a binding agreement between the monarch and the people that had to be upheld at all costs" (p. 195). In investigating Friedrich's politics, Kollander had access to his correspondence housed in the Hessische Hausstiftung at Schloss Fasanerie in Fulda, which only recently became available to historians. Using Friedrich's letters to his wife (supplemented by other, more familiar, primary sources), Kollander avoids having to reconstruct Friedrich's political positions primarily from the testimony of others. Consequently, she is able to set the story of the development of Friedrich's political ideas against the history of Prussia/Germany in a way that is less speculative and more substantial than most previous studies of "Germany's liberal emperor."

Kollander subordinates analysis to narrative in her book. Partially as a result, I found myself wishing that she had defined more explicitly and precisely what it means to say that Friedrich was not a "conservative" but a "constitutional liberal." Is a commitment to the constitutions of Prussia and the German empire and to the rule of law enough to make one a liberal when those constitutions and that law contained distinctly illiberal features? This question lies at the center of long-standing historical debate about the nature of German liberalism, of course, and addressing it directly might have produced a sharper image of Friedrich's political philosophy. Nevertheless, a rigorous definition of terms might have distorted as much as clarified, rendering Friedrich more articulate and consistent than he actually was. Perhaps a narrative approach is better suited to capturing political views that shifted in response to specific circumstances within the confines only of a general commitment to constitutional government and the *Rechtsstaat*.

Kollander also relies on narrative to handle the question of Friedrich's political influence. Again, I would have appreciated a direct confrontation with the

thorny issue of the Crown Prince's formal and actual authority. Constrained by the complex institutional structures of Prussia/Germany and overshadowed by stronger personalities (such as his wife), more skillful politicians (such as Bismarck), and his father (to whom he was subject), Friedrich's political influence seems to have been limited, resting ultimately on his potential power to dismiss and appoint ministers once he became kaiser. Given my uncertainty about the precise nature of Friedrich's liberalism and political influence, I found Kollander's effort to use her study of him to draw conclusions about the strength of German liberalism something of a reach—and frankly unnecessary. Her lucid, balanced, and substantial account of the history of Friedrich's political ideas stands on its own.

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HERMANN JOSEPH HIERY. *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900–1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrungen verschiedener Kulturen.* (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 37.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1995. Pp. 353. DM 112.

HERMANN JOSEPH HIERY. *The Neglected War: The German South Pacific and the Influence of World War I.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 387. \$35.00.

Chancellor Otto von Bismarck reluctantly embarked on Germany's colonial adventure in the 1880s. When Wilhelm II ascended the throne in 1888, he assiduously pursued a course of *Weltpolitik* and *Weltmacht* to obtain a "place in the sun" commensurate with the rapidly rising German state. By 1900, Germany possessed a colonial empire consisting of German South-West Africa, Togoland, the Cameroons, German East Africa, German New Guinea, and the Marshall Islands. To these would be added Kiaochow, the Caroline, Palau, and Mariana Islands, and parts of Samoa. The corollary to the establishment of this overseas empire was the development of a navy with sufficient guns to protect it.

The German colonial empire turned out to be a financial liability rather than an asset, although it did fulfill its political purpose of increasing the prestige of the German nation on the world scene. The "green twig" often referred to in the early days of the overseas venture failed to develop into a full-grown tree. The colonies did not turn out to be ready-made markets for goods produced by rapidly expanding German industry, nor did they become the source of raw materials for this industry or an outlet for excess population. The final irony came in 1914 when the war broke out. Despite enormous naval expenditures, which had brought the Reich to the verge of financial crisis, the navy did not have any contingency plans to defend the Pacific colonies. There were no naval bases there and none planned.

The titles of these two books by Hermann Joseph Hiery would indicate that they both cover the same time frame, but this is not the case. The German book examines the period from 1900 to the outbreak of World War I, while the English one covers the outbreak of war through 1921. Together they offer a comprehensive overview of the years 1900–1921. It is safe for the reader of this review to assume that prewar material discussed comes from the German book and post-1914 material from the English one, while keeping in mind that there is some overlap.

Hiery presents a sweeping reinterpretation of German colonial policy in the Pacific Islands and an incisive, scathing indictment of the policies followed by Australia, New Zealand, and Japan once the war came in 1914. He disputes the thesis set out by Stewart Firth (*Papua New Guinea* [1979] and *New Guinea Under the Germans* [1989]) and John Moses ("Imperial German Priorities in New Guinea 1885–1914," in *Papua New Guinea* [1989]), which maintains that the Germans had the same aims in Melanesia as in Africa. He also argues that Firth and Moses totally disregard the basic factors of German policy in the Pacific Islands after 1899 and challenges contemporary historiography that claims the changes brought about by World War I made little difference to the indigenous peoples in the former German Pacific empire.

Hiery presents a strong case that the German colonial empire in the Pacific was vastly different from the German colonies in Africa and that the changes in administration brought about by World War I had a tremendous effect on these Pacific territories. His thesis is buttressed by meticulous scholarly research in previously unexamined materials and judicious analysis.

Hiery makes a convincing argument that, following the political and financial disaster of the New Guinea Company, German territories in the Pacific were placed under the control of the Reich and given more latitude to develop than their counterparts in Africa. There was no pressure for immediate economic results. German officials laid the foundation for a relationship with the indigenous peoples that went beyond coexistence and produced a symbiosis that was profitable to both sides. Acceptance of local measures and traditions took priority over European demands for innovation and change. This reciprocally accepted philosophy was, according to Hiery, at the center of a mutually advantageous relationship. Duties and responsibilities on both sides were clearly defined. The indigenous people enjoyed freedoms and prerogatives that could not be touched by the Germans, and the German colonial administration ensured that these rights were respected. Indigenous peoples had a legal right to appeal against German encroachment upon their special areas. Germans respected the fact that the indigenous peoples were culturally different from them and had, as human beings, a right to their own practices even when these contrasted with German ones. This can be seen in Germany's discreet, judicious

treatment of Melanesians engaged in traditional feuding.

Years after Germany lost its Pacific territories, the indigenous peoples still spoke of the time of German rule as "the golden age" and "the good old times." Germany did not put its superior power on permanent display in the Pacific as it did in Africa. The indigenous peoples thought that the Germans were more predictable than the Australians, Japanese, and New Zealanders who succeeded them as colonial administrators. The indigenous world view was supplemented by the Germans, but no fundamental changes were required. The "Pax Germanica" provided an impetus for indigenous populations to join the German colonial enterprise. This was particularly true of the women, who preferred peace to the eternal blood feuds and tribal warfare carried on by their menfolk.

According to Hiery, German decisions in the Pacific were not based on economic interest, and the colonial administration was surprisingly liberal in giving local people the opportunity to conserve traditional ways while also giving them access to European-style programs of education, development, and health care.

One of the essential differences between Germany's Pacific and African colonies can be found in the area of corporal and capital punishment. In the period from 1900 to 1913, there were 123 sentences of corporal punishment in the Pacific compared to 95,953 in Africa. The number of capital punishment sentences handed down in the Pacific was 57, of which a substantial number were commuted, while in Africa the figure stood at 1,304. Even when the difference in population size is taken into consideration, the figures are quite startling. It also has to be kept in mind that in Africa, thousands of indigenous people were killed by military actions.

Rule by Australia, New Zealand, and Japan was much different than that by Germany. Little respect was paid to local customs or traditions. Hiery paints a vivid picture of abuse of power, corporal and capital punishments, murder, rape, and plundering especially by the Australians, whom he finds to be the most inhumane.

He presents evidence to show that Australia, New Zealand, and Japan had ambitions to acquire the German colonies in the Pacific several years before World War I began. Australia and New Zealand wanted New Guinea and Samoa to act as a buffer against Japan and the spread of the "yellow peril," while Japan wanted the Micronesian Islands to augment its Pacific empire. Once war came, all three powers moved quickly to occupy the unprotected German colonies. This was a great shock to the indigenous peoples, because the new administrations were so different from that of the Germans.

The German colonies attempted to gain their independence while the Paris peace negotiations were taking place. Their pleas fell on deaf ears, however, as the respective areas of control had already been decided upon years before, and all that remained was

to confirm the split with a treaty. Hiery introduces important material to demonstrate U.S. State Department fears that Japan would use its gains as a stepping-off point to move against American territories in the Pacific. He argues that secret Japanese-Allied treaties were responsible for President Woodrow Wilson's actions in Paris with regard to the former German colonies. At one point in the Paris negotiations, the U.S. State Department favored returning the colonies to Germany, fearing that the division agreed to in secret treaties would upset the balance of power in the area and lead to future Japanese aggression. Wilson and Australian Prime Minister William Morris Hughes clashed violently on this issue, and Wilson backed down in the belief that the mandate system would be able to monitor Japanese activities in the Micronesian Islands.

These two volumes are part of a new genre of studies on the former German colonial empire intended to move the debate away from the nationalistic, anti-imperialistic, ethnocentric interpretations of the past. In this, Hiery succeeds remarkably well while adding to our understanding and interpretation of Germany's colonial empire in the Pacific.

ANDREW R. CARLSON
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THOMAS LINDENBERGER. *Strassenpolitik: Zur Sozialgeschichte der öffentlichen Ordnung in Berlin 1900 bis 1914*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 39.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1995. Pp. 431. DM 62.

Focusing on Berlin during the decade and a half before World War I, Thomas Lindenberg attempts to piece together a comprehensive account of the full range of confrontations played out in the city's streets between representatives of state authority and crowds both large and small. The incidents he examines range from obscure, everyday encounters between police and populace to massive, headline-grabbing demonstrations, protests, and strikes. His intent is to examine not only the changing strategies and tactics of all concerned and the interrelationships of different kinds of confrontations but also to reveal the assumptions about order underlying the decisions made by opposing camps.

In studying the most sensational mass demonstrations and strikes of the prewar years, Lindenberg draws on the extensive archival sources (especially those originating from the police) that such dramatic events generated. Similarly detailed documentation is, however, largely lacking for the everyday "guerrilla warfare" between the police and spontaneously forming assemblages, most often consisting of young working-class males. To put together a sample of such incidents, Lindenberg turned to the local press, relying primarily on the *Vossische Zeitung*. From reports in that liberal daily between 1900 and the outbreak of World War I, Lindenberg collected information on 405 incidents (excluding those related to strikes and demonstrations) that led to crowd

formation and intervention by the police. In addition, Lindenberger compiled a list of seventy-four strikes during the same period that led to conflict in the streets of the German capital.

Lindenberger is aware of the fragmentary and biased nature of the journalistic accounts on which much of his study relies. Where possible, particularly for strikes and demonstrations, he compares the reports in the *Vossische Zeitung* with those in other newspapers, most notably the Social Democratic *Vorwärts*. The often contradictory accounts are of little help in resolving questions about the composition of particular crowds or exactly who did what to cause confrontations to escalate. Lindenberger is, however, able to make use of the contradictions such reports contain to shed light on the expectations of various groups relating to public order.

In analyzing everyday encounters, Lindenberger highlights popular hostility provoked by the intrusion of imperial Germany's heavy-handed police into Berlin's working-class neighborhoods. Similarly, his discussion of strikes emphasizes proletarian mistrust of authority resulting from the routine assignment of police to act as protectors of property and strikebreakers. His analysis of demonstrations stresses the efforts of Social Democrats to present disorder not as emanating from their ranks but as being either provoked by those in authority or instigated by an unorganized sub-proletariat.

In the sections of Lindenberger's book devoted to discussion of small-scale confrontations, the presentation is often repetitious and needlessly detailed, although spiced with revealing insights into the lives of ordinary people. Of particular value in his coverage of strikes and demonstrations is his extended and enlightening analysis of the bitter landmark Moabit disturbances of 1910. Although the book holds few surprises for readers familiar with recent literature on policing, protests, and labor disputes in the German empire, Lindenberger makes a contribution by drawing together work on a wide range of topics relating to public order, providing an integrated account for a time and place of substantial historical interest.

ELAINE GLOVKA SPENCER
Northern Illinois University

NANCY R. REAGIN. *A German Women's Movement: Class and Gender in Hanover, 1880-1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 322. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Nancy R. Reagin has produced a carefully researched and thoughtfully argued examination of the middle-class women's movement in Hanover, Germany, from the 1880s to the end of the Weimar Republic. Her work fills a crucial gap, because neither the available works on the national leadership of the German women's movement nor the existing local studies (which all focus on those exceptional cities that were hotbeds of liberal or left-wing activism) can properly

explain how the German women's movement as a whole drifted so far to the right in the first three decades of the twentieth century that large portions of it could be neutralized by, or even absorbed into, the Nazi agenda in 1933. Reagin rightly refuses to narrow her focus only to those groups that were members of the national umbrella organization of the women's movement (the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*). She demonstrates that it is precisely by using a more inclusive definition of the women's movement that the ultimate shift rightward can be understood. Reagin thus incorporates into her analysis the full range of confessional, social service, and professional organizations—indeed all groups that “actively sought to mobilize women to effect social change” (p. 5)—including conservative housewives' associations as well as that minority of groups that understood themselves as feminist. Throughout, she documents the complicated (and telling) overlaps in membership between various groups and the intricately shifting alliances and tensions between them.

Reagin proves how extraordinarily significant the women's movement was, particularly through its power in the social-service sector. By the first decade of the twentieth century, middle-class women's associations in Hanover ran the bulk of all public and private programs that served poor women and children in the city, with the exception of such “closed” institutions as sanatoriums and orphanages. They served as almoners and police assistants; they ran homes for homeless women and unwed mothers, temperance restaurants, and infant care clinics.

Attentive to rhetoric and imagery, Reagin shows how frequently the language of gender (of sexual propriety, responsible mothering, and housekeeping) was used both to veil and to process issues of class. She acknowledges the extreme popularity of some projects of the women's movement—for example, domestic science courses—a reflection of the extent to which values of domesticity and respectability were prized by significant segments of the working class as well. But Reagin is at her best when she critically analyzes the ways the purportedly apolitical activities of bourgeois women activists functioned (both overtly and covertly) as class-control mechanisms. She is particularly good at showing how middle-class women escaped the confines of their own homes and created purposeful lives for themselves, above all by invading the homes and lives of poorer women.

Reagin also sorts through the heated polemics among historians concerning the connections and disjunctions between various female activists' views on gender roles and their larger ideological affinities and affiliations. Although Reagin agrees with other scholars that the deeply held beliefs of those in the women's movement in innate gender differences, women's natural “morality,” and the beneficent qualities of “spiritual motherhood” could serve to inform a larger progressive critique of social injustice, she concludes that in practice such views often furthered a pro-

foundly conservative agenda, one strongly compatible with aggressive antisocialism, nationalism, and sexual repressiveness.

DAGMAR HERZOG
Michigan State University

ATINA GROSSMANN. *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 304. \$45.00.

Using primary sources from birth control leagues, medical clinics, and agitational groups, Atina Grossmann provides a history of an important aspect of sexual reform. Focusing on the Weimar period, the study centers on German efforts, particularly in Berlin, to increase poor and working-class women's knowledge of and access to birth control and to widen the availability of legal, medically safe abortions. Chapters on the Nazi period, the Weimar sex reformers in exile, and the postwar Germanies place the Weimar material in a broader geographical and chronological framework.

Grossmann is especially interested in what her theme tells us about continuities and discontinuities in modern German history. She argues convincingly that National Socialist birth control and abortion policies marked a stunning break with those of the Weimar period. The subordination of procreation to "racial and political purification" (p. 136) fundamentally changed the meaning and effect of birth control and abortion under Nazism. The expulsion of the female, Jewish, and socialist and communist doctors who had pioneered birth control and sexual education clinics, the destruction of private organizations dedicated to sexual education, and the "coordination" of clinics to serve Nazi racist interests produced a wholly different sexual landscape despite the continuities with the Weimar period that Nazi propaganda stressed and partly coopted.

Grossmann argues that the continuities between the Nazi era and the postwar Germanies were much stronger. Both East and West Germany built policy on "the Weimar 'motherhood-eugenics consensus,' which stressed the importance of fertility regulation and heterosexual intimacy leading to healthy offspring and stable marriages" while ignoring the conviction of Weimar reformers, eradicated after 1933, that "heterosexual satisfaction, family stability, and eugenic health were also tied to abortion and homosexual rights or sex counseling for adolescents" (p. 209). It would have been useful had she analyzed the reasons for the emergence of the "Weimar 'motherhood-eugenics consensus,'" because its longevity, its broad political appeal, and its stubborn blinkers (concerning women's individual rights and acknowledgment of sexual pleasure) are of primary importance to understanding why birth control and abortion have been accorded such social and political weight in modern discourse. Systematic attention to the formation and

transformation of political discourse might have helped explain one of the key features of sex reform in the 1920s, namely that it "was consistently marked by the blurring of lines and the transgression of conventional left-right political categories. In everyday practice, the themes of commerce, hygiene, pornography, marriage reform, and sexual pleasure were constantly intermeshed" (p. 31).

The liveliest chapter of the book describes the campaign to decriminalize abortion in 1931. The sudden instrumentalization of this issue by the Communist Party (KPD) and its ideological inability to develop the political potential inherent in women's politics are well analyzed. If Grossmann's discussion makes the KPD seem rather too central to Weimar sexual reform generally, it still usefully outlines the limits of left-wing sexual progressivism and helpfully debunks the myth of Wilhelm Reich, among other things.

This study contains many nuggets of useful and suggestive information. It shows the impact on Weimar Germany of American birth-control advocate Margaret Sanger, American money, and the peculiarly American approach to sexual hygiene. This was not a two-way street; America proved impervious to the sexually reforming spirit of Weimar émigrés who escaped Nazi Germany, especially the women among them. This makes sad reading. Although a more integrated argument about sexual reform generally and its impact on politics would have been welcome, readers interested in the modern politics of sex and gender will find Grossmann's study a helpful guide to the German national discussion on birth control and abortion.

ISABEL V. HULL
Cornell University

SHELLEY BARANOWSKI. *The Sanctity of Rural Life: Nobility, Protestantism, and Nazism in Weimar Prussia*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 267. \$45.00.

As Shelley Baranowski's subtitle indicates, the main aim of this research is to unravel the threads that allegedly connected the estate owners of Pomerania and the regional church with the rise of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in the area. The book is divided into two unequal parts. The first outlines the way of life in Pomeranian society during the Weimar period, examining in particular what Baranowski calls the "rural myth" that then held sway in the province. By this term she means the values system that "sanctified rural culture as a distinctive, genuine and wholesome way of life that was vital to Germany's future as a great power" (p. 6). The second and much shorter part of the book deals with the familiar themes of Weimar collapse and the National Socialists' arrival in power. What is here termed "the Nazi onslaught" (p. 145) Baranowski only begins to describe in detail about forty pages from the volume's end.

It might be suggested that the research is tilted a shade too far in the direction of the general background rather than to Adolf Hitler's meteoric rise. The primary question posed by Baranowski is how the regional elite, in the shape of the evangelical landed classes, came to play a vitally significant role not merely in the downfall of the Weimar Republic but also in the National Socialist accession. Baranowski puts the latter point into perspective with the admission of Hitler's wide-ranging populist appeal. She certainly documents well how the "rural myth" helped to fuel the latent antagonism of monarchical estate owners toward the parliamentary republic. This book contains an explicit account of continuity on the land to 1928 and the strains brought about by the Great Depression. But the arguments linking this state of affairs to the rapid ascent of the NSDAP are less persuasive.

In sum, Baranowski is faced with a daunting task: how to explain the success of a party led by urban, ex-Roman Catholic anticlericals in a deeply conservative, evangelical environment. Indeed, the quite considerable hostility to National Socialism of some regional worthies also features quite prominently here. It is hard to avoid the impression that the figures given here on agrarian indebtedness in the province (p. 120 ff.) offer a somewhat better reason for Hitler's electoral victories, especially because no other party seemed able to provide a solution to provincial economic ills. The overall value of this research lies therefore in its interesting depiction of a strongly traditional society on the eve of collapse rather than in the connection with the advent of the NSDAP.

As such, Baranowski's study is a valuable contribution to German social history in the twentieth century. Thus it is unfortunate that it should have been marred by a frankly careless presentation in quite a number of places. The proofreading has overlooked inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names, as in the cases of Alfred Hugenberg (p. 137), von Wangenheim (p. 45) and Gregor Strasser, who appears in two versions in successive lines (p. 141). As there are other misprints, the second part of the volume gives the impression of having been done in some haste. There are minor factual errors to complement this: the statement on grain prices (p. 119) cannot be correct, and reparations under the Young Plan are wrong (p. 137).

J. FARQUHARSON
Oxford, England

MICHAEL BRENNER. *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 306. \$30.00.

In recent years, we have come to know far more about the German Jews' contributions to Weimar culture and their struggles against anti-Semitism than about internal Jewish life. Michael Brenner's valuable study broadens our view by documenting the vibrant culture that helped keep Jewish consciousness alive even

among the apostates in pre-Nazi Germany. Initial chapters detailing the search for community among German Jews confirm that, for many, ethnicity replaced faith as the central bonding element during the early decades of this century. Jewish community councils increasingly took on such secular tasks as social welfare, education, and culture, and they became politicized as a result.

Simultaneously, some German Jews felt obliged to reconsider their traditional ties to liberalism under the impact of irrationalism and cultural pessimism. Brenner seems undecided, however, about whether this constituted a reshaping of Jewish liberalism (paralleling developments among other liberals, one might add) or a break with the liberal tradition. In any event, his assertion that roughly half of Jewish voters abandoned political liberalism during the Weimar years is misleading. It pertains only to the period after 1930, when the established liberal parties collapsed and Jews voted for the Social Democratic and Catholic Center parties to defend the liberal Weimar Republic.

The strongest chapters in this study are those devoted to the transmission of Jewish knowledge through adult education and the promotion of Jewish scholarship. Brenner carefully relates these developments to broader trends of educational reform and an emphasis on scholarly synthesis rather than specialization among Germans as a whole. He shows that Jewish scholars and publishers found audiences for histories of the Jews, multi-volume Jewish encyclopedias, and translations of Hebrew classics. The Jewish *Lehrhaus* (house of study) movement, under the inspired leadership of Franz Rosenzweig, conveyed Jewish learning to thousands, and Brenner suggests that it aroused curiosity about Judaism among alienated Jews as well. Certainly, its lectures and seminars appealed to both liberals and Zionists, albeit for different reasons: if the former thought that Jewish knowledge enhanced the German-Jewish symbiosis, the latter studied to discover the limits of their integration into German society. Both, however, reappropriated knowledge about themselves as Jews that had been neglected in Germany for at least a generation. Although Brenner occasionally draws attention to anti-Semitism as a force encouraging Jews to return to their ethnic roots, he also advances considerable evidence that Jews of all persuasions, recent immigrants excepted, were very much at home in Weimar Germany.

In the final part of the book, Brenner explores the complex interplay of traditional and modern elements that shaped Jewish literature, art, and music in the Weimar years. He draws attention to novels, travel books, and poetry by Jewish writers that placed self-denying German Jews in a negative light and idealized the "authentic" Jews of Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Although such writers as Jakob Wassermann, Else Lasker-Schüler, and Lion Feuchtwanger had extremely wide readership among the whole German public, Jewish readers no doubt drew a particular message from their works. It would have been helpful,

however, had Brenner delved more deeply into the reception of the books he describes among Jews; they were widely reviewed and much discussed at the time.

In his treatment of music and the visual arts, Brenner confines himself almost entirely to what was distinctive in the Jewish communities and cultural associations. Because much of this artistic work was religious, the theme of a Jewish culture newly founded on ethnicity rather than religion slips from prominence. That theme returns decisively, however, when Brenner examines the mainly secular East European Jewish intellectual community that flourished in Germany during the early 1920s. For the first time, German Jews encountered Hebrew and Yiddish culture at first hand, although Brenner concedes that its impact was largely limited to the Zionist minority.

In an epilogue on the Nazi years, Brenner concludes that the events of 1933 constitute a break in the development of a specifically Jewish culture. Jewish existence then became far too anxious and cramped for cultural renaissance to continue. Not everyone will agree with this conclusion, but it must be conceded that the conditions under which Jewish culture could develop were profoundly altered.

This well-researched and thoughtful study might have benefited from a more sophisticated historiographical context. The image that Brenner seeks to overturn, of Weimar-era Jews cravenly pursuing radical assimilationism, was discredited by scholars long ago, even if it does linger in the popular mind. Moreover, his zeal to establish the emergence of a new collective Jewish identity in the 1920s sometimes causes Brenner to lose touch with the profound and persistent divisions among German Jews. This volume will be valued chiefly as a highly readable survey of specifically Jewish cultural trends in Weimar Germany that recast the Jewish heritage in a secular context.

DONALD L. NIEWYK
Southern Methodist University

HENRY FRIEDLANDER. *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 421. \$34.95.

The world's first gas chamber designed for killing people was built at an abandoned prison in Brandenburg in the winter of 1939–1940. The first victims were psychiatric patients, the initial group singled out by Nazi leaders for extermination in the so-called “euthanasia operation,” code-named T4. Patients were told they were entering an “inhalatorium” and then a shower; showerheads were later added to perfect the illusion. Reichsärztführer Leonardo Conti was reportedly the first to suggest the use of poison gas; Albert Widmann, the SS chemical engineer who killed Russian handicapped with dynamite, proposed releasing gas into hospital dormitories while the patients slept. The decision was finally made to use gas chambers after the Brandenburg experiment showed the

efficacy of the procedure (killing by injection was the rejected “control”). Friedlander argues that while the creation of the gas chamber was a unique invention of Nazi Germany, the methods developed “to lure the victims to the chambers, to kill them on an assembly line, and to process their corpses” (p. 93) were even more significant. The gas chambers (the “killing hardware”) and the method of application (the “killing software”) were both developed first for use in the euthanasia operation. Euthanasia managers pioneered the practice of selection, the technologies of extermination, the robbing of gold teeth from corpses, and most of the methods of deception later used in the death camps. Many concentration camp administrators and technicians began their killing careers in T4 facilities equipped with state-of-the-art murder machines. T4 men eventually composed “almost the entire personnel of the extermination of camps of Operation Reinhard”—Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka—where nearly two million people perished (p. 297). The topics covered in this well-researched and wide-ranging volume include the struggles between the party and the civil bureaucracy over control of the eugenics movement, the killing of Pomeranian and Polish handicapped early in the war, T4's role in the killing of tubercular *Ostarbeiter*, and popular and clerical opposition to the killing of the handicapped. A chilling chapter charts the background of the perpetrators—the doctors, nurses, drivers, cooks, construction workers, police officers, stokers, photographers, and other “dull and uninteresting men and women” (p. 187) complicit in the operation. We hear about successful and unsuccessful escape attempts, ten-year old children fearing transport (and playing a “coffin game”), parents who managed to save their children (one father retrieved his child from a transporting hospital “against medical advice”), and even a few parents who requested that their own children be killed. We hear how hospital administrators sometimes killed to cover up clerical errors and how hundreds of patients were killed by electroshock. We hear how psychiatrists predicted that hospitals of the future would routinize euthanasia and how chemists of the Kriminaltechnisches Institut performed animal experiments to perfect the gases used for killings. There are a few minor errors. It is not true, for example, to say that the leaders of the nordic wing of the racial hygiene movement “applauded the Nazi program without joining the party”: Fritz Lenz and Alfred Ploetz joined in 1937, and Eugen Fischer joined in 1940. One might also quibble with Friedlander's thesis that the killing centers “did not actually need physicians” (Friedlander admits that doctors were needed to create the illusion of normal hospital routine) and his overly neat division of *Täter* into those who were “ideologically motivated” and those who were not (p. 231). None of this compromises the strength of the book, the most detailed scholarly inquiry into the management and mechanics of the euthanasia operation yet published. Ten or fifteen years ago, it was rare to see a historian

drawing links between the Final Solution and the murder of Germany's handicapped. There are, of course, other kinds of "origins" one can point to—ideological, electoral, sociopolitical—but Friedlander's elucidation of the important continuities of technique and personnel gives us valuable new insights into the inner workings of Nazi genocide.

ROBERT N. PROCTOR
Pennsylvania State University

STEPHEN G. FRITZ. *Frontsoldaten: The German Soldier in World War II*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. x, 299. \$29.95.

Stephen G. Fritz's book is an excellent example of everyday history, or what the Germans call *Alltagsgeschichte*. Fritz's purpose is "to allow average German soldiers to speak with a minimum of external interferences" (p. vii). Using a variety of letters, diaries, and memoirs as well as a judicious blend of novels, poetry, and songs, he generally succeeds in his goal of conveying the complex thoughts and motivations of the German *Landser* (infantryman) who served at the front.

Fritz's approach is the usual one of starting with the infantryman's training and then looking, in turn, at his views toward combat, his emotions at the front, his thinking on the environment and the sensations of war, his feelings about comradeship and ideology, and his recollections about the war experience. In most instances, Fritz is able to show that these views possess both positive and negative attributes. For example, the recruits soon realized the importance of the positive elements of training, such as developing skills, endurance, and cohesiveness, and these carried over and made the infantry soldier into one of the most effective features of the German war machine. On the other hand, as in most armies, basic training was not devoid of instances of harassment, sadistic discipline, and even inhuman treatment.

With regard to emotions at the front, the soldier witnessed and exhibited determination and courage, shared almost unbelievable experiences with his comrades, and appreciated such measures as special treatment at holidays, home leave, mail, and music to help sustain morale. Balanced against these positive aspects, however, were the strains of war, the psychological impact which at times produced extreme depression and despair. Ewald H., for instance, conveyed these feelings when he wrote: "I have seen life. I can no longer experience the happiness and misfortunes of this world. War, you monster, this time you have crushed the whole earth. God, you have directed these events, why are you so inscrutable, so cruel and harsh? Build a new world, and allow this death to find an end" (p. 88). Four days later, he was killed.

Among the book's other strengths, the materials selected by Fritz prove conclusively that a number of perceptions about the common soldier of the Third Reich are incorrect. With few exceptions, the *Landser*

believed in Hitler and in the seductive Nazi ideal of a harmonious community marching forward toward a new and better world. German soldiers further participated in numerous atrocities against Jews and other "inferiors," and most believed in the "Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy" and thought of themselves as protectors against the communist hordes to the east. In other words, though perhaps not Nazis, they were to a remarkable degree Nazified.

Despite its many merits, the book reveals a number of troubling aspects. First of all, Fritz's reliance on printed rather than documentary sources leads him to depend more than is necessary on the writings of several participants, particularly the memoirs of Guy Sajer (*A Forgotten Soldier* [1967]) and the letters of Harry Mielert (Gerda Mielert-Pflugradt, ed., *Russische Erde: Kriegsbriege aus Russland* [1950]). Second, Fritz's dependence on infantrymen to exemplify the themes he wants to emphasize means that other frontline combatants, such as artillery and armored personnel, are virtually excluded from the narrative. These men—along with SS soldiers, whom Fritz dismisses as persons apart from the regular troops—also have their story to tell, and their inclusion would have allowed Fritz to overcome the repetition that creeps into parts of the book.

Third, Fritz's venture into everyday history is not as original as the author seems to contend. As he undoubtedly knows, Martin Broszat, Detlev Peukert, and Richard Bessel, among others, have worked in this area for at least two decades, and Christian Streit and Omer Bartov previously have made contributions, though not exactly in the same way, to everyday military history. Fourth, and finally, Fritz's assertion that the average German infantryman was more effective, i.e., better trained, better disciplined, more reflective than the troops of other nations is difficult to sustain, especially in light of the capabilities demonstrated by Allied soldiers during the war's later stages.

Still, these drawbacks should not lead one to conclude that Fritz's book is not a considerable achievement. He has prodigiously pulled together a number of printed sources to depict the experiences of the common German soldier. The result is a moving account of personal observations combined with a thoughtful commentary in which the author provides numerous insights into the combat environment. His book is not only good military history but good social history as well.

ALAN F. WILT
Iowa State University

ERIC A. ZILLMER *et al.* *The Quest for the Nazi Personality: A Psychological Investigation of Nazi War Criminals*. (The LEA Series in Personality and Clinical Psychology.) Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum. 1995. Pp. xviii, 254. \$29.95.

This book by psychologists Eric Zillmer, Molly Harrower, and Barry Ritzler and psychiatrist Robert Ar-

cher purports to be "the definitive and comprehensive study of the psychological functioning of Nazi war criminals, both the elite and the rank-and-file" (p. xiv). Although the authors do not achieve that aim, they do provide a multifaceted history and analysis of the Rorschach inkblot projective tests performed on the major Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg in 1945 and 1946. The book also presents a comparative analysis of Rorschach tests done on 187 Danish collaborators and German soldiers tried in Denmark in 1946. Two case studies, of Karl Dönitz and Julius Streicher, are developed in the text; an appendix contains the Rorschach records of the twenty-two Nuremberg major war criminals, one of the Copenhagen protocols, and the Rorschach administered to Adolf Eichmann in Jerusalem in the early 1960s.

It is the thesis of this study that the Nuremberg tests "failed to identify a homogeneous Nazi personality" (p. 99) and that the Nazi leaders "shared few common traits or characteristics with the exception of above average intellectual functioning" (p. 192). The authors also conclude that the Danish tests show only "that certain personality characteristics tend to be associated with perpetration of wartime violence" (p. 118). They employ the recently refined Rorschach Comprehensive System, computerizing Rorschach interpretations, control groups, and a combination of blind and nonblind evaluation.

These findings are at variance with previous studies. Psychiatrist Douglas Kelley, who administered some of the Rorschachs at Nuremberg, believed that the defendants were essentially normal, but his colleague at the trials, psychologist Gustave Gilbert, argued that they represented a distinctly aberrant personality type. Kelley's view was echoed in Hannah Arendt's thesis about the "banality of evil" in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963) and Molly Harrower's study (1976) of the Nuremberg Rorschach tests. Rorschach expert Florence Miale and political scientist Michael Selzer adopted Gilbert's position in *The Nuremberg Mind: The Psychology of Nazi Leaders* (1975). Psychologist Barry Ritzler (1978) occupies a middle ground, arguing that Nazi war criminals displayed a range of psychopathology but did not share homogeneous personality characteristics.

This study offers a valuable introduction to the Rorschach technique and the surprisingly tangled history of its use at Nuremberg. Kelley and Gilbert fought turf battles over the tests and the right to publish the results. Ironically, the only result was that neither Kelley nor Gilbert ever produced a work on the Rorschach test data. It is thus a service of this book that it reproduces the verbatim records of all of the Nazi Rorschachs, including six by Kelley never published before. It is, however, a major disappointment that the volume offers case studies of only two of the subjects. The piece on Dönitz is particularly valuable, showing how psychological test data can alert the historian to cognitive and emotional style. Dönitz's weaknesses as a commander—such as his disastrous

ordering of the battlecruiser *Scharnhorst* to sea in 1943—are suggestively analyzed. Moreover, his Nazi convictions are highlighted in contrast to earlier apologetics for yet another German unpolitical soldier. In the realm of social history, results concerning Nazi hypersensitivity to health and bodily functions suggest fruitful connections to unpublished findings by psychoanalyst Erich Fromm (1929–31) on working-class Nazi attitudes toward health and illness.

The authors concede that "purely psychological evaluation is not enough" (p. 119), especially given the small and bias-laden sample of the Nuremberg tests, and that "the context of social, cultural, political, and personality" (p. 194) must be considered. Psychodynamic perspectives are also clearly called for here: a psychohistorical approach would fill in the traits revealed by Rorschachs with historical detail over time and offer some insight into the various and multiple origins and development of individual and collective thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. The disciplinary faultline here lies between the nomothetic aims of science and the idiographic virtues of history.

In sum, this book is a valuable contribution to the history of Nazism and its effects on the world. It also provides a worthwhile discussion of important issues of methodology in the human sciences. The prose is clear and the organization logical. There are a number of typographical, grammatical, and proofreading errors, and one instance of extreme compositional sloppiness. The authors (p. 49) have plagiarized language from two pages of my book, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich* (1985, pp. 3, 178–79). A cursory check of other sources revealed no similar instances, so this—albeit serious—error likely has to do with the authors' rapid coverage of a topic marginal to the main concerns of their book.

GEOFFREY COCKS
Albion College

KARL CHRISTIAN FÜHRER. *Mieter, Hausbesitzer, Staat und Wohnungsmarkt: Wohnungsmangel und Wohnungszwangswirtschaft in Deutschland 1914–1960*. (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, number 119.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1995. Pp. 468. DM 168.

ADELHEID VON SALTERN. *Häuserleben: Zur Geschichte städtischen Arbeiterwohnens vom Kaiserreich bis heute*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 38.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1995. Pp. 487. DM 80.

Although these two books overlap in subject matter and period studied, they are quite different in nature. Karl Christian Führer's book on the housing market is a shortened version of his *Habilitationsschrift* and is typical of the genre. It is based on an extensive examination of primary sources in fifteen archives and exhaustive reading of printed primary sources; the bibliography runs to some forty pages. Adelheid von Saltern's book, in contrast, is a broad-ranging synthesis of scholarship on working-class housing and dis-

tricts. For the period after 1945, both authors focus primarily on the Federal Republic, mostly because of the paucity of scholarly works and the limited availability of primary sources on the German Democratic Republic.

Führer concentrates on three kinds of legislation designed to aid renters: protecting renters from arbitrary eviction, controlling rents, and allocating housing when it was in short supply. In the section devoted to each topic, Führer starts with World War I—the event that precipitated passage of these laws—and ends with the passage by the Bundestag in 1960 of a law abolishing governmental intervention in the housing market. He pays close attention to the arguments presented for and against each law by the various associations of renters, property owners, financial institutions, and political parties; the relevant legislative debates and court decisions; and, using data from many different cities, the impact of these laws in practice. In general, Führer shows that, once introduced, these laws were gradually loosened by the early 1930s, reinstated in modified form by the National Socialists in the second half of the decade, and loosened again in the later 1950s.

The motive for government intervention in the housing market was not simply the severe shortage of urban housing, caused initially by rapid urbanization and industrialization and exacerbated after 1945 by the massive loss of housing from bombing. During both world wars, governments sought to provide special protection to soldiers, veterans, and their families. Although the two periods of inflation (1917–1923 and 1945–1948) perhaps hurt property owners more than renters, especially as long as rents were fixed, many of the working poor and the unemployed still could not afford even low rents. There was a rather wide consensus that renter protection was a useful mechanism for providing an important measure of social and political stability.

Even the supporters of renter-protection and housing-allocation measures constantly faced certain basic problems. Unless the state could assume responsibility for constructing new housing, private contractors would have to continue to build, but this would happen only if new housing was profitable, which fixed rents made questionable. The government first tried controlling rents only for housing built before World War I, but rents for new housing, when left to market forces, rose so high that it became necessary to control all rents, with levels in new buildings set higher than in older ones. This did not work well either, because these rents were still too high for most workers but not high enough to stimulate construction. The result was often subsidies in both directions: for renters and builders. This was never an ideal solution for the fiscally burdened Weimar Republic or the early Federal Republic, nor was it attractive to the Nazis.

Moreover, if property owners were aggrieved over rent levels, they were also irritated at their inability to select tenants at will. Tensions became especially

heated after World War II, when housing offices commandeered space and assigned it to victims of bombing or refugees. Tenants, too, resented being forced to make room for people in need. Führer argues convincingly that the fabled social solidarity of the post-1945 years broke down rather quickly over conflicts generated in the housing market. On balance, however, he suggests that intervention in the housing market provided an important measure of protection for the weaker members of German society. He also notes, however, that these legal measures failed to protect Jews, even if some courts did try up until 1938 to help them keep their apartments.

Von Saldern's study is extraordinarily rich in its range and conclusions. She goes well beyond considering working-class housing, also discussing the housing of women, the elderly, refugees from the East, ethnic groups (such as Poles in the Ruhr), foreigners brought by force to Germany by the Nazis, those whose homes were destroyed in the war, asylum seekers, and the homeless. Some but not all of these persons belonged to the working class. She is interested in all kinds of housing, ranging from inner-city "rental barracks" (*Mietskasernen*) dating from the empire to new housing settlements in the suburbs to various kinds of barracks, camps, and squatters' settlements. For example, camps (*Lager*) were used to house people in every period, starting before 1914 and continuing to the present. She is interested not only in the physical structures themselves, the amenities available, and population densities, but also in the impact of different kinds of housing on the way residents lived. What kind of housing led to greater or lesser communication between residents, greater or lesser class consciousness, greater or lesser interaction among social classes? And how did all of this change over time? The answers contained in von Saldern's survey, though based primarily on secondary sources, are buttressed by research drawn from case studies by the author and other scholars.

In common with Führer, von Saldern stresses the central importance of social housing from the early 1920s to the early 1960s. Rents were relatively affordable because of public subsidies or public construction, and social housing was relatively modern in terms of size and amenities (like built-in toilets). Better housing, however, tended to decrease personal communication between residents in the streets and public parts of buildings. Dense populations in old housing led to people knowing and helping each other, but forced intimacy brought conflict, too. When workers moved to better housing in better parts of town, made use of modern mass transportation, took advantage of new forms of recreation, and spent more time in their homes, the cultural and political content of more traditional working-class housing was undermined.

Some older districts fell to urban renewal or to wartime bombing, and other areas saw greater differentiation within the working class and greater contact between classes, which further destroyed the workers'

milieu. Modern tastes and the desire for modern living standards, von Saldern argues, are universal; one must not sentimentally mourn the passing of traditional workers' housing. Nor was the working class simply copying the bourgeoisie. Rather, workers always adapted whatever housing was available to their own needs and culture.

Both books, as good as they are, deserve better indexes, and Führer's bibliography of secondary sources is skimpy at best. Nevertheless, any reader interested in German urban history or in housing will profit greatly from these carefully researched and written books.

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PHILIP ZELIKOW and CONDOLEEZZA RICE, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 493. \$35.00.

This is a remarkable book for a number of reasons. The first is because Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice take a complex story—the peaceful reunification of Germany within the Western alliance—and turn it into a suspenseful, engaging, and illuminating account of successful statecraft. The book is remarkable as well because these events took place less than a decade ago, and yet, for a variety of special circumstances, the authors have given us close to a definitive account of the multinational negotiations, something that normally must wait thirty years. Finally, it is remarkable for what it does for the historical reputation of George Bush, repudiated at the polls in 1992 by more than sixty percent of the American electorate but emerging in this book as one of the most accomplished and deft practitioners of diplomacy in modern American history.

During the tumultuous years of 1989–1991, Zelikow and Rice served on the National Security Council (NSC) and were present for some of the meetings and conferences they describe. Their book, however, is far more than the account of two able and insightful NSC staffers. The authors have not only mined the extensive American government documentation and conducted extensive interviews, but they have made excellent use of material from the East German and Soviet archives that became available after the collapse of those states. They have also cited all of their sources, including those still classified. Scholars can not evaluate these, and this will raise some concerns. Zelikow and Rice have endeavored, however, to expedite the declassification through the use of the Freedom of Information Act, and their efforts may well lead to much of the documentation being released.

Popular accounts of the end of the Cold War have given most of the credit to Mikhail Gorbachev and his reform efforts in the Soviet Union. Zelikow and Rice tell a different story, one that demonstrates that George Bush and Helmut Kohl seized the moment of

opportunity to accomplish an objective set by the West early in the Cold War: the reunification of a liberal and democratic Germany within the North Atlantic alliance. Prior to 1989, many commentators and most historians had dismissed this objective as a public relations stance designed to deceive West Germans into thinking their allies cared about the reunification of their defeated enemy. Margaret Thatcher and François Mitterrand seem to have shared that perspective. George Bush and, later, Helmut Kohl, after some initial hesitation, had a better understanding of the momentum of events. Zelikow and Rice present a far-sighted Bush, determined not to embarrass Gorbachev but taking the lead on German reunification even before the fall of the Berlin Wall in November, 1989. Helmut Kohl was the key figure on the German scene, grasping from an early stage that the East German refugee crisis was a fundamental challenge to the legitimacy of the Communist regime and that the Federal Republic had significant leverage over the rapidly changing situation. In contrast, Gorbachev emerges from this book as a hesitant and faltering leader, beset by so many problems throughout his empire that his hand was forced on the German question. Although the authors acknowledge Gorbachev's historic role in the transformation of the Soviet Union, they describe his surprised and uncertain reaction to events in East Germany and his unsuccessful attempts to prevent the loss of the Soviet Union's most important satellite. Zelikow's and Rice's account suggests that had Gorbachev been able to seize the initiative on Germany at an earlier point in the process, a very different outcome might have resulted. What emerged instead was what the Western allies had long demanded: a united Germany within NATO. For better or worse, the United States got its way, arguing that a united Germany integrated within the political, economic, and security institutions of the West was a more stable solution than the neutral state advocated by many, including the Soviets. As of today, it would be hard to argue that they were wrong.

This book is not the final word on German reunification. Indeed, it shows that leaders were often reacting to events in the streets, as the East German people, through mass emigration and public demonstrations, made clear their unhappiness with their regime. Nevertheless, this book will long stand as the definitive account of a diplomatic success story, a time when leaders were able to adjust their differences without war and allow a defeated enemy the opportunity to retreat with dignity.

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CARLOS M. N. EIRE, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 571. \$49.95.

Carlos M. N. Eire has produced an impressive and important book on death and the religious culture of Counter-Reformation Spain. Or, to be more precise, he has produced three distinct books, each of which reveals a wealth of detail and insight on the hopes, fears, and experiences of sixteenth-century Spaniards.

The title is a bit misleading, as only the first book deals exclusively with the city of Madrid. At the heart of book one is Eire's analysis of some 450 wills of *madrileños* written between 1520 and 1599. He organizes his inquiry according to the sections into which wills were divided: the invocation, the profession of faith, stipulations for the funeral, etc., attempting to gauge the mentalities of Madrid's faithful. This material, which most historians (myself included) would dismiss as "formulaic" in their haste to get to bequests, becomes the very grist for Eire's mill. His innovative approach allows him to chart the demographics not only of Madrid's testators but also of their heavenly intercessors. He documents changing preferences regarding place of burial as well as the era's inflationary "arithmetic of salvation" (p. 176) and the skyrocketing number and costs of commemorative masses. In Eire's hands, wills become windows into the attitudes of more or less ordinary *madrileños* on matters such as penitence, eucharistic piety, interactions with the clergy, membership in confraternities, ways of defining social status, family relations, and poor relief. Thus, in exciting and unexpected ways this sustained analysis of preparation for death also sheds light on many aspects of life in sixteenth-century Madrid.

Books two and three, while different in content, are linked thematically. Here Eire moves from collective attitudes to the deaths of two extraordinary individuals, King Philip II and Saint Teresa of Avila, and the ways in which these deaths were constructed as exemplary. He begins his examination of "the royal paradigm of death" with the completion of El Escorial in 1595. Approaching this palace, monastery, and mausoleum as "a message to be decoded" (p. 261), Eire explores its complex symbols of death and kingship. He then moves to Philip's slow and tortuous death in 1598 (as reported in numerous published accounts by the king's confessors and other witnesses), his testament, burial, and many exequies celebrated throughout Spain. Eire shows how Philip's death was used as a "heuristic device" (p. 307), a way of teaching lessons about, among other things, patience in suffering and submission to the ministers of the church. For his chroniclers, Philip's rigorous, even obsessive observance of traditional Catholic death rituals served as a potent weapon in the polemical war against Protestants, who had come to reject the images, relics, crucifixes, and holy water so beloved by the monarch.

Finally, in book three, Eire turns to the 1582 death of Teresa of Avila as "the ultimate paradigm of death." After a useful overview of the role of saints and hagiography in the study of collective mentalities, he moves to the many accounts of Teresa's final illness, death, and postmortem signs of sanctity. Those of us

who have browsed the volumes of testimony comprising the saint's beatification and canonization proceedings will agree with Eire's characterization of these "mountains of paper" as truly "mind-numbing" in their repetitiveness (p. 388). Yet, to his credit, Eire read them all, along with the sermon literature and biographies of Teresa produced soon after her death. The result is a sensitive, nuanced, and at times wickedly funny discussion of the uses made of a body regarded as holy and incorruptable. Once again, Eire situates the discourse on Teresa's exemplary death and fragrant afterlife in the context of Counter-Reformation polemics. As he succinctly phrases it, her promoters championed Teresa as "God's answer to Luther" (p. 507).

In his epilogue, Eire generously invites "further inquiry and dialogue" (p. 513). In that spirit, I offer an observation. The author explains why he concentrates on the postmortem history of Philip and Teresa, taken in isolation from their lives. Yet this approach has its problems. Only at the very end of book two does Eire acknowledge something that other historians have disclosed: not everyone in Spain was so enamored of Philip as king; indeed, he faced a fair amount of political dissent toward the end of his life. In this light, the copious didactic texts take on a somewhat different tone. Could not the monotonous insistence on Philip's virtue be read not just as a religious message but also as an attempt at political vindication? This holds even more true for Teresa. A highly controversial figure during her life, a *conversa* under constant inquisitorial scrutiny, she was a rather unlikely candidate for sainthood. The endless canonization testimonies—so detailed, so insistent—could be read as betraying anxiety on the part of her supporters precisely because Teresa was *not* unanimously regarded as a saint at the time of her death. Thus, what we may be seeing here is the process of saint-making, not just the use of a figure already accepted as a saint (or saintly king) as paradigm.

But this discussion only shows the richness of the material that Eire has so carefully mined. His book, with its examination of a vast array of primary sources, its integration of insights from literature, cultural anthropology, theology, and other disciplines, and its well-written, witty prose succeeds wonderfully in demonstrating how the discourse of the "good death" articulated and affirmed Catholic doctrine and practice in a highly polemical age.

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MAURO HERNÁNDEZ. *A la sombra de la Corona: Poder local y oligarquía urbana (Madrid, 1606–1808)*. Madrid: Siglo vientiuno editores. 1995. Pp. xix, 422.

This is an impressive and thought-provoking study of the elite group of families that entered, dominated, and sometimes left the city council of Madrid between

1606 and 1808. Having touched on this topic myself, I am pleased that such well-documented research sustains many of my glib generalizations. At the same time, I have two misgivings. One concerns the concept of the "refeudalization" of the Spanish state in the Ancien Régime. The second, which only surfaces in the last sentence, is the assumed link between "refeudalization" and the supposed stagnation and decline of Spain after 1808.

Mauro Hernández gives us a magnificent study of urban oligarchy as he documents the structure of city government, the social origins of council members, their changing economic bases, their strategies for mobility and group reproduction, and their quest for status and aristocracy. He ends with an illustrative chapter on the rise and fall of the Negrete family. From modest commercial backgrounds in the seventeenth century, this clan acquired the titles of Conde de Campo Alange and *grande* of the first class in the eighteenth century, only to fall into obscurity in the nineteenth.

Hernández goes beyond static description and reveals important dynamic shifts over time. He documents the openness of the oligarchy early in the seventeenth century, the closing of access by mid-century, and the reopening of recruitment in the eighteenth century. He relates these changes to the nature of Habsburg royal power, which he characterizes as a form of reciprocal *tutela* or guardianship. Thus the Crown exercised authority but depended on reciprocal understandings with local elites in order to extract resources from society and implement policy. Upwardly mobile families were therefore attracted to the Crown as they sought offices and aristocratic status, but municipal government also remained rewarding. The concept of the "refeudalization" of the state derives from the fact that this oligarchy shed its commercial and business origins and invested in offices, rentier income, titles, and land and urban real estate. Many of these assets came from the Crown via the devolution of jurisdiction and royal land, reinforcing the interdependence of Crown and "feudal" or "refeudalized" families.

In the eighteenth century, the Crown moved away from *tutela* and, in Hernández' terms, "territorialized" the monarchy. This meant coopting the landed class into an administration that placed less reliance on town government. Territorialization prompted the older families of the Madrid oligarchy to focus on royal offices and court sinecures and to abandon city offices as municipal power became less rewarding. Consequently the price of city council seats declined after 1750, and newer families with commercial, tax and supply contracting, and financial interests moved in.

From time to time the Crown sought to reform city government, particularly finance, since the financial problems of city government crippled its ability to extract resources from society on behalf of the Crown. Such reforms were modest and abortive because of resistance from below, but also because serious reform

would have undermined the entire structure of monarchical redistribution of resources on behalf of the "refeudalized" aristocratic and municipal oligarchies.

Hernández captures dynamic trends well, but his reliance on the latter-day Marxist vocabulary of "feudalism," "refeudalization," and "feudal bourgeoisie" leads him to understate the changes creeping into the mental universe of the oligarchy he discusses. While their economic options were limited by the Castilian context, these people could be astute entrepreneurs and profit seekers.

My second reservation, triggered by Hernández's conclusion that "refeudalization" left Spain stagnant and in decline, relates to the growing evidence that the peninsular economy was fundamentally expansive. If a case for such dynamism can be made, and I think it can, then the characterization of the behavior of the directing elites will have to be reconsidered. Meanwhile, despite (and perhaps because of) questions about its conclusions, this book is a major contribution to Spanish and European social history. It places Spain within the mainstream of European trends in the early modern period. It ought to be read by any European historian who pretends to be informed about the socio-political evolution of the era.

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CHARLES R. CUTTER. *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1700-1810*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 227. \$39.95.

Early Spanish settlers in the New World begged the crown not to allow lawyers to enter the colonies in order to avoid unnecessary and expensive litigation. Although the crown briefly acceded, the establishment of royal regional courts (*audiencias*) and administrative capitals meant that attorneys became ever more numerous. The majority who actually practiced, however, tended to reside in populous urban centers where full-blown judicial systems emerged. In contrast to this well-known development, peripheral regions far distant from administrative centers enjoyed a dearth if not complete absence of attorneys, and the administration of justice corresponded more closely to the simple ideal sought by the first settlers.

Charles R. Cutter examines in detail the administration of justice in colonial New Mexico and Texas on New Spain's northern frontier. His book is divided into three parts. In "Constructing a Legal Culture," Cutter sets forth the physical setting, economic bases, and social divisions of the region studied before considering the origins, content, and meaning of law applied in the New World (*derecho indiano*). Part two, "The Agents of Royal Justice," provides an institutional overview of judicial organization for the empire and New Spain and considers at some length the failed attempts to establish an *audiencia* on the already heavily subsidized northern frontier. In addition, it

presents in laudable detail information on the local judiciary, a judiciary characterized by its lack of formal legal training and, save for the governors, its largely local origins. Part three, "Judicial Procedure," sets forth a highly informative explication of the procedural elements (*sumaria*, *juicio plenario*, and *sentencia*) usually appearing in the simplified legal cases in New Mexico and Texas. Cutter stresses the magistrates' use of common sense in rendering judgment and their objective of making the sentences congruent with, and a reinforcement of, community values.

Cutter emphasizes both the centrality of the judicial system as a basis for the crown's legitimacy and the flexibility of the system, especially in a frontier region. Writing from a revisionist perspective, he convincingly argues that the law as implemented by local judicial officials was relevant to the citizens served and that corruption, certainly as portrayed in major administrative centers, was comparatively infrequent and unimportant. In a region characterized by poverty and subsistence rather than wealth, of course, the pickings would have been slim in any case.

Cutter has employed primary source materials from a number of archives in Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Particularly notable is his use of some 600 civil and criminal cases. In addition, he has made good use of a variety of printed primary sources, especially compilations of laws and commentaries by jurists, and has consulted a wide collection of secondary materials.

In this clearly written, informative volume, Cutter meets his objective of providing an overview of the legal system on the northern frontier. He deserves particular praise for his largely successful effort to integrate a regional examination into an imperial perspective. Every student of Spanish colonial administration should read this work.

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MARIA MALATESTA, editor. *Society and the Professions in Italy, 1860-1914*. Translated by ADRIAN BELTON. (Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 340. \$59.95.

Excellent critical work continues to be published about the modern learned professions in Western, Northern, and Central Europe, and, more recently, in Eastern Europe as well. The development of professions in the Mediterranean world in the last two centuries has not received nearly as much critical attention from social historians. The present volume of essays by ten Italian scholars goes a long way toward giving some preliminary answers for modern Italy to questions raised about the evolution of professions elsewhere on the continent.

The questions posed by these essayists are consistent with a general framework of inquiry familiar to histo-

rians of European professions. This tacit framework helps to link together thematically the otherwise somewhat disparate essays in the volume. Maria Malatesta, the volume editor, does a subtle and nuanced job integrating the international theoretical framework with the peculiarities of Italian developments. Her introduction and most of the individual essays indicate a high level of sophistication and a cosmopolitan awareness of comparable research going on elsewhere. The translation of this volume is clear and fluent.

In this volume, Italian social historians demonstrate what interesting questions and answers about mostly bourgeois occupations and cultural-reproduction strategies can be found beyond the traditional limits of Gramscian perspectives that focus on marginal social groups and *Annalist* approaches that emphasize disease and health care. As in studies of other parts of the continent, these authors stress the role rather than absence of the state in professional formation and deal with the impact of national and regional comparative backwardness on professional development.

Organizationally, the book is divided into two major sections. The first deals with specific professional groups (jurists, notaries, physicians, and engineers) as well as with the key role of higher education. The second part deals with professionals of all types in relation to markets, income, identity, class, and political activity. Most of the chapters are packed with valuable statistical tables and graphs. At the same time, the authors make us aware of the difficulties of collecting reliable statistics and interpreting them.

What does one make of the many apparent contradictions in Italian professional life, such as that the rates of both illiteracy and university attendance are among the highest in Europe in the late nineteenth century (Andrea Cammelli, "Universities and Professions," p. 28) or the gulf between the training of qualified professionals and the creation of appropriate employment for them (as the chapters by A. M. Banti, Fulvio Cammarano, and Luigi Musella, among others, point out)? The surplus meant that many trained professionals went into other fields (civil service, politics, or journalism) or even emigrated. They nevertheless provided an impetus to modernization that to some degree compensated for lagging Italian industrial development (see, for example, Aldo Mazzacane, "A Jurist for United Italy," p. 81, or Michela Minesso, "The Engineering Profession," pp. 193 ff.).

As in other countries, professional development in Italy was conditioned to a high degree by regional and structural factors. No major professional group could be called either purely liberal or purely bureaucratized: doctors, lawyers, and engineers were partly free professionals and partly state or municipal employees. All professional groups developed fissures that made organizational unity and market domination difficult. For example, engineers found their profession split among the state-oriented and private entrepreneurs, north and south, rural and urban. The fortunes of regional and national professional organizations, both

in terms of inclusiveness and lobbying effectiveness, were mixed between the founding of the Kingdom of Italy and the arrival of fascism.

According to Malatesta's introduction, the persistence of local and regional loyalties and modes of operation, plus the relative weakness of the Italian state in enforcing uniform norms, made the more dynamic parts of the professional bourgeoisie somewhat uneasy allies of the state, but this alone did not provide the "rapid ascent to power and prestige that their counterparts in England and France were able to achieve" (p. 23). Although the elite of the professions achieved much, the "rank and file duplicated the traditional failings of the Italian bourgeoisie," unable to overcome class lines and establish transregional solidarity. This volume does not often break past the chronological limit of World War I, and therefore does not delve into the relationships between professions and fascism, but most authors would appear to agree that the ambiguous development of the professions in pre-fascist Italy provided "the basis for the ascent of professionalism" after World War II (p. 23).

Most students of modern European social history, and not just specialists on professions, would benefit from reading this well-researched and carefully argued volume.

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STEVEN SAUNDERS. *Cross, Sword, and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619-1637)*. (Oxford Monographs on Music.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 358. \$65.00.

This work by Steven Saunders provides impressive documentation of the musical background that accompanied the confessionalization of politics at the Habsburg court during the reign of Ferdinand II (1617-1637). When Ferdinand moved his court from Graz to Vienna, he brought with him the nucleus of what became a substantial *Hofkapelle* whose choir and instrumentalists together numbered from sixty to seventy-four regular musicians between 1619 and 1637. He also brought with him a strong preference for the Venetian sacred music style pioneered by Giovanni Gabrieli, two of whose protégés, Giovanni Priuli and Giovanni Valentini, became in succession *Hofkapellmeister* at the imperial court. Despite the perpetually desperate financial condition of the imperial government during the Thirty Years War, Ferdinand managed to pay for this extravagance from money coming to him as archduke of Styria and Lower Austria. This patronage firmly established that predilection for music and theater which became a hallmark of the dynasty for nearly two centuries.

In the martial atmosphere that wartime conditions brought to the court, sacred music in the imperial chapel mixed the "militantly secular" with traditional multi-choir and instrumental motets and canticles. The

trumpet and drums, with their military and regal connotations, appeared regularly in chapel music, particularly on occasions celebrating victories. These additions amplified the dynamic quality of the music, which cultivated increasingly an aesthetic of "juxtaposition and contrast" (p. 161) rather than the smooth style of late Renaissance music.

Saunders analyzes closely all the surviving musical scores from the court chapel that have been located, many of them scattered to the far corners of Europe. His explication of the scores requires considerable musical apprehension: more, alas, than this reviewer can bring to it. There are extensive illustrative examples, some reproductions of original scores; most, however, are translated into modern notation so that the skilled reader can follow the score and hear the music. The book concludes with extensive appendices listing all the known musicians and offering an anthology of works they performed.

This is an interesting book, though what it adds to our understanding of Ferdinand's reign is limited to the cultural backdrop of religious ceremonies and a few court festivities. For that one aspect of cultural life in seventeenth-century Vienna, it provides a rich mine of information and detailed analysis of the artifacts. The book is also handsomely printed, offering translations of Italian texts alongside the analysis of the music. Most of what it offers underlines and confirms the general consensus about the period of the early Baroque as the genesis of confessional Habsburg absolutism in Austria and its ritual representation of imperial sovereignty.

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ROBERT ROTENBERG. *Landscape and Power in Vienna*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 385. \$39.95.

In comparison with other Central European cities during the early modern period, the old city of Vienna must have appeared relatively lacking in open green space. The thickly settled urban conglomeration that withstood sieges in 1529 and 1683 did not allow for such open areas as the Berlin *Lustgarten*, the Munich *Residenzgarten*, the gardens of the Prague Hradčany, or those around the Stuttgart *Lusthaus*. Gardens of the eighteenth century that are now embedded in the twentieth-century city, like those of the Belvedere or Schönbrunn, were in fact originally suburban, standing outside the walls like the Renaissance *Neugebäude* and *Fasangarten*. In the nineteenth century the destruction of Vienna's walls with glacis allowed for the *Ringstrasse*, but, as Robert Rotenberg himself points out, the *Ringstrasse* development in fact caused an eighty-percent reduction in green space in the center of the city. A post-World War II propaganda pamphlet quoted by Rotenberg could thus speak, not inaccurately, of such nineteenth-century constructions as having created a "sea of stone, without light, without

green, without flowers, air or sun" (p. 250), for that is what one still encounters in many stretches inside the *Gürtel*.

Rotenberg, however, has a different story to tell. Landscape here becomes a vital part of Vienna's identity. The history of gardens and landscape design from the early days of Vienna are seen to have left not only physical traces but also mental ones in what Rotenberg calls the metropolitan knowledge of contemporary citizens.

Rotenberg follows these traces from the past in the present. Having lived in and observed the city and its denizens, he uses the tools of the ethnographer to tease out meanings he believes are planted in the urban cultural soil. The recent documents he has collected, and particularly the interviews with gardeners he has conducted, constitute some of the most interesting material employed in this original approach.

While some historians have taken an anthropological turn, Rotenberg the anthropologist has taken a historical one. He presents his account in the form of a history that progresses garden category by chapter. From gardens of power of the baroque we proceed to gardens of liberty of the Enlightenment, gardens of domesticity of the Biedermeier, and pleasure gardens of the mid-nineteenth century. More than half the book is devoted to late nineteenth-century gardens of reform, those of Fascist reaction, post-World War I gardens of refuge, post-World War II gardens of renewal, and contemporary ecological gardens of discovery.

For Rotenberg, these all reveal discourses and present forms of social production. They can be interpreted as embodying various kinds of heterotopia, an extension of an insight credited to the ubiquitous Michel Foucault. Rotenberg interprets these heterotopias as expressions of power, also an (undiscussed) Foucauldian hermeneutic.

Yet interpretations of garden, art, and political history all too frequently do not inspire confidence in the reliability of the "local knowledge." For example, the significance of 1866 is related to the Franco-Prussian War (p. 150), although this is of course the year in which the Austrians, not the French, were decisively defeated. Archduke is offered as a possible translation for *Markgraf*, although *Erzherzog* was a title long borne not in relation to a place but by members of the Archhouse of Habsburg (pp. 31 and 329 n.6). The latter half of the eighteenth century is not described by most art historians as rococo (p. 57), nor ought the architect J. F. Hetzendorf von Hohenberg and sculptor Wilhelm Beyer, harbingers of the "neo-classical," to be associated with it. English gardens can only dubiously be described as "neo-classical"; taken here to mark the Enlightenment, gardens of this sort were in any instance later laid out by such aristocratic (and anti-Enlightenment) figures as Metternich during a time identified in this book with the Biedermeier gardens of domesticity. Rotenberg's book is an often stimulating

effort to link present understandings to historical meanings, but it is open to question if impressions of the significance of the subject such as those offered above, at least in regard to earlier epochs, can be dispelled without further analysis and attention to nuance and detail.

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CATHERINE HOREL. *Juifs de Hongrie 1825-1849: Problèmes d'assimilation et d'émancipation*. Strasbourg: Revue d'Europe Centrale. 1995. Pp. 263. 130 fr.

The well-known French expert on Central Europe, Bernard Michel, welcomes this volume, in the Preface, as evidence of what a "new generation of young French historians" of this region can produce, given the post-1989 possibilities of research (p.7). If this slender volume is any indication, we can expect much from this new generation. Catherine Horel's study is the result of prodigious research in several languages—from Hebrew and Yiddish to Latin and Hungarian—covering all relevant primary and secondary sources. It is clearly and concisely written and is a pleasure to read.

The period chosen, 1825-1849, is well known in Hungarian history as that of the reform period followed by the 1848-1849 War of Independence, which drastically transformed the country. Horel shows how the Jews living in Hungary were transformed into Hungarian Jews during these same years. This transformation involved Jewish urbanization and entry into commerce, industry, and the professions. Horel traces the origins of famous Hungarian Jewish families, several of whom were later ennobled and all of whom played important roles in Hungary's intellectual and business life.

The volume is organized into six sections. The first presents the Jewish community in 1825, including its origins and its rather modest situation. The evolution of emancipatory ideas and efforts is presented in the second section, while the efforts to achieve emancipation occupy the third. The fourth section deals with the entry of Jews into Hungarian society despite strong opposition from the mainly German urban middle classes, who feared new competition. The fifth section is devoted to the participation of the Jews in the war of 1848-1849, and the last one deals with their drastically changed role and attitude after this conflict.

Each of these sections is further broken down into clearly defined sub-topics and analyzed from both the point of view of the Hungarians (expressed mainly by their actions in the various Diets that sat during these years) and the activities of the Jews. Horel also pays attention to regional differences, showing, for example, how and why Pest was most favorable to Jews while Pozsony (Pressburg, Bratislava) was the most hostile to them. The latter city saw, in 1848, the worst manifestations of the only pogrom in nineteenth-century Hungary.

We have before us a first-rate piece of scholarship.

Mistakes are minimal, with only one glaring one (calling Pest, repeatedly, the capital of the country). It is, therefore, very regrettable that the bibliography is only partial and the index is practically useless.

PETER F. SUGAR
University of Washington

ANDRZEJ GARLICKI. *Józef Piłsudski, 1867–1935*. Translated and edited by JOHN COUTOUVIDIS. Abridged edition. Brookfield, Vt.: Scholar. 1995. Pp. xvii, 199. \$64.95.

Andrzej Garlicki has built a career on interpreting the life and legend of Józef Piłsudski, the historical figure most closely identified with independent Poland between the two world wars. Between 1978 and 1986, Garlicki published four volumes covering various periods of Piłsudski's political biography. A "complete" Polish edition was published in 1988, and a second edition, containing a massive bibliography compiled by Ryszard Świętek, appeared in 1990. In this abridged English edition, editor and translator John Coutouvidis attempts to bring Garlicki's work to a wider audience.

Professional historians have long been dissatisfied with the hagiographic biographies of Piłsudski by Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski (*Józef Piłsudski, 1867–1914* [1964]) and Waław Jędrzejewicz (*Piłsudski: A Life for Poland* [1982]). Such partisan writing largely followed the legend outlined by propagandists during the interwar era. True son of Poland, self-sacrificing freedom fighter, military genius, savior of the country from civil war, distinguished elder statesman: such was the stuff of this carefully crafted icon. Its wide popular acceptance for decades following Piłsudski's death is explained by the dearth of competitors among his contemporaries and by Poland's unhappy postwar political experience under communism, which added an almost mythical luster to the years of his regime.

Measured against the legend, Garlicki's Piłsudski is unrecognizable. Here we find a directionless and suicidal youth, an accidental terrorist, a faithless socialist, an amateur and bumbling military commander, an indecisive head of state, an erratic schemer, a whimsical dictator, and a sclerotic recluse. Garlicki's emphasis on Piłsudski's failings and ineptitude leaves the reader astonished that he ever managed to lead a single brigade, let alone an entire nation. He grants to Piłsudski personal charisma and a sense of timing but little by way of success or achievement. In an earlier review in these pages (December 1989) of the fourth volume of Garlicki's original series, I pointed to the danger of replacing one legend with another. In his relentless assault on the icon, Garlicki has accomplished just that.

There is also an ideological tendentiousness to Garlicki's work that Coutouvidis attempts, rather lamely, to attribute to communist censorship. If this were the case, one would expect post-communist edi-

tions to remove references to Lenin's authority on socialist programs and tactical issues. Moreover, Soviet peace propaganda in early 1919 is still presented as fact, which allows the Red Army's drive to the Vistula to be interpreted as an act of self-defense. Finally, in his analysis of Piłsudski's leadership after the coup of May, 1926, Garlicki's language remains hardly distinguishable from that of the dictator's left-wing opponents of the 1920s.

As for the translation, Coutouvidis succeeds in capturing Garlicki's crisp style, but his text contains many errors, especially with place names. Equally irritating is the rendition of Russian names into their Polish rather than English equivalents.

In summary, Garlicki should be commended for recognizing the need for a definitive, scholarly biography of Piłsudski. Unfortunately, it has yet to be written.

ROBERT E. BLOBAUM
West Virginia University

ANITA MAGOWSKA. *Polska prasa studencka w II Rzeczypospolitej* [Polish Student Press in the Second Republic]. (Wydział historii i nauk społecznych, prace komisji historycznej, number 47.) Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. 1994. Pp. 238.

This is a doctoral dissertation that tries to update and correct a number of previous books on the subject of the Polish academic press written during the Communist regime. Anita Magowska points out that, during the years 1918–1939, no fewer than 351 periodicals were published by Polish students. Most of them were ephemeral. The peak of the publishing activity was reached in 1929, when, at an international students' congress, Poland placed fourth as far as the number of such periodicals was concerned. At the next congress, in 1931, one of the Polish periodicals, entitled *Alma Mater Vilniensis*, was awarded a prize for its artistic cover and layout.

Magowska stresses that the academic periodicals reflected the political geography of the country: they were mostly established and financed by the main political parties. This was, in some cases, carefully camouflaged for a variety of reasons. For example, the Communist Party of Poland, an illegal, underground organization subsidized by the USSR, tried to conceal the real ideological inspiration of the periodicals it published for its academic followers.

As a rule, all major political parties manipulated the students' press for their purposes. This was especially true after the seizure of power by Marshal Józef Piłsudski in May, 1926. Soon after the coup d'état, the new regime created a series of allegedly student periodicals to influence the minds of the academic youth. Magowska's book makes fascinating, although occasionally rather difficult, reading for anyone interested

in the political and cultural history of interwar Poland.
M. K. DZIEWANOWSKI
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee

LUCJAN DOBROSZYCKI. *Reptile Journalism: The Official Polish-Language Press under the Nazis, 1939–1945*. Translated by BARBARA HARSHAV. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 199. \$22.50.

This is the last book published by the late Lucjan Dobroszycki, best known for *The Chronicle of the Łódź Ghetto* (1984). In this book, he has gathered together all that is known about the official Polish-language press in the "General-Government," its extent, editorial content, administrative structure, and role in the shaping of Polish opinion. At first glance, this would seem to be a pretty unpromising topic in which to invest a lot of analytical energy. After all, a regime that really did not care whether most Poles lived or died, whose "governor" (Hans Frank) described his domain as a "country of plunder," and whose economic, social, cultural, and political structure was to be "wrecked" was unlikely to devote much time and effort to winning over Polish hearts and minds. Dobroszycki understood that "the Germans really did not intend to win over any Poles for their cause" (p. 46), but he believed that a comprehensive, clearly organized account of the Nazi press in occupied Poland, however marginal its role in policy or its impact, would fill a void in the historical literature and be a useful reference for fellow historians. In the opinion of this reviewer he was correct: this appropriately slim book fills a basic informational void in a clear, thorough, remarkably dispassionate, and in some respects exemplary manner.

Originally, the term "reptile journalism" denoted Otto von Bismarck's practice of planting pro-government stories in cooperative (but otherwise independent) journals in return for financial compensation from a "Reptile Fund" at his disposal. In Nazi-occupied Poland, however, all forms of indigenous Polish journalism were suppressed in 1939. Thus, the various journals that Dobroszycki treats are altogether creations of the occupying authority, "Polish" only in terms of language. They included only eight or nine daily newspapers for the more than twenty million residents of the General-Government (compared to fifty-five in Bohemia-Moravia); total daily circulation averaged about 700,000. Polish collaborationism was not entirely absent, but the Nazis allowed very little scope for its exercise. Polish journalists, most of them young and without prior journalistic experience or political prominence in pre-1939 Poland, worked only under German editors; the contents of this press were basically dictated by German authorities. Dobroszycki discusses some of the editorial shifts and nuances but does not try to exaggerate their significance. There are few real surprises, if we except his startling observation that the anti-Semitic content of the Nazi press was "in form and content . . . no different" from most of the

Polish underground press (p. 119). Only in 1944, as the Red Army was already entering eastern Poland, was something like an independent Polish collaborationist point of view permitted, including the interesting argument that Poles should resist the Red Army because Bolshevik rule would be worse even than German. As for the impact of this press, Dobroszycki considers it "wrong to believe that it had no effect at all" but concedes the impossibility of drawing up an "objective and documented analysis" of any such effect.

Incidentally, the story of this book's research and belated publication in the West is nearly as revealing as its actual contents. It was researched and written in Poland in the 1960s, but authorities there vetoed its publication. It is not readily apparent why this book should have been politically objectionable to Polish Communists, unless it be Dobroszycki's suggestion that Poles did actually read the official Nazi press in defiance of underground orders not to do so. But this should come as no surprise, for they were denied any other source of legal news; there was no Polish-language radio, for example. And as Dobroszycki demonstrates, one could actually learn quite a lot about the course of the war and other developments by reading between the lines of even this strictly controlled and censored press. Dobroszycki, who was Jewish, sought refuge in the West amid the official anti-Semitism that followed the Six-Day War and the Prague Spring, and a German-language version of his work was published in 1977; the present volume is a scarcely modified translation of that work.

RICHARD BLANKE
University of Maine

HUGH POULTON. *Who Are the Macedonians?* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 218. \$29.95.

A little more than a century ago, the thorny problem that became known as the "Macedonian Question" appeared on the European scene. The region in south-eastern Europe became a cockpit of contention, with European powers intervening as the newly established states in the Balkans laid claim to then Ottoman-controlled territory in the name of national redemption. Now the issue has come full circle with the establishment of an independent state bearing a separate identity.

Hugh Poulton's work reflects the changed circumstances as well as the author's particular interests. It is concerned not so much with diplomacy but with the historical development of the Macedonian region, the new state, and the status of its peoples. The answer to the question posed in the title of the book, though not explicitly stated, is that who a Macedonian is (or is not) depends on whom you ask and to what historical era you are referring. Therein lies the problem for the future.

Half of the book is devoted to a historical survey of

the area and the various peoples who have settled there. Covering the time from the beginning of human habitation to the eve of World War II, it sets the framework of the current controversy, which is an accretion of the interaction between time, space, and the movement of peoples refracted through ethnic politics. Based primarily on selected secondary works, this summary account of developments over the centuries highlights but with a bias, some of the key points that need to be considered in examining the Macedonian problem today.

To begin with, this area, like much of the Balkans, has experienced the migration and settlement of many peoples who have maintained distinct identities even while subject to the several large states that controlled all or part of the region at one or another time. Second, by going over this ground Poulton points up the raw material that nationalists have scoured in making (often competing) claims to the territory based on "history." Western Europeans have also had a hand in this business, sometimes adding more smoke than light to the matter. Third, Poulton's account shows that by the end of the nineteenth century, Macedonia was witnessing not only the joining of peoples to nations but the remaking and simplifying of the ethnic diversity that was its hallmark through war, involuntary migration, and the assimilation of peoples.

After a brief chapter on developments during and immediately following World War II, a period in the Macedonian question that needs detailed examination, Poulton devotes the remaining pages of his book to describing the construction of a Macedonian national identity in Tito's Yugoslavia and, ultimately, of a Macedonian state, with the attendant consequences for the peoples and states in the area. He wends his way, with partiality for the Macedonian position, through the dense thicket of ideologically charged politics, nationalist and socialist, in southeastern Europe, linking them to broader affairs during the Cold War. He does not fail to note the role of emigrés (whether positive or negative depends on one's point of view) in the nationalist politics of the Macedonian issue.

This brings us to the crux of the problem regarding Macedonia: the political stance and economic role of states dealing with diverse ethnic communities. It is clear that Poulton is concerned with human beings and their future. He assiduously discusses the situation of the various peoples, from politically dominant groups like the Slav Macedonians to small and vulnerable communities like the Muslim Torbeshi. When it comes to current developments, this becomes rather like a chronicle of anecdotes. Poulton notes, for instance, the "extraordinary rise in nationalism" in Greece (p. 170), but he does little more than offer incidents by way of explaining this development.

Macedonia is not a problem unique in the Balkans or even to the Balkans. In the region, it is closely linked to other areas where ethnic problems exist. Poulton's account raises questions that newly declared

nation-states as well as the long-established ones must confront. What, for example, are the benefits of assimilation against the costs of maintaining and even encouraging ethnic diversity? Can and need ethnic characteristics such as language and religion be equated with national identity? Must ethnicity coincide with territory? But the fundamental issue for states and humankind, of course, is whether people relate to one another as a body of citizens or as ethnic collectivities.

Perhaps because of haste in bringing out a book on this timely issue, there are some typographical errors in the text, and the writing style does not flow well in places. No doubt more original research is needed, resulting in a more balanced account than Poulton's contribution.

GERASIMOS AUGUSTINOS
University of South Carolina

DAVID H. CLOSE. *The Origins of the Greek Civil War.* (Origins of Modern Wars.) New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. xiv, 248.

This book by David H. Close makes a valuable contribution to the Longman series, "Origins of Modern Wars," and to the growing literature on modern Greek history. It will be useful to professional historians and undergraduates. The political narrative focuses on elite decision making among the major foreign and domestic actors in the Greek drama between 1916 and 1949. Close's thesis is that the Greek Civil War was not inevitable. The British Government did not have to give its full support to the return of the king during the Axis occupation. The Communist leadership could have expected British intervention in December 1944, and Stalin and Tito could have acted differently in 1946 by giving full support to the Greek Communist Party. Close argues that the Communists, who were driven more by hatred of those who had previously oppressed them than anything else, decided "unnecessarily on a course leading to war: in September 1943, November 1944, and February 1946" (p. xi). Each decision had long-term consequences for the Greeks. Close claims that Britain was too weak to restrain "its Greek clients in the years 1945-1946" and thus prevent the "slide to renewed civil war" (p. xi). The overwhelming majority of Greeks desired peace in 1944-1946, but fanatics on the extreme left and right took actions that plunged Greece into a spiral of barbarism and cruelty.

Close traces the polarization that developed between 1916 and 1943. Indeed, the first six of the book's eight chapters focus on this period. Close makes extensive use of American, British, and Greek archives (Communist and non-Communist) and of the wave of recently published memoirs, particularly those by former leading members of the Greek Communist Party as well as secondary sources. This territory has been previously examined, but Close presents a fine synthesis with force and clarity.

The Greek Communist Party, according to Close, failed largely because the inexperienced political leadership did not develop a coherent strategy between 1941 and 1949. After the Metaxas regime disrupted the Communist Party and left it in complete disarray, the Communists exploited wartime conditions to become the major military and political force in Greece by 1943. They displaced their rivals, but, as Close points out, the Communists were not strong enough to impose a new system on the country. A political stalemate followed. The Communists followed a dual policy that combined pursuit of the parliamentary path with the selected use of violence. The Communist leadership's belief that it could force its opponents, who were backed first by Germany and then by Britain and the United States, to recognize its political legitimacy by pursuing this dual policy proved illusory and deadly for all concerned.

Close provides new information in a detailed account of the creation and consequences of the "shadow state" (*parakratos*) in chapter six. This "shadow state" rested on anti-Communist secret societies within the Greek Army Officer Corps and gendarmerie that wreaked revenge on the former members of the Communist-led wartime resistance and played no small role in the renewal of the civil war in 1946. Close traces the roots of these organizations to the junior officials of the Metaxas dictatorship who rose to positions of power during World War II. He argues that Metaxas's successful suppression of the Greek Communist Party's empowered it with the legacy of a strong "moral legitimacy and an example of efficient and decisive leadership" (p. 52)—something the Communists themselves never achieved. While the right maintained its popular support through control of the state and distribution of foreign aid, the left maintained a high level of popularity, despite the misery created by the conflict, until 1948. Then exhaustion on the left and decisive American intervention on the right defeated the Communists. Close has produced a balanced history of a turbulent era in modern Greek history that deserves a wide readership.

JOHN L. HONDROS
College of Wooster

CHRISTOPH GASSENSCHMIDT. *Jewish Liberal Politics in Tsarist Russia, 1900–1914: The Modernization of Russian Jewry*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 244. \$45.00.

In this overly compact and at times frustrating book, Christoph Gassenschmidt examines the attempt of Jewish liberals in Tsarist Russia during the first fourteen years of this century to reorient the institutions of the Jewish community, which numbered some five million people. The reorientation assumed several forms. In the first place, liberals sought to replace *shtadlansvo* (the reliance on prominent Jews to protect the interests of their co-religionists by lobbying at court) with direct participation by Jews in the political

process. Such participation gained momentum as a result of Tsar Nicholas's decision in October, 1905, to permit the election of a Duma with substantial legislative powers. No less than twelve Jews served in the First Duma, and their activities in the legislature are discussed at some length by Gassenschmidt. In the second place, Jewish liberals promoted "organic work" within the Jewish community. They took the initiative in founding credit and consumer cooperatives, saving and loan associations, educational institutions such as Jewish artisan schools, a society for the support of Jewish teachers, the Jewish Historiographic Society, and the Jewish Literary Society. A major goal of these cultural organizations was to modernize and secularize Russian Jewry. And, of course, Jewish liberals fought against anti-Semitism and campaigned for legal equality for Jews.

In Gassenschmidt's view, the liberals' achievements were sufficiently impressive to warrant designating the years from 1900 to 1914 as "the cradle for Modern Jewish history in the Tsarist Empire" (p. 141). This is an arresting conclusion, which, unfortunately, he fails to substantiate fully because "further and more detailed examination of the economic situation of Russian Jewry is necessary in order to show to which extent Jewish life in Russia changed" (p. 141).

Still, Gassenschmidt is to be commended for the vast amount of research he has undertaken in Russian and Yiddish sources and for the information he has uncovered on a subject that has so far received relatively little attention. Gassenschmidt is especially effective in portraying the different groups within the Jewish community, each with its own agenda on such questions as religious observance, participation in national politics, Zionism, and the most appropriate language for the Jewish masses. By devoting considerable attention to these issues, the author manages to explain the deep divisions among Jews, several of which have continued to bedevil world Jewry since 1914.

Regrettably, the material in the book is so poorly presented that many readers will give up after a few pages. There is too much emphasis on isolated details, central themes are not properly highlighted, some paragraphs are so long that the reader loses the thread (on pages 107–09, one paragraph runs to two and a half pages), and quite a few sentences are altogether baffling. Part of the problem seems to be that English is not Gassenschmidt's native language. Rigorous editing could probably have turned the study into a readable book on a critical period in modern Jewish history.

ABRAHAM ASCHER
City University of New York

OLEG V. KHEVNIUK. *In Stalin's Shadow: The Career of "Sergo" Ordzhonikidze*. Translated by DAVID J. NORDLANDER. Edited and foreword by DONALD J. RALEIGH. Assisted by KATHY S. TRASCHEL. (The New Russian History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1995. Pp. xi, 193. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Oleg V. Khlevniuk, author of a penetrating study of the Great Terror (1937-*i: Stalin, NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo* [1992]) and an editor of the journal *Svobodnaya mysl'* (Free Thought), is among the most prolific and highly respected young historians to emerge in post-Soviet Russia. In this book, revised and translated from the Russian edition of 1993, he turns his attention to a discrete dimension of Kremlin politics: the complicated relationship between Grigori K. (Sergo) Ordzhonikidze and Josef Stalin. Born to one of the numerous impoverished Georgian noble families in 1886, Ordzhonikidze basically had three careers: as a plenipotentiary of the Communist Party's Central Committee on various fronts during the Civil War and, thereafter, as Stalin's chief point man in Transcaucasia; as chairman of the Central Control Commission of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate during the latter half of the 1920s; and as chairman of the Supreme Council of the National Economy and, from 1932 until his untimely death in 1937, as People's Commissar of Heavy Industry. From 1930, Ordzhonikidze also served as a member of the party's Politburo, and in this capacity as well as because of his Kremlin residence, he "enjoyed" privileged access to "the boss."

High politics in the Stalin era was a game of Russian roulette, particularly after the assassination of Sergei Kirov in December 1934. All Politburo members played it, and quite a few, including Ordzhonikidze, succumbed to its lethal logic. As chief executive officer of the most strategic sectors of the economy, Ordzhonikidze was a stern, at times even brutal, taskmaster with a powerful ("hot") temper. Yet, he had a vested interest in protecting his leading personnel—the heads of departments and directors and chief engineers of the major industrial enterprises—from the NKVD witchhunts for "wreckers" and "saboteurs." Historians (including this reviewer) previously had tracked down public statements by Ordzhonikidze in support of them. Khlevniuk goes one better. Availing himself of the wealth of newly declassified archival material, he shows that on numerous occasions Ordzhonikidze intervened on behalf of his most vulnerable cadres, including those who had been involved in one or another opposition in the past.

The case of V. V. (Beso) Lominadze, who more than once was rescued by Ordzhonikidze, best illustrates how such interventions strained the latter's relations with Stalin. A key figure in the "left-right bloc" of 1930, Lominadze survived condemnation by the Politburo to become secretary of the Magnitogorsk city party committee. In January 1935, he committed suicide after becoming convinced that he would be implicated in the so-called "Leningrad Counterrevolutionary Zinovievite Group." Shortly after Ordzhonikidze's death, Stalin criticized him for hiding his correspondence with Lominadze. "If we had known about Lominadze's waverings," he is reported to have told the Central Committee, "we would have treated him differently and possibly could have warned him and set

him straight . . . If you don't correct small mistakes, you'll invite bigger ones—which can ruin you" (p. 172).

Only slightly less so than Kirov's death, that of Ordzhonikidze (officially reported as the result of a heart attack) has aroused speculation that he was murdered on Stalin's instructions. After weighing all the available evidence, Khlevniuk concludes that he took his own life, an example of what might be called the politics of suicide. Although occasionally speculative, the argument that Ordzhonikidze was a "soft Stalinist"—who opposed terror not on moral grounds but because he recognized that it was counter-productive to the functioning of the command-administrative system—is well made. Khlevniuk refreshingly eschews the prosecutorial approach so much in vogue in the East and West. Admirably translated and containing only a few editorial lapses, this is a sad story that is well told.

LEWIS H. SIEGELBAUM

Michigan State University

JAMES BARROS and RICHARD GREGOR. *Double Deception: Stalin, Hitler, and the Invasion of Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1995. Pp. 307.

On June 22, 1941, at 4:15 a.m., Soviet citizens were awakened by the deafening roar of massive artillery barrages and screeching aerial bombardment. Hitler had finally launched Operation Barbarossa, his attempt to impose a "final solution" on the Soviet Union. The attack had been in the planning stages since the summer of 1940, and Stalin had ample evidence of what the Nazis seemed about to undertake. Yet, because he ignored that evidence, the Soviet Union met the brutal Nazi assault inadequately prepared.

How could Stalin have been maneuvered into a position that magnified the USSR's military disadvantages and nearly resulted in the destruction of his country? The Soviet dictator recognized the existence of significant Soviet-German conflicts in the Baltic states, Finland, Yugoslavia, and the Balkans. He was also aware that German military circles were discussing a possible attack on the USSR. Yet discussion did not necessarily mean attack would result, at least not in 1941. After all, Britain still remained undefeated. Would Hitler risk a two-front war, especially since the USSR was providing such generous material support for the German war effort? Hitler could surely see that a Nazi-Communist war would simply play into the hands of the capitalist Western powers. Nevertheless, Stalin was unprepared to rely completely on Hitler's ability to be logical. Disinformation became a major weapon in the Soviet defense arsenal. By way of the German consulate in Harbin and other outlets, Soviet communications designed to be intercepted provided Hitler with all sorts of reasons why acceptable relations with the USSR should be maintained. Contents of the tainted dispatches included America's growing hostility to Nazi Germany, exaggerations of American

war preparations, and overstatements of British strength in the Mediterranean.

But, as this volume's title indicates, there was a double deception. Stalin's deception was defensive due to perceived weakness. Hitler, on the other hand, was engaged in deception for offensive purposes. The Germans were attempting to convince Stalin that everything he saw or heard that might indicate a possible invasion was a mirage. For instance, the expansion of German troop concentrations near the Soviet border was justified as keeping them beyond the range of British bombers. In the meantime, those troops were secretly being retrained, rearmed, and prepared for an invasion of England in 1941. General Georgy Zhukov confirmed that Stalin believed the Nazi chicanery.

James Barros's and Richard Gregor's book is a spy thriller better than any creative novelist could concoct. Yet none of the deception accomplished the intended goals. Stalin's deceptions were unsuccessful; the invasion took place at monumental cost to the USSR. Hitler gained temporary advantage through his deceit, though more because of Stalin's inflexibility than Germanic cleverness. In the end, however, Hitler's Soviet invasion led to the Reich's destruction.

Perhaps the greatest merit of this book is that it vividly illustrates the shortcomings of Stalin's leadership and the security mechanisms he created for himself and his country. He was so paranoid and suspicious that American, British, French, Czech, Yugoslav, Swedish, Finnish, German, or Polish sources were unbelievable to him when they collectively indicated a Nazi invasion was near. Nor would he believe his own intelligence organizations. Yet somehow he could bring himself to trust Hitler. This blunder was facilitated by the fact that the *Vozdh* surrounded himself with acolytes whose chief purpose was to launder information to make it compatible with the views he already accepted. No one dared to tell the emperor he wore no clothes.

Barros and Gregor will encounter arguments regarding their view that Stalin actually preferred to cooperate with Nazi Germany rather than Britain or France. With a war on the horizon, neither Western government seriously offered Stalin any sort of reasonable lifeline. His only serious alternative came from Hitler via the Nazi-Soviet pact. Also absent is an analysis of the specific impact of the Soviet disinformation on the Nazis. Was any of it believed? Was there an impact on military preparations? Or did Hitler simply ignore everything that might stand in the way of his objective? Finally, with the Soviet archives more accessible to Western scholars, why were these most valuable resources not consulted? Moreover, the Bundesarchiv, Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, and the Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes offer materials beyond what is available in the published sources or the great post-World War II German microfilm collections. Barros and Gregor have provided a good and readable summary of what is already known to the scholarly com-

munity, but a more definitive study of the demise of the Nazi-Soviet pact is still to be undertaken.

JACK R. DUKES
Carroll College

R. C. RAACK. *Stalin's Drive to the West 1938-1945: The Origins of the Cold War*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 265. \$45.00.

Fifty years after its end, World War II continues to exert tremendous fascination on historians, who seem to find various excuses to produce countless volumes dealing with different aspects of that conflict. The last few years have proved especially fertile in this respect, the common excuse being the opening of hitherto closed wartime archives held by the former Soviet Union and its equally former allies, such as Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Poland.

Ordinarily, one would have to applaud the efforts of Western scholars to explore the newly available archival resources. It is clear, however, that the results of this initiative have proved rather meager and did little if anything to force us to revise earlier interpretations of, and conclusions about, the key decisions taken before and during the war. The promised revelations throwing new light on World War II simply have not materialized, and one is tempted to conclude that in many instances a mountain produced a mouse.

Unfortunately, the study under review falls in that category. R. C. Raack has written extensively on the German and Soviet propaganda films and has also authored several articles on Stalin's postwar plans. In his introduction, he strongly criticizes Western wartime political leaders for relying on "faulty information," and he fiercely castigates American historians for their "most confused, uninformed, indeed, downright incorrect historical reporting." The book's jacket makes the extravagant assertion that "the author reveals that the story—widely believed by historians and Western wartime leaders alike—... is a fantasy," which implies that Raack will provide us with the real story.

I regret to say that seldom, if ever, has a promise been less fulfilled than in this case. In discussing the events leading to the outbreak of the war, including the notorious Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, Raack simply repeats the thesis first presented by George F. Kennan in *Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin* (1961): that Stalin's main purpose in signing the treaty with Hitler was not only to gain time and territory but also to prepare the ground for a Soviet invasion of Western Europe in the event of a stalemate between Germany and Britain and France. Stalin miscalculated, there was no stalemate, and in June, 1941, Stalin was suddenly faced with a German attack. To be sure, Raack acknowledges Kennan's work, but he does it rather sparingly. The chapters dealing with the Yalta and Potsdam conferences are based mostly on secondary sources with a sprinkling of archival documents showing little that is new.

All this means that students of World War II who expected to find new information will not find it in Raack's study and will do much better by continuing to rely on the well-tested works of Kennan, John Gaddis, Vojtech Mastny, and William McNeill, the last of whom is not even listed in the bibliography.

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JOHN L. H. KEEP. *Last of the Empires: A History of the Soviet Union 1945–1991*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 477. \$29.95.

In this volume, John L. H. Keep provides an encyclopedic history of the Soviet Union since 1945. He makes no claims to bring new insight to ongoing debates but instead, writing for "the general reader," aims to "sum up what is now generally known" about the Soviet system after Josef Stalin's death (p. 1). Keep succeeds in providing a comprehensive and intelligent survey of the period, but his narrative is marred by a tendency to accept conventional wisdom in the face of complexity and ambiguity.

Keep frames his narrative in terms of the futile efforts made by Stalin's successors to overcome that leader's terrible legacy—the massively wasteful economic system, the backward and oppressed countryside, and the history of terror—without undermining the regime itself. The narrative begins with a short discussion of Stalin's last years, which introduces the reader to the Stalinist system and describes the dictator's brutal efforts to hold back change after World War II. Nikita Khrushchev tried a more reformist course but foundered upon fierce bureaucratic resistance and his own unwillingness to introduce a genuine pluralism that might threaten the Party's leading role. Leonid Brezhnev's unimaginative efforts to preserve bureaucratic prerogatives led to stagnation, corruption, and cynicism but also prompted cultural, national, and religious dissidents to create the beginnings of a civil society. Finally, Keep shows how Mikhail Gorbachev sought to recapture the initiative and trust of the Soviet population by attacking Stalinism at its roots and ended up unleashing the nationalist and other social movements that destroyed the regime.

Keep's methods claim to "avoid abstractions as far as possible and try to depict concrete reality" (p. 5). He is at his best in discussing institutional history, and he offers many cogent analyses of the regime's persistent efforts to improve economic production, its sporadic efforts at reform, and its constant struggle to keep under control the expression of cultural and religious ideas. He also provides copious statistics on economic production, demographic trends, and party membership. Understandably, Keep's narrative excludes foreign policy, though he might have discussed more fully how international events such as the Hungarian revolt of 1956 and the conflict with China affected domestic decisions.

If Keep's methods make good institutional history, they are less able to describe how the Soviet peoples responded to those institutions. His emphasis on official policy and macrosociological statistics allows him to approach "concrete reality" only from above; he cannot depict the different realities confronting individuals within the Soviet population. At best, he offers general conclusions regarding popular beliefs and attitudes obtained by examining the behavior of statistical categories such as "workers," "peasants," or members of a particular nationality, which in effect treats the individuals making up these categories as abstractions. (As an exception, he does deal with the relatively few open dissidents of the regime as individuals.) In many cases, Keep's generalizations are reasonable, as in his account of the Soviet population's widespread retreat into private life under Brezhnev. At other times, he underestimates the deeper, indirect influence that society exercised on Soviet decision-making after World War II. For example, Keep mentions only briefly the argument—which Khrushchev himself maintained in his memoirs—that Khrushchev exposed Stalin's crimes to anticipate and contain a process that was occurring anyway. Reflecting this methodological bias, Keep's only overt venture into theoretical abstraction consists of a defense of the term "totalitarianism" as a description of the Soviet system.

One cannot do justice to the complexities of "concrete reality" without dealing with abstractions. Throughout Keep's narrative, he constantly refers to such terms as ideology, civil society, ethnicity, nationalism, and gender. These concepts are both abstract and contested, yet Keep treats them as part of an unproblematic reality, never even bothering to define them. Consequently, his pronouncements on Soviet nationalities, Soviet women, and Soviet popular culture often look more like summary judgments than thoughtful interpretations.

In short, this book provides an excellent resource for scholars who want a thorough survey of Soviet domestic politics and economic policy after World War II. Readers seeking a history of Soviet culture and society during the period should look elsewhere.

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NEAR EAST

AMY SINGER. *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 201. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

From 1516 until near the end of World War I, Palestine was a part of the Ottoman Empire. Shortly after the Ottoman conquest, the new regime conducted a fiscal survey-census of land and people, just as it had earlier when the Ottomans had moved into Europe and central and eastern Asia Minor. The

surveys provide invaluable demographic information (hard to interpret because they counted numbers of households rather than individuals, raising the question of how many people, on average, belonged to a household). They were also used to set tax rates, principally on agricultural products.

How local Ottoman officials, tax collectors, and endowment administrators (those charged with directing income from assets like agricultural land to charitable purposes) actually performed their duties is revealed by a different kind of documentation. Palestinian peasants and Ottoman officials operated in a network of unequal relations balanced only by the local judiciary, whose members were appointed by the Ottoman sultan but possessed extraordinary power to give relief to peasants, landlords, or endowment administrators. The judges or *kadis* had jurisdiction over and worked with three distinct legal traditions that the Ottomans were pledged to uphold: the *shari'ah* or sacred law of Islam; Ottoman administrative ordinances or regulations (the *kanun*), which theoretically conformed to or at least did not contradict the precepts of Islamic law; and local customary law, usually unwritten but recognized by judges as binding precedent.

Amy Singer uses both the fiscal surveys and the local *kadi* court archives to show how peasants related to tax collectors, officials, and endowment administrators. She also makes good use of the theoretical, legal, and scholarly literature.

This monograph, in six chapters, deals with problems and sources, aspects of authority, rules of local administration, real accounts and accounting (how taxes were paid, based on a study of select villages), the problem of rebellion and oppression, and the interpretation of peasant history. Three appendixes provide detailed information regarding individual villages and their leaders and a somewhat mysterious table of "imams and olive oil" needing more explanation, at least for this reviewer. (Olive oil represented capital-intensive agriculture, was lucrative to producers, gave the government significant tax revenues, and was used to make high-demand export items, like soap.) Among Singer's noteworthy findings is that peasants, far from being voiceless, had frequent recourse to the *kadi's* court. They surreptitiously planted fields away from the tax collector's view and would flee the land if the tax burden became too great. The Ottoman government encouraged cultivation, used the law to compel peasants to stay on the land (those who stayed away for ten years were exempt from being compelled to return), recognized fully that there were limits to how much pressure the peasants could bear, and also recognized the force of customary law. There is no evidence, in sixteenth-century Palestine at least, of extensive revolt against Ottoman rule, which on its face would suggest that while wary of the Ottoman (or any) government, Palestinian peasants (typical of pre-industrial rural populations) lived their lives within Malthusian limits.

Any new departure in historical studies leaves unanswered questions. Singer does not hesitate to acknowledge them. What happened after the sixteenth century, when the fiscal surveys ceased? What changes in routines, tax rates, and commercialization occurred? What happened to the demography of Palestine (Singer suggests that population probably levelled off and even fell by the end of the century)? What were the effects of inflation on the tax code? What about intra-elite conflict between the sultan and his officials which put the peasants in the middle? Singer says that these "tensions . . . derived from the tug-of-war between them for control over revenues produced by the peasants . . . [P]easants were not passive victims or mere spectators in this contest. They participated actively in the struggle, defending the routines established by the sultan and their own custom" (p. 121). Historians have recently "brought the state back in" when discussing society. Singer brings in Palestinian peasants as active participants in their society.

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GIDEON SHIMONI. *The Zionist Ideology*. (The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series, number 21.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Brandeis University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 506. \$59.95.

Academic historiography on Jewish nationalism and nation-building is far younger than the Zionist movement or even the state of Israel. Beginning with classic, comprehensive, but impressionistic studies, Zionist historiography has, over the past twenty-five years, produced a torrent of monographic literature. This literature, and the recent, drastic changes in Israeli political culture that stimulated much of its production, have encouraged new, synthetic studies of the Zionist project and a re-evaluation of its fundamental premises. Such is the framework in which Gideon Shimoni's important book was written.

Shimoni offers a comprehensive study of Zionist thought from the dawn of Jewish nationalism through the establishment of the state of Israel. Based on a careful reading of the published writings of Zionist ideologues as well as a staggering amount of secondary literature, the book attempts to limit itself to what Shimoni calls the "fundamental" as opposed to "operative" dimension of ideology, that is, "the permanent propositions that inhere in the action-oriented system of ideas constituting an ideology" (p. xiv). Shimoni's first chapter responds to the last two decades of research on nationalism, pointing out the extent and limitations of this literature's applicability to the case of Zionism. Given the Jews' obvious longstanding history as an *ethnie*, an ethnic community, Shimoni finds Anthony Smith's *longue durée* approach more useful than the purely functional-modernist stance of Ernest Gellner. Shimoni also adopts Smith's model of nationalist ideology originating as the result of inter-

play between assimilationist and more traditional, but reform-oriented, members of the nationality's intelligentsia.

In the first chapter and much of the second, Shimoni criticizes the vague and often anachronistic concept of "proto-Zionism." Many individuals referred to in earlier scholarship as "precursors" of Zionism, Shimoni argues, in fact subscribed to a Jewish "ethnicism," an ethnic pride holding an intermediate position between unreflective ethnicity and mobilized nationalism. Although in certain individuals "ethnicism" led to "nationalism," it often did not. Moreover, mid-nineteenth-century champions of Jewish settlement in Palestine cannot be considered precursors of Zionism if they did not perceive Jews as "a distinctive entity possessing attributes associated with the modern concept of nation, as well as attributes associated with religion" (p. 52). That is, they must have perceived the Jewish problem as in some sense worldly and not just spiritual. In this regard, the Gaon of Vilna's disciples in Palestine, as well as Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, were not precursors of Zionism. Kalischer, however, was a precursor in a different sense, that of the means by which he hoped to realize his messianic colonization program: an international mobilization of Jewish philanthropic capital and expertise.

The third through the sixth chapters analyze the major streams of Zionist thought as it developed from the 1890s. Shimoni begins with "General Zionism," that is, a Zionism unattached to any specific religious or social ideology. Although Shimoni's discussion of the major pre-1914 Zionist thinkers will be familiar to many readers, Shimoni breaks new ground in his treatment of interwar General Zionism, which was characterized by overarching nationalism, a reluctance to adopt a clearly liberal stance on civil rights or economic issues, and a self-presentation as a "third way" between socialist and Revisionist Zionism.

Even more valuable is the material on "National-Religious Zionism" in chapter four. A major field of research in Israel, the complex relationship between orthodoxy and Zionism is explored almost entirely in Hebrew scholarship, which Shimoni synthesizes perceptively, adding original analyses of some of the less familiar proponents of this stream of Zionist thought. Shimoni's main point here is that the religious-Zionist organization Mizrachi was able to function within the Zionist organization on an operational level, given Mizrachi's acceptance of the notion of Jewish distress which a Jewish national home could alleviate. But the issues of secular Hebrew culture and the role of Halakah (rabbinic law) in the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) were constant sources of friction.

I was troubled by the contrast between the long, sympathetic treatment of the major exponents of Labor Zionist thought in chapter five and the relatively brief and uncharacteristically harsh sixth chapter on Revisionist Zionism. To be sure, Shimoni has good reason to be highly critical of Revisionist Zionism for

its internal contradictions and anti-democratic tendencies; Vladimir Jabotinsky's statement that "every individual is a king" was a populist cover for demagoguery and a personality cult. But Labor Zionism was no less intellectually contradictory than Revisionism, and it certainly had its anti-democratic elements. Moreover, I was disappointed by the book's final section. After several chapters of synthesis, one would like some major analytical perspective to pull the book together. But the penultimate chapter on "Zionism as Secular Jewish Identity" does not offer much more than the argument that Zionism is by definition predicated on an immanent as opposed to a transcendent Jewish identity. The individual analyses of major and minor thinkers that worked well in the earlier chapters begin to lose their utility here. Similarly, what could potentially be the most powerful chapter in the book—the final chapter on the Zionist claim to Palestine in the face of Arab opposition—is more encyclopedic than analytical. Nonetheless, there is some fascinating and timely material on the views of orthodox Zionists during the 1930s and 1940s regarding the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states.

Criticisms aside, this is a valuable, indeed essential, book for its thorough and up-to-date synthesis of Zionist thought. It will be an indispensable reference for students of modern Jewish history and culture.

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ISRAEL GERSHONI and JAMES P. JANKOWSKI. *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 280. \$54.95.

In this book, Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski continue and deepen the analysis of evolving modern Egyptian political and cultural identities that they began in *Egypt, Islam, and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930* (1986). The earlier book explored the establishment of a rather secular territorialist Egyptian nationalism in the 1920s as the dominant mode of political discourse. World War I had removed Ottomanism as an option, "Easternism" was too nebulous, and Islamism and Arabism were not strong enough to mount serious challenges among the dominant, strongly westernized political and cultural elites.

Picking up the story in 1930 with this second book, Gershoni and Jankowski discuss how the failure to achieve national independence in the 1920s, the effects of the depression, the expansion of state education and the bureaucracy, urbanization, and the development of such professions as journalism all helped shape a newly emerging middle class known as the *effendiyya*. Occupying a strategic middle zone between the wealthy landed class and largely foreign big business interests on the one hand and the peasants and urban workers on the other, the *effendiyya* struggled to alter prevail-

ing ideologies to meet their own needs and convictions. Compared to their predecessors of the 1920s, the new *effendiyya* resented the West more deeply, were less financially secure, and stayed in closer contact with the lower classes. By emphasizing Arab and Islamic elements in Egyptian culture, they stood to reach a wider audience than their predecessors, whose secularist vocabulary and stress on continuity with ancient Egypt ("pharaonicism") seemed aloof and distant.

Gershoni and Jankowski devote a chapter each in part one to "Egyptian Islamic nationalism," "integral Egyptian nationalism," and "Egyptian Arab nationalism" in the 1930–1945 period. The first of these found its main expression in Hasan al-Banna's Muslim Brotherhood movement and the second in Ahmad Husayn's Young Egypt. The third, "Egyptian Arab nationalism," cut across party and movement lines. This carefully chosen terminology drives home the point that neither Arabism nor Islamism necessarily or usually excluded Egyptian territorial patriotism altogether. Three chapters in part two take up the application of the ideologies examined in part one to the actual practice of internal and external Egyptian politics of the period. These chapters treat Egypt's relationship to the issues of Arab alliance and the Islamic caliphate, the Palestine problem, and the formation of the Arab League.

The book has many virtues. First, although the time period is narrow, the authors bring a broad range of political and cultural tendencies into the picture. We have separate studies of movements like the Muslim Brothers and Young Egypt, political parties like the Wafd and the Liberal Constitutionalists, and individuals like Sa'd Zaghlul and Muhammad Husayn Haykal. Gershoni and Jankowski combine much-needed synthesis with original research. Second, the book steps back from narrative and analysis of the high formal politics of parties, parliament, palace, and national leaders in order to emphasize the cultural milieu of the press in which ideologies were being created, contested, and recast. Third, unlike many scholars of Egyptian cultural life, Gershoni and Jankowski pay careful attention to feedback: the range of reactions that articles and books generated among various categories of readers. Fourth, the range of Arabic newspapers and magazines consulted—some obscure and largely forgotten—is astonishingly large. This provides a salutary reminder that the "cult of the archive" should not blind us to the mountains of printed sources largely untapped for historical research.

In many respects, Gershoni and Jankowski prepare us well for moving on to the post-World War II upheaval and the revolution of Gamal Abdel Nasser's Free Officers. Against the background the authors have laid out, for example, one can better understand Nasser's seemingly abrupt conversion from Egypt-centered nationalism to pan-Arabism. One is left rather less prepared to understand the post-1945 roles of marginalized Azhari *ulama*, the small but significant Marxist Left, labor unions, women, or rural and provincial politics. But Gershoni and Jankowski have

accomplished well all that could be reasonably expected: they have written a sophisticated, massively researched, and remarkably original study of Egypt in the 1930s and early 1940s from which all students of modern history can benefit.

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COSROE CHAQUERI. *The Soviet Socialist Republic of Iran, 1920–1921: Birth of the Trauma*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, number 21.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1995. Pp. xxvii, 649. \$75.00.

The history of twentieth-century Iran is largely unexplored. Neither under the Pahlavis nor under the Islamic republic could historians delve into archives or publish the uncensored fruits of their research. Iranian scholars, whether living at home or abroad, have often been partisan, while their Western colleagues tended to see Iran from the vantage point of political and economic interests of their own countries. Moreover, few historians, Iranian or foreign, have had the command of languages—Persian, English, and Russian at the least—needed for serious study of modern Iranian history. Cosroe Chaqueri has the linguistic and the scholarly equipment for such a task.

This book deals with an episode in the aftermath of World War I, during which Iran had been occupied by the armies of Russia and Great Britain. Much of the political elite of the nation collaborated with one or the other of the powers, while a smaller group sought German and Turkish support against the Entente. In northern Iran a strongly anti-colonialist movement developed, led by the ardent nationalist Mirza Kuchek Khan. The Jangali movement, so named because it centered in the forests (*jangal* in Persian) of Gilan, was impartially anti-Russian and anti-British, but when the Bolshevik Revolution proclaimed its solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the East and called for the overthrow of the imperialist system, Kuchek Khan entered into an uneasy alliance with Russian and Iranian Communists.

In May 1920, Soviet Russian troops landed at the Iranian Caspian port of Anzali, prudently evacuated by the British. Kuchek Khan and his allies proclaimed the creation of a Soviet Socialist Republic of Iran, better known as the Gilan Soviet. The alliance between the nationalist Kuchek Khan and the Communists did not last, and the Russians soon withdrew their troops. The Jangali movement collapsed, its partisans defeated by troops under the command of an officer of the Iranian Cossack Brigade, Reza Khan, the future shah. Kuchek Khan was brutally murdered and entered the realm of legend.

Chaqueri rightly dismisses most of what has been written about the Jangali movement and its leader. He exposes in detail the biases and outright falsifications in which many Iranian and foreign scholars have engaged. He is particularly severe on Stalinist histori-

ans such as M. S. Ivanov who wrote whatever they were ordered to write by their academic party managers.

The book provides information on the geography and economics of the Caspian region where the Jangali movement originated and had its brief moment in the sun. Chaqueri examines the political program of the movement, its structure, and the role played by its charismatic leader. He discusses at considerable length the involvement of Kuchek Khan with Soviet Russia and with Iranian Communists—the latter constantly attempting to take over an essentially nationalist movement—and shows that incompatibilities and antagonisms within the movement were largely responsible for its defeat.

That defeat, however, became inevitable when Soviet Russia, devastated by the civil war and the economic policies of “war communism,” abandoned its early dreams of provoking a revolution in the colonial world of Asia. Chaqueri documents the Soviet government’s decision to withdraw from Iran, incidentally revealing Lenin’s disdain for the likes of Kuchek Khan.

Russia’s withdrawal was a victory for Britain. The October Revolution, he states, “hardened Britain’s attitude and whetted its appetite for world domination” (p. 64). Given the fact that the Great War had bled Britain white and exhausted its resources, British withdrawal from Iran was a clear sign of weakness. As Chaqueri conclusively demonstrates, however, the British assured that the government of an independent Iran would be friendly, if not subservient, to their interests.

In effect, the chapters that deal with the rise of Reza Khan, his coup d’état, and the establishment of his dictatorship almost constitute a separate book. They are richly documented and come closer to giving a full account of events than anything written before, although there are still many lacunae to be filled.

The concluding chapter leaves empirical history for theories and far-fetched generalizations that are not firmly grounded in the facts so persuasively marshalled throughout the rest of this book. Among minor defects, one might mention the inconsistencies of transliteration and occasional lapses of idiom and grammar. These, however, are insignificant blemishes in an otherwise valuable book that throws fresh light on a crucial moment in the history of modern Iran.

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PARVIN PAIDAR. *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 401. \$59.95.

Parvin Paidar’s book addresses itself both implicitly and explicitly to a paradox common in the history and sociology of women in Muslim lands: neither local nor Western social scientists tend to give much space or attention to women when discussing general topics, and yet discourses about women have been central to

the politics of these countries at least since the nineteenth century. Scholars have echoed local ideologies in relegating women to a private sphere while assuming that important matters like politics and economics were limited to men. Yet, as recent scholarship has shown (especially Leslie P. Peirce’s brilliant *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* [1993]), women were often crucial to state decisions, and this was true in Iran as well. More generally, questions regarding the position of women in society have been central political questions for over a century, and these debates and the state actions that resulted from them are central to Paidar’s able recounting of the role of women in modern Iranian history.

Paidar shows that the pre-modern position of women was much more diverse by religious group, region, and economic mode than is usually granted. For over a century, Iranian intellectual and middle-class nationalists constructed an ideal pre-Islamic Iran with all the bourgeois (or sometimes socialist) virtues they wanted, including a more equal—but not fully egalitarian or feminist—position for women. Both foreign observers and local nationalists stressed the bad position of women as an evil traceable to Islam or, by some, to misinterpretations of “true” Islam.

In Iran, as in several other countries in this century, the wealthier, better-educated women and men became more tied to Western ways and such women became more feminist, participating in feminist activism while poorer women and men and those in more traditional occupations tended to defend older ways. Paidar finds this split already present in the Constitutional Revolution of 1906–1911. It came out dramatically in the 1978–1979 Revolution, when the opponents of forced veiling were mainly bourgeois and their opponents mainly from the popular urban classes.

Paidar traces the achievements and limitations for women of the modernization achieved by Reza Shah (1925–1941) and his son Mohammad Reza Shah (1941–1979). In the latter’s reign, there were two versions of a Family Protection Law that brought new rights for women in marriage, divorce, and child custody; a Minister for Women’s Affairs; a family planning program; and the legalization of abortion. Although most of these achievements were reversed in the early days of the Islamic Republic, Paidar shows how a group of women often called Islamic feminists and their supporters have been able *de facto* to reinstate most of the Family Protection Law’s provisions and to end other discriminatory measures. This builds on her earlier excellent discussions of women activists, organizations, and their achievements, which are often wrongly attributed solely to the shahs.

Paidar’s book shows subtleties in policies on women, indicating that twentieth-century nationalists and socialists were not in practice as egalitarian as a superficial view of their ideas might suggest, nor were Islamists as wholly anti-women as their enemies said. Oppositional nationalists, including liberal-democratic

ones, and different varieties of socialists and communists all tended to postpone work for women's rights to the future, with strictly controlled women's auxiliaries told to work first for the main goal (a phenomenon also common in the West). On the other hand, modernization of women's position had gone so far by 1979 that the Khomeini regime could not totally reverse it, and voting and most forms of education and jobs are today open to women, as are some marital rights. While much remains to be done or even redone, Paidar's discussion makes it clear that much has been accomplished by women activists even since 1979.

Despite its heavy reliance on secondary sources and some errors, the book is a generally reliable and highly informative presentation of the role of women in modern Iran and should be read by all interested in these fields. My main caveat is that, in a strong introduction covering ideological approaches to the topic, Orientalism is reified into an agent, e.g. "Orientalism propagated the notion of Muslim women as slaves." The only persons cited are not Orientalists but missionaries, travelers, and journalists. One (otherwise unknown) such writer is quoted to demonstrate Orientalist prejudice against Iran in the 1906 revolution, while the most prominent Orientalist of his day, E. G. Browne, who was both pro-Iranian and pro-constitutionalist, gets not a word. "Orientalist" is truly becoming a meaningless swear-word when it excludes many who fit its primary meaning and only includes those who have the requisite prejudices (and probably would have had them whether or not they had ever set foot in the Orient). We might almost as well use "sociologist" as a catch-all negative term implying racism, because most sociologists until well into the twentieth century were racists.

This point aside, Paidar's book is to be strongly recommended as a comprehensive and analytical survey with particular strength in the less-known post-revolutionary period.

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AFRICA

JAMES L. A. WEBB, JR. *Desert Frontier: Ecological and Economic Change along the Western Sahel, 1600-1850*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 227. Cloth \$45.50, paper \$19.95.

James L. A. Webb, Jr.'s book is an attempt to examine the history of the southwestern Sahara desert with an eye to its relationship to the Senegal valley. As Webb points out in his introduction, there is a certain arbitrary line that separates historians of the desert from those of the Senegal. The line, he argues, is artificial, and in fact the history of the people on either side of it cannot be understood without taking the whole region as a unit of analysis. By taking a "desert

side" approach to the region's history, Webb adds an important new dimension to our understanding.

One of Webb's central theses concerns the effects of the long drying episode in the Sahara on the human history of the area. Although ecological factors have been considered before, this is the best documented and most thoughtful application of the ecological approach, showing how the drying mixed peoples and led to tensions that had not existed in the region before. Webb then goes on to evaluate how these factors have affected desert-side and Sahel-side history, primarily in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He elaborates carefully how the desert dwellers, both the warrior hassani and the clerical-commercial zwaya, used the situation to benefit themselves but at the same time fell into conflict with each other, as well as with Europeans whose arrival on the coast and subsequent commercial development upset and complicated the affairs of the region. Webb rejects the idea that the arrival of Atlantic traders reoriented the trade of the desert to the Atlantic and seeks to show that it represented a supplement rather than an alternative to the longer desert trade.

Historical chapters are followed by thematic ones devoted to the trade in horses, the impact of European imports on the trade and on warfare in the area, and the horse trade's role in shaping the regional slave trade. Webb advances a modified "horse-slave cycle" that argues that control of horse breeding by desert dwellers gave them a way to extort slaves from the river valley aristocracies on the Sahel side of the frontier. A final chapter discusses the gum arabic trade of the nineteenth century, which grew up and expanded as the Atlantic slave trade declined.

Webb's work is important and provocative, especially to the scholarly tradition that defines a boundary along the present-day Senegal-Mauritania line. It is important for scholars to pay equal heed to what happens on both sides of this line in order to understand either. If Webb overstates his case, as at times he seems to, it is overstatement in service of a larger issue that is worthy of consideration. This book should open new lines of research and scholarly debates.

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PAUL STUART LANDAU. *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann, or David Philip, Cape Town, or James Currey, London. 1995. Pp. xxix, 249. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book deftly traces the overlapping and sometimes conflicting processes by which Christianity was indigenized by the BaNgwato of Botswana during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is a distinguished example of a growing scholarly reaction against the old assumption that the spread of Christianity was primarily the business of European mis-

sionaries and that they dictated the terms on which the religion was accepted or rejected.

In a valuable introduction, Paul Stuart Landau argues that Europe differed profoundly from Africa in treating religion as a specific category of human thought and practice. Nineteenth-century Africans, lacking any comparable concept of this discrete realm, felt free to pick and choose what they wanted from the missionary's trunk-load of doctrine and ritual. What they chose varied for groups and individuals in accordance with historical circumstances, status, and gender. Propagation of new ideas about cosmology, healing, sin, and redemption—the process Europeans called evangelization—was largely the work of African agents, some of whom were recognized by foreign missionaries and some of whom were not. To use the currently fashionable formulation, Africans “made and remade” Christianity to suit their changing circumstances. Landau is frankly hostile to models of historical change that treat conversion to Christianity as something imposed by alien forces. Referring obliquely to the work of anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, he criticizes studies that “evinced a sneaking regret that southern Africa failed to reject at once all those aspects of missionary teachings tagged as hegemonic by scholars” and propagate “the misleading idea that Africans can only make Christianity their own when they have moved towards resistance or revolution” (p. 133). In a series of thematic chapters, he shows that grassroots interactions between missionaries and the BaNgwato involved a continual process of give and take. Some of his examples are very telling. Prohibition against the drinking of African beer owed more to the campaigning of local women than to the Victorian temperance movement. Although such missionary skills as pulling rotten teeth were readily welcomed, people recognized the deficiencies of the European model of “scientific” medicine and elaborated a broader range of healing services as part of their practice of Christianity.

Landau backs up his analysis with an impressive range of written and oral sources, which his command of the Tswana language enables him to interpret convincingly. The stress on language and close reading of dense African discourse throughout the book does not make this an easy text. However, it is necessary to persevere in order to follow one of the central arguments: that chiefly control over the “realm of the Word” created by Christianity held Khama's kingdom together quite as effectively as control of cattle and clientage had served his father. Landau also argues that it enabled Khama to avoid falling either into the hands of Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company or the Union of South Africa. His case might have been further strengthened by more attention to contemporary Madagascar as well as to the Lozi kingdom of Zambia, where the ruler Lewanika set out consciously to imitate Khama's success by enlisting the help of the French Protestant missionary, François Coillard. Nonetheless, this book may be warmly rec-

ommended to anyone seeking new ways of understanding the Africanization of Christianity.

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ALLEN ISAACMAN. *Cotton Is the Mother of Poverty: Peasants, Work, and Rural Struggle in Colonial Mozambique, 1938–1961*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, or David Philip, Cape Town, or James Currey, London. 1996. Pp. xii, 272. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

In large parts of sub-Saharan Africa, researchers in economic history encounter more difficulties and obstacles than they did in past decades. Yet Allen Isaacman's book on Mozambique's cotton industry in the time of the Portuguese colonial regime is a major exception. This research could not have been done at an earlier time, either in the colonial era when it would have been prohibited or for a long, post-independence period because of the violence in the area.

The book is an analysis of the coercive Portuguese policy that required the farmers of Mozambique to grow cotton and of the farmers' resistance to the policy. Isaacman's achievement lies in the thoroughness of his account, which is much more detailed than the studies of contemporaneous cotton projects in many other parts of the continent.

Isaacman explains that colonial Mozambique's compulsory cotton policy was larger than that of any other territory except the Belgian Congo (which furnished the model for the Portuguese scheme). It was the longest-lasting of the African colonial schemes, and it also featured a rare degree of intense intervention. This involved forced growing on land selected by the authorities, daily work schedules and quotas, low fixed prices, concessionary companies for seed distribution, processing and overseas sale, and the enthusiastic support of Portugal's long-time dictator, António Salazar. Concessions were widely distributed, farmers were legally obligated to grow the crop on part of their land, and indigenous leaders were co-opted by a share in the spoil. The work load fell heavily on women, particularly in areas where husbands had taken jobs elsewhere, such as in South Africa's mines. To cope with their new obligation, often they had to extend their work day, utilize more child labor, and shift to food crops requiring less labor input. All this happened even though, rather remarkably and unfortunately for the future of the scheme and its participants, Mozambique was not particularly well suited to cotton production.

With cotton prices deliberately kept very low, production had to be policed by the concessionaires' agents and overseers, who had effective police power. The highly unfavorable economic returns to cotton growers, the decline in food production, impoverishment, and hunger caused in some areas by the directed use of land and the negative human reaction to coercion led to resistance. This had to be subtle, but

even so it reduced output. Farmers sometimes intercropped illegally, withheld labor, skipped tasks, or decamped; they committed sabotage by boiling the seed to render it sterile; and, in a nice touch, they capitalized on overseers' lack of knowledge by singing work songs that, unknown to the auditors, were insulting. One example: "We are fed up from suffering under the Portuguese. We are being tortured by cotton. We are fed up from suffering under the Portuguese." And another: "This monkey is stopping here, why? He is stopping here because he has nothing else to do" (pp. 223–24).

Over the years, the colonial authorities implemented various measures of reform. But not until 1961 was the system of forced cotton cultivation eliminated. As Isaacman notes, cotton is still considered the "mother of poverty" by Mozambique's farmers, even though at certain times and places the fiber has been more profitable than competing crops. Rural families have avoided growing it. Understandably, there is a taint on it.

For a piece of work to qualify as a model study of African agricultural history, I consider that there are several essentials. The analyst should choose subject matter that is interesting and illustrative of important policy principles; should have thorough familiarity with the archival materials in Europe and Africa; should make a major effort to acquire oral testimony, using sensitivity and skill in conducting the interviews to tease out detail that might not otherwise be offered; should be aware that the effects of taxation, tenure, and regulation policies may be far from straightforward; should integrate the available economic data so that it clearly contributes to the flow of the narrative rather than standing alone; should exhibit a certain degree of self-skepticism with frequent questioning of one's own conclusions; and, finally, should link the case under study to the wider experience elsewhere with the same commodity. Isaacman's work passes these tests easily, except for the last item. Readers wanting to make comparisons will want to look elsewhere—but they will not have to move very far in the card catalogue, for Isaacman's edited volume (with Richard Roberts), *Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1995), will supply the need. In short, this is a model study of a colonial campaign of coercion in cotton-growing.

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ASIA

ROGER R. THOMPSON. *China's Local Councils in the Age of Constitutional Reform 1898–1911*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 161.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 262. \$38.00.

In this book, Roger R. Thompson explores one of the early, tentative steps taken toward the still unfulfilled dream of Chinese democracy. In the last decade of its existence, the Qing dynasty (1644–1912) embarked on a belated and ultimately unsuccessful effort to preserve its rule through a series of reforms, including an effort to transform a two-millennia-old autocratic/absolutist tradition of imperial government into a constitutional monarchy. Even before constitutionalism became the last, best hope for the dynasty's survival, the Qing court sought ways to bring about changes in local administration and its relationship to central power. Thompson explains that although the model for new local self-government bodies chosen by the central bureaucracy was based on a 1907 prototype created in Tianjin that emulated Japanese and Western institutions and was backed by Yuan Shikai, the powerful military leader who was serving as Zhili provincial governor, an earlier approach championed by Shanxi governor, Zhao Erxun, was much more in tune with the realities of Chinese society and the nature of local leadership. Choosing the approach backed by Yuan was to have fateful consequences for the reform movement, the dynasty, and the imperial system itself. Thompson's concern is to explore these early manifestations of the local self-government reform movement and to analyze the failure of the Qing effort to create a model of local self-government that could achieve legitimizing and centralizing results similar to those of Meiji Japan.

After concise presentations of the contributions of Zhao and Yuan in fostering different visions of local self-government, the three central chapters of the book outline the tripartite struggle among the central bureaucracy, provincial power-holders, and elites at the basic levels of Chinese society. The issue was joined over the definition of "local" and, by extension, over whether the reform would serve to concentrate political power at the upper levels of the system or distribute it more evenly. The final two chapters show how the central government's unwillingness to cede more than nominal control to local governments and the blindness of modernizing reformers to the implications of the corporate nature of traditional Chinese society and to the complexity of local elites doomed this crucial aspect of the reform program. In passing, it should be noted that Thompson's book implicitly demonstrates that previous scholarly work on the late Qing as well as on the entire late imperial period has been hampered by a similarly simplistic understanding of the nature of local elites.

Earlier studies have focused on other representative bodies with greater visibility, such as provincial assemblies. Thompson has tapped previously unavailable or under-utilized sources, in particular provincial government gazettes and provincial reports on constitutional reforms. These materials allow him to argue, convincingly if perhaps not quite conclusively, that the struggle to establish and control the local council was as prevalent and crucial a feature of the late Qing

political reforms as the more well-known provincial assemblies. Even more important, his study shows that Beijing's decision to emphasize unity, uniformity, and centrality to the neglect of local concerns contributed mightily to the failure of the local self-government movement and, ultimately, to the fall of the dynasty. Thompson's contributions inject a renewed vigor into the study of late Qing reforms and show that in taking seriously the local council movement, we can understand better not only the failure of Qing reforms but also the inability and indeed the unwillingness of subsequent Chinese regimes in this century to create genuinely representative political systems.

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R. KEITH SCHOPPA. *Blood Road: The Mystery of Shen Dingyi in Revolutionary China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 322. \$40.00.

Historians, like alchemists, must always ponder the mixture of ingredients that makes up the historical process. How much of human action is based on the personality and how much is predicated on the uncontrollable flow of events are often questions of degree. It is particularly difficult to assess in times of revolutionary change such as occurred in China during the greater part of this century. In his nuanced and original work, R. Keith Schoppa brings a wealth of research and insights to illuminate this persistent intellectual dilemma.

The book works on several levels. On one level, it examines the last dozen years of Shen Dingyi's life, paralleling the changes he personally went through with the tumultuous transformations experienced by revolutionary China. On another level, the book is almost a tactile spiral layering interpretive analyses of intellectual developments, spatial and personal networks, and situational determinants. The stylistic dimensions of the book include elegant translations of Shen's writings, both prose and poetry. The book's title, for example, is taken from Shen's poem "Death." The tone of the book and its arguments are strengthened by Shen's eloquence.

Who was Shen Dingyi? According to Schoppa, he was both an actor in and a symbol of the nationalist revolution of the 1920s. Born to a rich landlord family, Shen was very tied to his local place. His assassination in Yaqian (1928) may have been the outcome of resentment generated by several activities and positions that Shen had held during the last ten years of his life: provincial political representative, New Culture Movement arbiter in Shanghai, radical educator and leader of a local farmers association, participant in the founding of the Communist Party, anti-Communist Western Hills faction participant, and a purge leader in Hangzhou for the 1927 coup. In the midst of this quick-paced tour of Shen's political and social activ-

ism, Schoppa is careful to portray the complexities of his personality.

Among the broader historical themes explored in the work are the substantive changes in outlook brought about by the New Culture Movement and their conflict in practice as they competed with older modalities of behavior such as relying on personal, educational, and location-based networks. Another key motif is the tension between centralization and decentralization, with Shen himself asserting that rural change must take place at the local level. Schoppa's work challenges the *pro forma* acceptance of terms: labels of leftist, rightist, X faction, Y faction at a post-1920s valuation. In fact, although labels were used at the time, they did not necessarily correlate with the reality of belief.

A book with an ambitious approach, its success in creating new interpretations perforce generates areas that are in need of greater clarification. Schoppa's previous work on Zhejiang, *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (1982), made excellent use of tables to illustrate the patterns of elite networks. This study, too, would have been significantly enhanced by more graphical representation of the flow and linkages between the networks discussed. Another dilemma is posed by the fact that, although Schoppa documents an intensive series of changes in his subject's life, the reality of human identity is that it may take many years to absorb the meaning and consequences of one's actions. Shen spent only relatively brief periods in Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Yaqian, moving back and forth, changing his official positions, foci of activities, and ideas. Schoppa is conscious of this, but he sometimes implies a more linear development of identity and action than one suspects occurred in such a short space of time. Finally, there are the negative aspects of Shen's twisting to different factions and ideas, culminating in the purging of former associates. Particularly controversial was the death of Shen's former protégé, Xuan Zhonghua, which, Schoppa points out, was not ordered by Shen. On the contrary, had Xuan been captured in Shen's domain, it is likely that he would have been sent to a reeducation center. Yet one must ask, did Shen work to save his former protégé? This raises a very important issue: how did the violence of 1927 qualitatively change revolutionary identity and the nature of the post-1927 revolution? Party expurgation, political polemics, and demonstrations are not the same as the active killing of enemies. As Schoppa points out, Shen was perhaps the most nonviolent of the purge leaders, but he did support the regime in its violence against allies who had cooperated in the Northern Expedition. Perhaps Shen's aesthetic obsession with suffering, blood, and death reflects an awareness of his culpability and its moral consequences. In Schoppa's innovative chapter on who might have killed Shen, there is an implicit acknowledgement of personal ambivalence

that provokes one to wonder about Shen's complicity in his own murder on that fateful day in Yaqian.

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CHEN JIAN. *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation*. (The U.S. and Pacific Asia: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Interaction.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 339. \$37.50.

Armored in arrogance, General Douglas MacArthur, United Nations commander in Korea, could scarcely conceive that Chinese Communist armies would massively intervene in the war he seemed on the verge of winning in October 1950. Instead of cringing before American military power, however, Mao Zedong welcomed confrontation with the country he deemed China's implacable enemy. The core thesis of Chen Jian's authoritative and compelling study is that the Sino-American armed conflict in Korea was rooted in the almost instinctive antagonism between an assertive, revolutionary China determined to play a great power role and an anti-Communist, hegemonic America that despised China and sought to contain its influence.

Building upon the recent work of scholars like Michael Hunt and Kathryn Weathersby, Chen marshals fresh evidence from numerous Chinese sources—including memoirs, documentary collections, and personal interviews—to achieve a richer and more nuanced understanding of China's involvement in Korea than anyone before him. He rightly insists on the need to view China's Korea policy in the domestic and international contexts that helped shape the concerns of its leaders. Specifically, Mao and his comrades were determined to conquer Taiwan, to accelerate the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) revolutionary transformation of Chinese society, and to support fraternal revolutionary movements in Asia, particularly in Vietnam and Korea. The pursuit of these objectives put the CCP on a collision course with Washington. The Sino-American crisis in Korea was the culmination of growing enmity between the United States and the CCP dating from the collapse of the Marshall mediation effort in late 1946. For this reason, Chen concludes, "there was little possibility that China's entrance into the Korean War could have been averted." (p. 5) In developing this theme, he demolishes the once popular notion that, but for Korea, the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) might soon have reached a political accommodation. Rather, Mao's policy of "leaning to one side" was the epigrammatic expression of a concerted and, on the whole, successful effort to align revolutionary China with the Soviet Union.

Chen's study depicts Mao and his associates as much more proactive than was earlier thought and offers a much broader definition of the PRC's revolutionary and national interest in the Korean War. In *China*

Crosses the Yalu (1960), the first serious book on the subject, Allen S. Whiting argued that a defensive concern for protecting the security of its vital northeast (Manchurian) border underlay China's decision for war. Emboldened by MacArthur's brilliant Inchon landing, the Americans advanced toward China's Yalu River boundary, intent on unifying Korea under Syngman Rhee. When Peking's repeated warnings were dismissed as mere bravado, the Chinese followed through on their threat to intervene in order to protect their own territory.

What Chen demonstrates is that China actually began its war preparations many weeks before Inchon shifted the initiative in the Korean War from Pyongyang to Washington. Mao initially intended to weigh in on Kim Il Song's side in order to accelerate the Communist unification of Korea and speed the larger revolutionary transformation of Asia, a process in which China claimed the leading role. The defeat of the American-led coalition, Mao believed, would demoralize world reactionary forces. At the same time, the CCP could use the Korean crisis to galvanize the Chinese people into active support of the regime. Inchon altered China's calculus of intervention, transforming a revolutionary forward policy into a defensive necessity. Chen confirms Mao's central role in the story. After subduing his own demons, the Chairman forcefully countered the doubts of comrades chary of confronting the American colossus and forged a shaky consensus for intervention.

Chen's patriotic reading of the benefits China (read Mao) supposedly derived from its role in the Korean War is highly questionable. The standoff in Korea that China called victory fed Mao's hubris and power and, in combination with many other factors, led to the series of domestic and foreign policy disasters that marked his rule and exacted such an exorbitant price from the Chinese people.

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JEAN-LUC DOMENACH. *The Origins of the Great Leap Forward: The Case of One Chinese Province*. Translated by A. M. BERRETT. (Transitions: Asia and Asian America.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xvii, 212. \$54.95.

Originally published in French in 1982 but only recently translated into English, this book takes a major step forward in explaining the origins of the Great Leap Forward. As Jean-Luc Domenach reminds us, "The Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution are two high points of the history of the People's Republic of China" (p. 137). In many ways, the Great Leap Forward (1957–1958) was even more bizarre and more catastrophic than the Cultural Revolution (1966–1969). Practically the whole, vast population of China was mobilized into a misguided, frenzied effort to overtake the advanced industrialized countries and to create a socialist utopia. The result was destruction

of the economy and the worst famine of the twentieth century, a disaster that claimed between fifteen and thirty million lives. Recriminations over who was responsible for the disaster and arguments about what should be done about it set the stage for the second great cataclysm of the People's Republic, the Cultural Revolution. Yet, whereas the Cultural Revolution has produced a "dense and detailed literature, the story of the Great Leap Forward still largely remains to be written" (p. 137).

The main reason for this lack is a paucity of reliable sources. Victims of the Cultural Revolution eventually published many graphic memoirs of the madness, but those most affected by the Great Leap—who were mostly peasants—produced no such literature. One cannot tell such a dramatic story about the Great Leap. Domenach is himself unable to overcome this deficit. He devotes only twenty pages to the Great Leap proper. His main concern is with the origins of the Great Leap. This is a topic that can be researched, though not without considerable difficulty, and Domenach does a brilliant job of squeezing a coherent causal account out of the available sources—mostly provincial newspapers.

He focuses on Henan Province, where the most radical Great Leap innovations began. By analyzing what made Henan special, he can isolate some of the most important causes of its ill-starred innovations. The main causes are to be found in the Party apparatus. By the time of the Great Leap, Henan's leaders were the most easily manipulated by the party leaders in Beijing. The Party Center had a completely unrealistic view of conditions in the countryside. Instead of trying to bring inconvenient facts to the attention of the Center, the heads of the Henan Party apparatus encouraged the Center's illusions and competed to become the most active in carrying out the Center's misguided wishes.

The reasons why Henan's leaders were so compliant lay in the particular outcomes of some intra-party factional struggles too complex to summarize here. But Domenach argues that the compliance of the Henan apparatus was exceptional only as a matter of degree. All provincial apparatuses were compliant enough to carry out the Center's mad designs eventually. Domenach's history of the origins of the Great Leap thus culminates in a political sociology of the Maoist regime. The structure of power in that regime directed all attention and all allegiance to the Center. When, by the mid-1950s, the regime's policies started to spark all too obvious resistance by ordinary people, controversies over how to handle such resistance engendered factionalism within the Party apparatus. Because of the structure of that apparatus, the only way for a faction to win was not to attempt to solve the problems emanating from the grassroots but rather to demonstrate extreme loyalty to the Party Center, thus ensuring that the alienation between Party and masses would continually increase. The Party was trapped in a vicious circle that eventually led to the disaster of the

Great Leap Forward and, finally, to the Cultural Revolution.

It is a sad, sordid story that Domenach tells, a story of bureaucratic cynicism, opportunism, and manipulation, with no room for the idealism or ideological commitment that has often been associated with at least the early years of the Maoist regime. Perhaps this is because Domenach focuses on what was then the most cynical part of China, the unprincipled careerists who often populated mid to upper levels of its bureaucratic apparatus. Unfortunately, because of the very structure of the Chinese state, the cynics were all too able to triumph. The voices of well-meaning idealists are the voices of victims, and, for now at least, they lie silent under the wreckage of the Great Leap Forward.

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CRAIG CALHOUN. *Neither Gods nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 333. \$37.50.

Of the dozens of accounts of the 1989 student-led democracy movement in China, Craig Calhoun's is one of the most thoughtful. In the spring of 1989, Calhoun was on leave from his position at the University of North Carolina and teaching at Beijing Foreign Studies University. He was thus an actively engaged eyewitness to the extraordinary two months of popular protests in Beijing and an observer trained in scholarly analysis of social movements. His book reflects this dual experience: the first half narrates the development of the student democracy movement, including its social roots and cultural background, and the second half analyzes the sources, interpretations and implications of the protesters' actions.

Those who have not taught in China should be reminded of Chinese students' traditional devotion to their teachers, especially when those teachers are "foreign guests," a custom even more pronounced in the heady weeks of the pro-democracy demonstrations, when classes and "business as usual" were suspended. Calhoun was blessed by a cadre of student volunteers who gave him access to meetings and marches, translated "big character posters," explained subtleties of government and Communist Party politics, and allowed him to participate in the debates and soul-searching that dominated the lives of virtually all intellectuals—and many ordinary citizens—of Beijing in the spring of 1989.

Calhoun's book reflects the immediacy of direct witness. His narrative in the first half relies on a variety of first-person observations, including his personal anecdotes as well as citations from student leaders' memoirs, news footage, and foreign journalists' eyewitness accounts. The chronology it reports is available elsewhere, but this version is one of the more readable and vivid. Calhoun's account places the students in the

foreground and does not claim to represent the views of workers' organizations, older or government-connected dissidents, Party leaders, activists outside Beijing, international groups, or other participants.

The analytic second part of Calhoun's book, on the sources and meanings of the movement, maintains the "on site" perspective but probes some of the questions many observers were asking. He explains the students' dramatic risk-taking by the dynamics of the six-week process of the movement; he attributes much of their commitment to the rise of Chinese patriotic nationalism to fill the void left after general disillusionment with socialism; he accounts for their rhetoric by comparing the Chinese version of the words of the "Internationale" to lyrics of popular rock songs by Cui Jian. Calhoun chides Western journalists who criticized Chinese students for not giving articulate definitions of "the meaning of democracy" (p. 244) that the journalists themselves could not offer: in response, he conducted his own survey of demonstrators in the streets and found a significant and thoughtful consensus—for example, that the vision of democracy shared by students and ordinary people alike gave higher priority to civil liberties and economic justice than to free elections (pp. 244–49).

Although he mentions problems in the student leadership, Calhoun takes a less critical stance than other recent writers and documentary filmmakers have done; although he explains citizens' resentment of "corruption," he analyzes it less thoroughly than China specialists have; although he comments on the growth in the 1980s and 1990s of a notion of democratic and entrepreneurial "civil society" in China, he treats the topic more superficially than have some of the exiled Chinese dissident intellectuals. But the general reader will be stimulated and informed by Calhoun's sympathetic discussion of the "Chinese identity crisis" of the 1980s, the dilemmas of the "in-between" generation, the role of Chinese journalists who experienced a short-lived period of editorial freedom in May 1989, and the remarkable successes of the movement.

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ARNE KALLAND. *Fishing Villages in Tokugawa Japan*. (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, number 69.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 1995. Pp. 355. \$38.00.

Since all students of Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868) recognize that the great majority of Japanese during these years were engaged in agriculture, the study of agrarian society during the Tokugawa period has attracted appropriate scholarly attention. Urban populations have also received much attention, but little consideration has been given to another very substantial segment of the population: those who lived by fishing. This group may have consisted of ten percent of the men (and a smaller number of women) in coastal villages.

David Howell's *Capitalism from Within: Economy,*

Society and the State in a Japanese Fishery (1995), which examines the Hokkaido fishery from the Tokugawa period, has gone some distance in addressing this research gap. Arne Kalland treats the topic more comprehensively, although his, too, is a local study. Kalland, a social anthropologist, examines the Tokugawa-era structure of coastal villages in what is now Fukuoka Prefecture, placing his findings within the broad context of economic history. This entails attention to a range of issues including demographics, social structure, fishing methods and technology, resource management, and government administration.

Providing a rich, textured description of coastal villages, Kalland argues that such communities were hardly autonomous but rather "firmly integrated" into domainal administration (p. 27). He traces how heavy taxation throughout the period produced impoverishment in these villages that led to economic reforms and encouraged "new kinds of social integration" facilitating the subsequent "modernization" of the Meiji era (p. 8). He discusses in particularly rich detail the private credit associations (pp. 276–86) generated to reduce impoverishment. I remain unsure of what "modernization" is supposed to entail, but Kalland certainly establishes (p. 303 and elsewhere) that wage labor, and capitalist relations of production in general, were becoming prevalent in Fukuoka coastal villages.

The encyclopedic quality of this work ensures that it will be standard reading for years to come. But this strength sometimes becomes a weakness. Often, conflicting evidence is presented in Kalland's wealth of material, without a satisfying effort to resolve the contradictions. On page 251, for example, Kalland notes that "the payment of taxes" to domainal authorities "brought about poverty" in coastal villages. But he adds that "much wealth remained in the coastal villages" and concludes that "It is difficult to say anything definite about how close the total tax burden brought the villagers to the poverty line."

At one point Kalland avers that there is "little reason to believe that people were oppressed" (p. 13); but he later notes that "the population was brought close to starvation by the appropriation of the authorities of the economic surplus" (p. 211). Does this not constitute oppression?

Some of the points I found most interesting, such as the establishment of "immigration offices" to control labor migration (p. 29) and the assertion that monopolistic fishing groups were forced by public pressure to engage unemployed fishermen (p. 162), are not very well documented. Other problems may reflect hasty editing: there are numerous typos, the romanization of Japanese proper nouns is sometimes inconsistent, and the English prose is sometimes awkward.

But I must reiterate that this is a very substantial and important study of communities of working people too long neglected by Western scholars of Japan. It reflects the growing sophistication of Tokugawa studies in the West and will be of tremendous interest to anyone studying early modern Japanese society and/or fishing

communities and village societies in world-historical perspective.

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JAMES C. BAXTER. *The Meiji Unification through the Lens of Ishikawa Prefecture*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 165.) Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University; distributed by Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 358. \$38.00.

James C. Baxter's twofold purpose in this study is to demonstrate how Japan's modern national integration succeeded at the subnational level, and to argue that the central government did not over-rely on absolutist methods in realizing this achievement. He uses Ishikawa's swift transformation, from a domain largely subject to the particularistic rule of the local samurai lord in 1868 to a thoroughly modern prefecture administered by national laws by 1888, to deliver this message.

In a sense, Japan's very existence since 1868 as a powerfully centralized state proves Baxter's case. After withstanding a rebellion in 1877, the Meiji central government continued to create and competently administered a complex political, economic, and diplomatic system. The manifold fruits of Tokyo-directed nation-building became manifest by the early twentieth century in social stability, economic growth and industrialization, and recognition as an internationally powerful nation. The before-and-after Meiji changes are undeniable. Nevertheless, pesky issues of borders, typicality, and interpretation of evidence raise questions about Baxter's explanation of how Japan got from there to here.

As for borders, the dust jacket of Baxter's work displays a silhouette map of Ishikawa. The problem is that it also represents an *Anschluss* of Ishikawa with its neighboring prefecture, Toyama, which existed as an separate domain or prefecture during much of the period covered in this study. Indefiniteness about boundaries goes beyond the book's cover; throughout this study, Ishikawa is at times discussed as an entity represented by its present-day borders and at other times as the mega-prefecture that once existed in conjunction with Toyama and Fukui prefectures. The issue is significant because the eventual permanent division of greater Ishikawa into independent prefectures resulted from salient demographic, political, and economic differences. Any fuzziness over where Ishikawa ends and its neighbors begin—or inattention to the origins of prefectural borders—suggests some distortion in the lens used to view Meiji unification.

Ishikawa's typicality poses a related problem. Unlike even nearby prefectures, Ishikawa had a large ex-samurai population whose stipends absorbed over ninety percent of the prefectural budget in 1872 and 1875 (p. 76). Former warriors also dominated top political appointments during early Meiji (p. 69). These two facts not only make Ishikawa distinctive but also suggest why the prefecture (or at least the Ka-

nazawa castle town-centered part of it) was so tractable in enforcing central directives.

Such cooperativeness was not always evident even within the regions Baxter sometimes includes as components of Ishikawa prefecture. At the edges of Kanazawa's pale, we find a massive peasant uprising in 1869, an active "liberal" party movement in the early 1880s, and opposition politicians arrested for treason after conspiring to overturn the Tokyo government in 1885. These episodes, largely ignored in this study, leave hanging the question of which aspects of Ishikawa's experience genuinely typify the local process of national integration.

Baxter's use of evidence to argue against the depiction of early Meiji as an age of "emperor-centered absolutism," curiously enough, worked to convince me otherwise. As a conscientious political and economic historian, he carefully demonstrates that the central government controlled virtually all land tax revenues (p. 84). He also shows that Tokyo crafted laws that left "little scope for independent action on the parts of towns and villages" (p. 105), made even village headmen agents of the central state (p. 173), used the police to silence individual critics (p. 210), and, in 1884, destroyed a potential united front of prefectural assemblies opposed to Tokyo by banning correspondence among and joint action by these bodies (p. 175). Perhaps Baxter is right in denying that absolutism was emperor-centered and that it developed according to a predetermined master plan. Nevertheless, his thorough description of the laws, finances, and personnel arrangements undergirding the Meiji subnational system leaves one wondering: if we don't call the new order "absolutist," what term might better describe it?

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JOSHUA A. FOGEL. *The Literature of Travel in the Japanese Rediscovery of China, 1862–1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvii, 417. \$49.50.

Since at least the middle of the Edo period, the Japanese have been prolific writers of travel narratives, first for Japan itself when the country was closed to foreign contact, and subsequently for Europe, the United States, and Asia, most notably China. Joshua A. Fogel has examined a subset of this genre, works on China that appeared as books, extended pamphlets, published diaries, or serialized newspaper accounts in the period from 1862 until the end of World War II.

In discussing this literature, Fogel pursues three primary points. First, Japanese engagement with the Chinese reality of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is set against a scholarly and romanticized vision of ancient China, an engagement that is further mediated by Japanese modernization along Western lines. Second, Fogel offers an extensive bibliographic introduction to the literature itself. Third, he uses examples from the literature to provide insights about China and the Chinese in this period.

Of these three points, it is the second that is most fully developed. Building on the work of several Japanese and Chinese scholars and librarians, Fogel has examined hundreds of works in this genre, offering concise and sometimes critical descriptions of their contents. In so doing, Fogel has doubtless produced what will be the definitive English-language introduction to this material and an important reference for those doing research on Chinese regional and urban history. Those working on Japan will find added perspective on figures such as Natsume Soseki and Akutagawa Ryunosuke through their largely unknown writings on China.

At the same time, Fogel's bibliographic comprehensiveness makes for rather tough going in spots. A series of paragraph-length descriptions of what otherwise unknown Zen priests, military officers, or representatives of provincial trade associations had to say about China rapidly becomes tedious, especially because, as it turns out, much Japanese writing about China had very little new to say. As Fogel points out, for many writers, going to the same places and recounting the names of previous Japanese visitors to the same spot was an all-too-large part of the genre.

Longer quotations from those who did have something novel or penetrating to say would have given this work a more general appeal. Some of the few women writers in this genre had an eye for aspects of contemporary China missed by the often more formulaic male writers. Similarly, businessmen seem to have "shown a sense of openness and a regard for equitable dealings with the Chinese unsurpassed in the medium of travel writing, as well as a respect for the continuity of Sino-Japanese friendship" (p. 242). This is in line with my own reading of accounts in Japanese trade papers and business magazines but at odds with the picture of Japanese businessmen active in China presented in left-wing Japanese scholarship. As Fogel shows, many leftists viewed contemporary China and its degradation through formulas that, without much adjustment, fit into the grand scheme of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Again, more quotations and cross-comparison would have shown the significance of travel literature for Japanese thought in these years.

Similarly, Fogel's argument that the Japanese coupled an admiration for ancient China to an ambivalence toward contemporary China and Chinese, although interesting, is inherently incomplete. This pattern of thought was reflected in travel writing, but it had its greatest impact in the gross inability of politicians and their intellectual advisors, especially during the Konoe years, to understand contemporary Chinese nationalism. A more explicit discussion of the possible linkages between attitudes in the travel literature and Japanese policy toward China would show the potential of this literature as a source for new insights on Japanese thought.

Finally, it would have added to the work to have had some discussion of post-World War II Japanese travel writing on China. After the war, "friendship missions"

to China were much in vogue. Although these missions were often couched in a mixture of atonement and a desire to make up for past misreading of China, it is not clear that travelers were any more objective or any less free of cultural and ideological conceits than when they had visited China on all-expenses-paid trips courtesy of the Japanese military or the South Manchurian Railroad. Being naive and subject to governmental blandishments is not a peculiarity of Japanese intellectuals. Fogel notes in his conclusion the now embarrassing readiness of American leftist scholars to go to China during the Great Cultural Revolution and see what their hosts wished them to see. Rather more development of this theme would have provided useful reminders of the ease with which intellectuals and scholars who imagine themselves to be objective can and do easily lose that objectivity for both left and right-wing regimes.

EARL H. KINMONTH
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BYRON K. MARSHALL. *Learning to Be Modern: Japanese Political Discourse on Education*. (New Perspectives on Asian History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1994. Pp. xv, 320. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

This is the first substantial survey of modern Japanese education in thirty years. It is not a treatment that will satisfy education professionals looking for teaching tips. Byron K. Marshall acknowledges that he does not deal with such issues as internal school organization, teacher training, or comparative pedagogy. Those hoping to learn the intricacies of day-to-day operations, lesson plans, or teacher-student interaction will have to look elsewhere. Marshall is concerned with the struggle among elites to situate education within Japan's modern society. His thoughtful treatment links ideas and ideologies with the changing institutional arrangements of Japan's modern education system.

Marshall examines the legal and administrative underpinnings of that evolving system as well as a number of its key features, including education tracking, the mechanisms of central control, and textbook selection procedures. The evolution of a variety of types of schools—including colleges and universities, technical schools, and training programs for women—is treated with care. This discussion constitutes the best overview currently available and is thus a welcome addition to the literature on the institutional development of Japanese education.

The value of Marshall's work is enhanced by his analysis of the intellectual and ideological debates that shaped Japanese educational institutions. In constructing an education system and providing a curriculum for it, Japan's leaders faced a recurring problem: to what degree could foreign ideas and values be incorporated without undermining or destroying indigenous values. Marshall observes that the "Japanese elite had committed itself to eclectic borrowing from abroad while

preserving cultural traits deemed essential" (p. 88). The problem with this formulation, of course, is what was essential and who was to make the decision. These issues were at the core of the early Meiji contests (between the supporters of westernization, nativists, and Chinese scholars) to shape and guide the creation of a modern system of education. The problem was not resolved in the Meiji period and continued to color education policymaking into the post-World War II period. The current debate, therefore, over the ethical purposes of education and its moral content has been at the center of policymaking discussions from the beginnings. As elsewhere, the moral meaning of education in Japan is freighted with extraordinary political significance, and Marshall gives this important problem the attention it deserves.

Marshall's center-oriented approach proves an excellent strategy for understanding the superstructure of Japan's education history. Education is fitted nicely into the larger enterprise of Japanese modern state building and, indeed, is made to illuminate that process. By choosing to ignore the mechanics of instruction delivery, however, an opportunity to tie process to product may have been missed. For example, we learn much about how textbooks are selected for public schools and the legislation authorizing that process but almost nothing about their content. What students did or did not learn and the moral messages that were directed at them are surely connected to the political debate about the system and its ideals. To learn how would have been useful.

Having made that point, it remains to be said that this is a first-rate general history of education and its place in Japan's modern history. It will be a worthy text for courses in modern Japanese history and comparative education, and students and their instructors will learn much from it.

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GRAHAM SAUNDERS. *A History of Brunei*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 212. \$39.95.

This is a solid work of regional history of the type we have come to expect from Oxford University Press. Graham Saunders is a long-time resident of Brunei and has an exceptional feel for and understanding of its society and culture. The book stems largely from a careful and discriminating use of the work of many researchers and writers. For the earliest periods, it is heavily dependent on the work of Robert Nicholl, a Brunei colleague to whom Saunders dedicates the volume.

The narrative opens with the now standard discussion of early Southeast Asian kingdoms. Early chapters on pre-Islamic Brunei and the coming of Islam are highly speculative and contain some rather dubious suggestions; for example, that Brunei was the site of exile of Funan royalty after their subjugation by Chenla (pp. 19–20), and that Brunei "might have

expected to have succeeded Malacca as the major Malay trading power" (p. 48), ignoring the claims of Johore and Aceh. Much of such speculation ignores the views of earlier historians such as D. G. E. Hall and George Coedes.

In analyzing the early periods, Saunders attempts to balance the national myths and legends of a state presently bent on inventing its own past with the logic of a factual account, however scarce and thin the sources may be. He succeeds marvelously in walking such a political tightrope.

Saunders is most convincing in chapters (six through nine) covering events of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Here the sources are voluminous, and he makes good use of standard secondary works on the three-way rivalry of Sarawak (the Brooke raj), Brunei, and North Borneo (the Chartered Company). He measures the "decline" and near extinction of Brunei in terms of the attempts, usually successful, of the other two to absorb Brunei territories, until by 1906 the state was a tiny, 2200-square-mile entity. In these pages, Saunders does display a slight anti-Sarawak sentiment, perhaps to counter a perceived pro-Sarawak stance in much of the work of nineteenth and twentieth-century writers.

The establishment of a British residency of the Brunei protectorate in 1906 began the slow modernization of the state. The exploitation of oil and gas resources from 1929 on made possible the rapid reincarnation of an ancient sultanate. The last three chapters detail Brunei's brief flirtation with constitutional government and the electoral process, the end of the British residency, and the early years of independence. These pages convey first-hand observations from the author's years as an education officer in Sarawak and Brunei.

In spite of Saunders's feel for society and culture in Brunei, there is little social and cultural content in the book. It is a political history of the rise and decline of a Muslim sultanate that in this century has achieved wealth from oil and remains a feudal autocracy much given to ostentation and self-indulgence. The book, like the state, is "sultan centered" and sees events from within Brunei in a somewhat parochial light. Nevertheless, it is a welcome addition to the literature on Brunei, for it brings together in a delightfully readable form recent research that has not been widely disseminated.

LEIGH WRIGHT
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SANDRA TWEEDIE. *Trading Partners: Australia and Asia 1790–1993*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press; distributed by ISBS, Portland, Ore. 1994. Pp. 262. \$29.95.

In the mid-1990s, there is increasing attention in Australia to its future in the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, Sandra Tweedie's new book is a timely addition to knowledge about Australia's trading rela-

tions with the Asian rim of the Pacific Basin. Tweedie demonstrates that even as late as the 1950s, trade with Asia was constricted by Australia's close relationship with Great Britain. In the nineteenth century, British control of Australia's shipping ensured the flow of Australia's pastoral and agricultural produce to Britain rather than to Asia. In fact, there was active British opposition to the development of potentially lucrative Australian sales of wool in Japan. In the twentieth century, the imperial preference system guaranteed that the British Empire controlled most Australian trade. Into the 1930s, the development of any coherent Asia trading policy in Australia was bedevilled by interstate rivalry. Even after World War II, trading contracts with Britain hindered the development of Australian trade with Asia until the mid-1950s. Also, some Australian goods going to Asia were poorly packaged. The postwar revival of the Japanese economy and its enormous growth from the 1960s, however, provided Australia with a valuable market at a time when Britain was turning toward continental Europe. Strong economic growth in other Asian Pacific rim countries has also assisted Australia's Asian trade. By 1972, over forty percent of Australia's exports were flowing to Asia, a proportion that grew steadily to fifty-eight percent by 1993.

Tweedie's book is based on major research in Australian archives. It has very useful statistical tables and a reasonable index. It has weaknesses, however. Given the major British influence on Australia's Asian trade, Tweedie would have benefited from multiarchival research, especially in British Public Record Office material, much of which is available in microform in Australia. Such research would have made her discussions of Anglo-Australian negotiations less one-sided. Some wider consideration of Australia's trading interests would have helped. For example, in the discussion about the Australian government's refusal in 1924 to grant shipping subsidies for Asian trade (p. 66), it would have been worth mentioning that subsidies were given to Burns Philp and Company's shipping services in the Pacific Islands. Those islands had a political importance that Asian countries lacked. Furthermore, while the book is based on wide reading, it is noticeable that there are few references to publications later than 1988, the year of the submission of the doctoral thesis on which the book is partly based. Finally, for this reader, the poor book binding was a sad reminder of past inadequate packaging of Australian goods. The book literally fell apart on first reading.

ROGER C. THOMPSON
University of New South Wales

ALAN H. GREY. *Aotearoa and New Zealand: A Historical Geography*. Christchurch, N.Z.: Canterbury University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 476.

Alan H. Grey has produced a fine interdisciplinary study of New Zealand's development from the pre-European Maori society of the eighteenth century

until about 1935. Most of the book concentrates on the period of 1835–1935, and Grey admits that there is another book in the subsequent transformation of New Zealand over the past sixty years.

This study is not a sequence of descriptions. Rather, Grey draws not only on his own work but also offers a comprehensive analysis of other primary and secondary research, especially unpublished graduate and postgraduate theses, "to present the processes of change that created New Zealand and . . . to put these changes in their global setting" (p. 1).

What Grey terms "two black threads"—the despoiling of the natural environment and the dispossession of the indigenous Maori people—run through his narrative. Rain forest was turned into grass, and an early economy based on extractive industries such as gold and timber was replaced by one dependent on the export of wool, meat, and dairy products to Britain. Yet, as Grey emphasizes, Britain was only one of the major sources of influence on New Zealand. A second model—intellectually, technically, and developmentally—was North America, and throughout the book, Grey points out the American contribution and comparison.

This is a well-written and well-structured book with clear tables and maps but no illustrations. Grey is modest in pointing out that, because "most of the past went unrecorded and much that was recorded has decayed or has been destroyed," the picture he paints can be at best only "a good caricature" (p. xix). With what is available, he has constructed a very informative and convincing analysis of New Zealand's landscape, economy, and people over time.

BARRY GUSTAFSON
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KENNETH MCPHERSON. *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 318. \$26.00.

In terms of scope and content, Kenneth McPherson's book is comparable to Auguste Toussaint's well-known *Histoire de l'Océan Indien* (1961). Both studies cover the remote ancient era through the twentieth century and both include trade, cross-cultural contacts, and maritime technologies. Beyond Toussaint, however, McPherson incorporates recent scholarship and places greater emphasis on the role of European industrial capitalism, which, he argues, fragmented a formerly integrated maritime region.

In addition to the introduction and conclusion, there are four substantive chapters. The first provides an overview of the ancient Indian Ocean world with a focus on trade patterns and an approach that is more descriptive than narrative or analytic.

McPherson offers a regional history of the Indian Ocean in the next two chapters. He handles admirably well the daunting job of organizing time and space. In this long period, he identifies three sequential networks. The first belonged to the multi-ethnic seafarers

of the western Indian Ocean, connected to the Greek world via the Red Sea. The second network operated in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. It was dominated by Hindus and Buddhists and eventually became integrated with the western Indian Ocean. The third network corresponds to Muslim dominance, extending from East Africa to Southeast Asia and linked to the Mediterranean basin. Overlapping in time with this third network was an age of commerce, 1450–1700, during which Europeans made their entrance. McPherson tends to follow the lead of M. N. Pearson in emphasizing the limited “partnership” role of Europeans before the late eighteenth century.

The fourth chapter explores the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries and is essentially analytic. It traces the shift from earlier indigenous commercial imperialism to European imperialism based on industrial capitalism. The link between the two types of imperialism, McPherson says, was not the structural advantage of European trading companies—a tacit rejection of Niels Steensgaard’s analysis—but rather the changing economies of Europe and the collaboration of European and Asian merchants (pp. 140–43). The demands of European industrial capitalism undermined not only indigenous commerce but also the concomitant interaction among distinct cultural areas of the Indian Ocean region. Increased ties with Europeans during the colonial period resulted in both economic underdevelopment and “cultural confusion,” exacerbated by the alien concept of nationalism (p. 259).

Differences of interpretation are inevitable in a topic as broad as McPherson’s. Two examples can illustrate possible disagreement. First, McPherson believes that the introduction of exclusive European-style nationalism damaged regional integration by displacing the less rigid identities based on combinations of religion, language, and geography (p. 259). Arguably, however, religion had earlier functioned in ways similar to nationalism. The Muslim commercial hegemony over the Indian Ocean was based on exclusive laws and common cultural elements, and Islam was the ideological basis both for numerous commercial states and for their wars with competitors. A second instance of possible disagreement occurs when McPherson rightly identifies problems inherent in the classification of cargoes as either luxuries or mundane items (pp. 78–79) but is less concerned with distinctions between the export trade of producers and the carrying trade of non-producers. This distinction would help clarify the often contingent relationship of many carriers with India and China, because levels of export production in both countries varied considerably during the centuries under discussion. Such interpretive differences do not detract from the book, which will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to regional history.

PATRICIA RISSO
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TAPTI ROY. *The Politics of a Popular Uprising: Bundelkhand in 1857*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 291. \$24.00.

Various schools of historiography about India continue to clash radically over their disparate explanations of the bloody events of 1857. Many Anglophile historians (from the mid-nineteenth century until today) have regarded the 1857 “Mutiny” in terms of British imperial history: British policies and actions (albeit sometimes ill-considered) caused Indian discontent and rebellion. Some have explained these events as due primarily to conspiracies among Indian sepoys or among religious or feudal leaders threatened by British social “reforms.” Many Indian nationalist historians have accepted this meta-narrative, but reversed the valorization: Indian conspirators have become national heroes. Their subject is not the British Empire in crisis but rather the origins of the “freedom struggle” of the Indian nation. Distinct from both the above are analyses by the Gramsci-inspired Subaltern Studies Collective, which sees 1857 as a peasant revolution equally against the British and the Indian feudal and comprador elites. Building on the work of members of this collective, Tapti Roy regards 1857 as a politically motivated, anti-British, popular uprising.

In selecting Bundelkhand (in northern central India) as her case study, Roy shifts attention from the more prominent centers of the conflict: Mughal imperial Delhi and Awadh (Oudh) and its capital, Lucknow. She also decenters her account from a single coherent narrative to a class-based analysis of localized sources of resistance to foreign rule. Sepoys (Indian soldiers), Rajas, thakurs (rural leaders), and the people each came together in “concerted resistance to the British” (p. 258). Although their goals and visions differed, they each sought “to build their [own] alternatives to the colonial state” (p. 17).

Among these elements, sepoys had the most organized program of resistance to the British, based in part on their military training. Roy asserts: “There was nothing random, arbitrary or impulsive” in the 1857 anti-British actions by these Indian soldiers (p. 65). They deployed calls for joint Hindu-Muslim religious purity in order to unify Indian sentiment against the “infidel” and “Christian” other (p. 59). Since most of the sepoys stationed in Bundelkhand originated outside that region, their vision was the most national in scope.

The regional Rajas of Bundelkhand, including the famous Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi, appear in Roy’s analysis neither as conspirators nor as nationalistic heroes nor even as class enemies. Rather, these Rajas sought—as popular resistance broke down British authority—to pursue their own individual interests. They found, however, that they were constrained in their options by their dependence on either the British or the Indian “mutineers” (p. 125) who had seized power in the region.

Local rural magnates, designated by the honorific

"thakur," had strong ties of kinship and shared a sense of honor with the local peasantry. They resisted British "counter-insurgency" in an effort to sustain their own local autonomy. Indeed, Roy argues, their very resistance to all outside authority gave them "a moral legitimacy in the eyes of the people" through "alternate domains of power" (pp. 191-92). Thus, as outlaws, they sustained resistance to the colonial state long after all other groups in the region had succumbed to British force.

In her impressive effort to shed light on the various elements of society in resistance to the British state, Roy eschews any analysis of the forces that ultimately triumphed in support of it. In her study, the British forces are identified primarily by their British officers, although they consisted mainly of Indians. In concentrating exclusively on the various forces of resistance, she says virtually nothing about the Indian soldiers, civil officials, and other people who supported the British.

Roy's detailed analysis of the factors that motivated the several elements in Indian society opposed to the British demonstrates careful use of what little documentary evidence from the "rebel" side has survived: mainly the official proclamations of their leaders and the depositions taken by British-run judicial inquiries. Thus, Roy necessarily relies mainly on her re-interpretation of the pattern of officially reported actions and on her oppositional reading of the extant official records, informed by her understanding of the nature of subaltern resistance. Scholars who seek a strong study of such resistance and/or a detailed analysis of events on one side during the 1857-1858 fighting in Bundelkhand will find much of interest in this volume.

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BRUCE CARLISLE ROBERTSON. *Raja Rammohan Ray: The Father of Modern India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 210. \$19.95.

Original and authentic scholarly studies on charismatic Indian heroes such as Rammohan Ray, Mahatma Gandhi, and Subhas Chandra Bose are virtually impossible to write, partly because most avenues of exploration have already been traveled and partly because, as the years pass, it becomes increasingly difficult to separate legend from historical fact. This is especially true of Rammohan Ray. We are not certain when or where he was born, how he spent his youth, and whether or not he actually journeyed to foreign lands in search of spiritual truths underlying diverse religious systems. Nevertheless, over the years, great strides have been taken by humanists and social scientists in their effort to demythify Ray as a socio-religious reformer, educator, political thinker, and scholar. The comparative lack of new sources of information has thwarted new research, however, and encouraged a dull, repetitious quality in the historiography.

Bruce Carlisle Robertson chose Ray as the topic of a dissertation that, with some revision, became the book under review. After a truly well-researched and provocative introductory chapter on the contemporary sources from which a new biography of Ray might have been constructed, the focus gradually shifts to the Bengali's Vedantic writings, which are the real object of the book's inquiry.

On the surface, Robertson's six chapters dealing with Ray's treatment of the Vedanta and Upanishads are commendable pieces of scholarship; from this reviewer's perspective, they constitute, philosophically and theologically, the most intensive and thoroughgoing study ever undertaken. While Robertson attacks his predecessors for imposing their own values on Ray, he seems innocently unaware of his own sins of imposition. Was Ray as much a theologian as Robertson has made him out to be? Did he use the Vedanta as an end in itself or as impeccable textual evidence designed to rid Hindu society of social abuses directed largely against women?

The late A. L. Basham once said that "Hindu texts often delight the theologian as much as they exasperate the historian." The main problem with Robertson's book is that the author has become so obsessed with Vedantic texts that he totally ignores their historical dimension. There are Indianists who will argue that the given period in 5,000 years of history when a text was articulated is much less important than the underlying and unchanging philosophy of the text. It is incredible that Robertson makes no distinction between the Upanishads as a text that influenced the Buddha in the sixth century B.C., the Vedanta attributed to Sankara in the next millennium, and the Vedanta as formulated by Ray in the context of the nineteenth-century Bengal Renaissance.

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UNITED STATES

PENNE L. RESTAD. *Christmas in America: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 219. \$25.00.

One of the first shocking historical facts I learned in grade school was that Oliver Cromwell had actually banned the public celebration of Christmas in England. After all these years, Penne L. Restad's book finally illuminates the reason for my youthful horror at the original Grinch who stole Christmas. Long before the middle of the twentieth century, it had been enshrined as one of the most beloved American holidays. Restad's study of the history of Christmas in America is a fine example of the work being done by social historians eager to discover deeper meanings in the stuff of ordinary life. What better window into that often elusive Holy Grail, "American culture," than one

of the few things most of us do together, celebrate Christmas?

In taking on this subject, Restad revisits old historiographical turf and at the same time opens familiar data to new paradigms of analysis. James Barnett's *American Christmas: A Study of National Culture* (1954) laid the groundwork for studies of Yuletide. Restad reworks, amplifies, and augments much of this data, using American Christmas celebrations as an opportunity to enrich our understanding of the changing moods and conditions of American life. Her book stands quite comfortably beside Leigh Eric Schmidt's *Consumer Rites: The Buying and Selling of American Holidays* (1995).

Restad sweeps the history of American Christmas celebrations from Jamestown to modern times. She appropriately begins at the beginning, with a remarkably coherent discussion of the tangled history of how Christianity came to settle on the old feast of Saturnalia as the birthday of its central figure. After weaving through the somewhat complex evolution of the holiday in the Christian West, we are brought quickly to the shores of the British colonies of America, where Restad examines the various efforts to adapt, reproduce, or reject certain features of the English Christmas on the new soil of America. Geographic locales dictated the nature of the celebration (or noncelebration) of the feast: the southern colonies attempted to imitate the important features of the English Christmas, while the Calvinists of New England militantly rejected any sort of public celebration, condemning it as "Popery and prelatric tyranny, a destroyer of consciences" and ordering fasts on Christmas Day.

Eventually, however, the forces of pluralism began to unravel the Puritan grip on the national conscience, and the celebration of Christmas integrated itself more and more into the national agenda. According to Restad, the middle years of the nineteenth century were pivotal to the development and acceptance of Christmas as a national holiday. Key to this change was the growing emphasis on the cult of domesticity. Home became "a spiritual and metaphorical sanctuary," a sacred hearth where the family could be protected from the challenges of modern life. The almost sacramental nature of the home was reinforced by a sensible appreciation of the great event of the Incarnation, the eternal God's birth in time and space. The remembrance of this event gave inspiration and hope to those who sought to maintain a faith in a better future in the midst of social change.

Church and family thus joined forces in a special way at Christmas to inject good will, hope, and courage into the swirling eddies of modern life. This paradigm shift made it possible for the holiday to become a national feast, lifting it forever from its regional variations and peculiarities as its images and spirit became broad and inclusive enough to embrace all men and women of good will. Although it was first and foremost a celebration of hearth and church, the public celebration of the feast emerged almost naturally as families

promenaded onto city streets to view decorated store windows and attend church services. With its emphasis on family, religion, and generous good cheer, Christmas loomed as a major American holiday by the end of the nineteenth century, its character fixed essentially down to the present day. In 1870, the federal government declared it a national holiday.

Restad provides fascinating information regarding the association of the holiday with children, gift giving, and Santa Claus. By the twentieth century, the rise of consumer culture added yet another layer to the development of the holiday. It is indeed ironic that none other than the "Puritan in Babylon" Calvin Coolidge himself (ironically a descendant of those who had banned the public celebration of Christmas), lit the first national Christmas tree in 1924. Modern advertising made the shopping season between Thanksgiving and Christmas Eve the hectic, profit-producing phenomenon it is today, the make-or-break season for any number of businesses and a barometer of the health of the American economy. Restad argues that, despite the annual jeremiads from priests, preachers, and pundits about the feast becoming overly materialistic, Christmas is still essentially a celebration of home and faith with a strong spiritual base. Moreover, its ethical injunctions to charity, harmony, and good will toward all still shape the predominant messages and mood of the season.

Restad has written a solid social history of Christmas. Moreover, it is simply fun (a good holiday word) to read about the development of Christmas cards, trees, and the changing character of that quintessential holiday icon, Santa Claus. She fortunately avoids a common tendency of cultural historians to overinterpret the meaning of the artifacts and rituals they study or to read the self-defined intentions of their subjects (especially with regard to expressions of their religious faith) as code words for other issues. This is a good book and representative of a growing number of cultural studies that ought to be more fully integrated into standard historical texts.

STEVEN M. AVELLA
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SUELLEN HOY. *Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 258. \$25.00.

Without a sustaining analytical context, Suellen Hoy's pursuit of cleanliness falls back on anecdotes and aphorisms about wash-day on the farm, Florence Nightingale and Jane Addams, the Sanitary Commission, technical advances in plumbing, bric-a-brac and immigrants' pianos, "moral as well as material" filth (p. 80), hookworm and "Swat the Fly" campaigns, the Cleanliness Institute, and exasperating references to "Americanization."

Many of these topics are worth tracking. Hoy recounts the sensual and physiological assaults of Civil

War encampments. Soldiers drawn from rural America agonized through their initial exposure to mumps and measles. While mucking around camps populated by thousands of men with only the most rudimentary training in the hygienic dimensions of urination or defecation, inductees were ravaged by diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid, and malaria.

Hoy transports readers to "Back of the Yards" in late nineteenth-century Chicago. Suffocated by dense, reeking smoke, fetid refuse, swarming flies, and the stench of the sewer known as Bubbly Creek, amid the slaughterhouses and fertilizer plants and outdoor privies of 45,000 immigrants, the destitute systematically scavenged city dumps for discarded mattresses, clothing, salvageable food, a cast-off toy. Although such descriptions are hardly news, Hoy's vignettes may make readers want to hold their breath.

Perhaps because she relies on such a disparate body of literature (the text is densely annotated), Hoy's narrative has an uneven quality that undermines an already flimsy analytical structure. Sloppy methodology mars these pages more. On p. 111, for instance, a block quotation appears to encapsulate the "phenomenal" public health campaign waged by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company among its working-class policy holders on New York's Lower East Side during the Progressive era. A footnote reveals that the block quote comes "from a one-page printed blurb that explains how doctors in China" tried to keep patients there healthy (p. 219).

In an account of the toiletry industry's relentless outpouring of commercial preachments in the 1920s, for another example, Hoy insists that propagandists "taught young adults some hard, real-world lessons" (p. 143). She seems oblivious of the degree to which corporate interests created, rather than responded to, the particular reality that she invokes.

What does it mean to be clean? The construct is both a subjective and relative consideration, ultimately dependent upon some idiosyncratic and shifting combination of the observer's rational understanding, class pretensions, aesthetic sensibilities, and the immediate object of one's gaze when he or she starts chasing dirt. Since the concept itself is subjective, the writer who hopes to analyze the history of judgments about a topic like cleanliness must constantly strive to make the term operational across time, place, and circumstance.

Yet this is a stab at an intriguing target. Cleanliness is a compelling subject because, as Hoy's story intimates, it is a cultural preoccupation in contemporary America. Still, historians must look forward to the study that offers a more definitive response to the fascinating question: what does it mean to be "clean"?

VINCENT VINIKAS
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BARBARA BEATTY, *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the*

Present. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 252. \$30.00.

This is a concise history of efforts to provide instruction or institutional child care to children too young to enter the regular schools in the United States "from the Colonial Period to the Present." Barbara Beatty begins by discussing the ideas of such European figures as Johan Amos Comenius, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. She then turns to the implementation of their ideas in American infant schools.

Infant schools appeared in the United States in the 1820s and quickly attracted public support because of a desire for the moral instruction of poor children. By the 1830s, enthusiasm for the new infant schools had waned in the face of romantic concerns about preserving the true nature of children and because of a new focus on the role of women in the moral education of children.

Kindergartens came to the United States from Germany, where their chief advocate, Friedrich Froebel, saw the kindergarten as a way of harmonizing relations between social classes. The first kindergartens in the United States appeared in German-speaking communities, but the first to use English as the language of instruction was opened in Boston in 1860 by Elizabeth Peabody. A decade later, Susan Blow, who was a strict follower of Froebel, opened a kindergarten in St. Louis. Both women wrote extensively about kindergartens and worked to promote them on a national scale.

During the Progressive Era, the traditional kindergarten led by Susan Blow lost out to a wave of reform led by Patty Smith Hill. Both Blow and Hill taught at Columbia, but Hill won out because her approach was "scientific."

Nursery schools became common in the United States after World War I and grew in the 1920s because of the expansion of the field of child psychology. Many child psychological laboratories had nursery schools attached. "Where kindergartens stressed culture, moral education, character training and socialization," Beatty writes, "nursery school educators emphasized psychology, mental hygiene, social adjustment and habit training" (p. 150).

An unusual development was the establishment of federally funded nursery schools in the 1930s. These WPA nursery schools were founded not so much to aid children as to provide employment for teachers and child care for working mothers. Beatty concludes her coverage with discussions of corporate and government-funded day care during World War II and of the early history of Head Start.

Much of what Beatty presents is well known but is scattered in many different places, so this book is a useful compendium. Its major contribution is the discussion of the political, intellectual, and social conflicts involved in establishing kindergartens within the public schools. Unfortunately, the children who were the objects of the reform efforts Beatty describes

are all but totally absent from these pages, and we have little knowledge about what difference, if any, such efforts made in their lives. Still, Beatty's book is a useful reference work for historians of both childhood and education.

JOSEPH M. HAWES
University of Memphis

WILLIAM J. REESE. *The Origins of the American High School*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 326. \$35.00.

This book attempts a new contextualization of American secondary instruction before the 1880s and the triumph of the high school over the academy. William J. Reese relies heavily on the rich literature of American social history and gives a broad sense of the high school's place in nineteenth-century American political culture. Again and again, he reminds his readers of the division between Jacksonian Democrats and their political opponents over education: the former suspicious of overly privileged schooling beyond the common school and hence critical of the high school, and the latter, like the Federalists who founded the first American high school in Boston in 1821, supportive of advanced instruction to a select and talented youth and ambitious for "utilitarian" pursuits in an emergent capitalist economy. The anti-Jacksonian tradition would be sustained by the Whigs and later the Republicans, who favored the high school as the "capstone" of democracy's centralized educational system.

Readers familiar with the work of Lawrence Cremin, TheodoreSizer, Edward Krug, Alexander Inglis, and David Labaree will recognize Reese's basic line of argument. Reese's novel contribution includes a healthy suspicion of educational rhetoric and the underlying social class interests embedded in official state and city school reports on the high school. The study makes a concerted attempt to draw examples from across the nation, to avoid making the New England school precedent an American paradigm, and to detail the differences between the antebellum and postbellum high school.

The nagging difficulty with Reese's approach rests with his easy and uncritical analytic categories: secondary school, educational system, and middle class, among others. In the antebellum period, there was minimal systematization. All schools—district, grammar, academy, high school—operated with enormous variety and entrepreneurship. A common strategy was to call a school an institute, in part to obscure the range and level of instruction. Most academies, for examples, were not classical and were unendowed. They were in their way more "public" than any high school before mid-century, reliant as they were on whatever studies would attract tuition. They were not bound to Latin or to a collegiate orientation, although of course the best known and best studied often were. Some academies were no better than grammar schools; others were arguably superior to some colleges and

prided themselves on taking graduates of high schools. Most of Reese's strategic analytic categories are not treated as historical constructs themselves.

Reese overstates the division between high school and academy in the antebellum period. The real competition in these years was almost entirely between one academy and another, as they vied first for neighborhood and "utilitarian" allegiances and did not favor exclusively the whims of the affluent. In the postbellum period, the academy tradition continued far stronger than Reese acknowledges, usually succeeding well in towns and cities with a strong high school alternative. At no point in the nineteenth century, for example, did the high school command professional teaching talent equivalent to the education of academy professionals. But only in the latter part of the century did academy professionals shift their strategy to an exclusively affluent clientele and college orientation, points that have been definitively established by James McLachlan's *American Boarding Schools* (1970), which oddly goes unmentioned here. In the end, for all the synthetic importance of this study, one has a sense of imbalance in the high school/academy competition, of a murkiness in understanding the pros and cons of the high school's nineteenth-century "triumph." Did the middle class or political party traditions play exactly the same role before the Civil War as after?

PAUL H. MATTINGLY
New York University

EDWARD W. STEVENS, JR. *The Grammar of the Machine: Technical Literacy and Early Industrial Expansion in the United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 210. \$27.50.

Edward W. Stevens, Jr., has made a courageous attempt to integrate the histories of education, pedagogy, mathematics, science, and technology with several new theoretical approaches to arrive at an answer to a significant question: how did America's formal educational institutions adjust to the intellectual and psychological needs of the technological revolution of the first half of the nineteenth century? His answer is a complex one, as are his analytical tools.

Through an extended version of literacy studies that embraces the non-verbal, Stevens finds that early nineteenth-century educators such as Amos Eaton and Emma Hart Willard devised a curriculum for the spatial and tactile skills required by the new material culture. As significant, the educators reworked science and mathematics education to allow the deep gap separating shop and academic training to be bridged.

These tasks were not easy. Machines demanded the invention of new forms of notation, ones at odds with the orientations of academia. Verbal descriptions, sequential one-dimensional thinking, and even mathematics had to be supplemented if not replaced by modeling and drawing. Geometry and calculus had to be turned into practical tools. According to Stevens, the educators were able to establish at least a tempo-

rary truce between liberal, technical, and economic values. At Rensselaer, for example, the merging of faith in moral progress, liberalism, and technical training created technological republican entrepreneurs. The curriculum at the Troy Female Seminary educated women who acted as agents for material progress as well as for moral uplift.

Although Stevens relies on the concepts and assumptions of postmodern literacy and material culture studies, he applies some traditional interpretive tools. The history of ideas is used to show the inability of Western science's formalism to meet technology's demands for creativity. In addition, Stevens calls on older historical sociology to explain why the new schooling was accepted by educators and the public. He claims that the somewhat incompatible intellectual elements of the new curriculum were bound together through America's commitments, both secular and evangelical, to progress and social mobility. The upwardly mobile mechanic was to be educated as a responsible gentleman as well as an engineer. Thus, technology would unite, not divide, America.

Given the later history of social stratification, vocational education, and corporate behavior in America, that is a provocative finding. Unfortunately, much in Stevens's book goes beyond the provocative. The literacy concept has been stretched too thin. As a result, the obvious is many times turned into the obscure and the incomprehensible. The mixture of postmodern textual analysis, the material culture movement's inferential leaps of faith, and some weak psychological models make it difficult to accept the book's fundamentals and its more ambitious generalizations. The traditional historical analyses of antebellum textbooks and curricula are contributions to the history of education, however. They will serve as building blocks for a new history of the evolution of technical education and the shaping of the land-grant movement.

COLIN BURKE
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Baltimore County

DAVID WALLACE ADAMS. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. xi, 396. \$34.95.

Except for works by Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst and Margaret Connell Szasz, until five years ago little had been done in the field of Native American education since the famous Meriam Report, with which the present study ends. Since 1990, however, several major new studies have appeared on these critical years between Custer and Collier.

David Wallace Adams's text sacrifices the charm of a classic case study for the most comprehensive examination of all federal Indian boarding schools to date, products of an educational system in which nineteenth-century white reformers concluded that the "only way

to save Indians was to destroy them (culturally), that the last great Indian war should be waged against children" (p. 337). The book is well organized by one-word titles of parts and chapters: civilization (reform, models, and system); education, or, in fact, "an invitation to cultural suicide" (institution, classroom, and rituals, including religion, gender relations, and holiday celebrations); response (resistance and accommodation of students); and causatum (home and policy on returned students and implications for the Indian New Deal).

This is not a book offering novel interpretations or newfound sources to change the way scholars look at Indian boarding schools; at times Adams is libertarian with gems cut by others. Rather, it is remarkable for its synthesis of detail, its scope, and especially its sophisticated analysis and sound reasoning about the multiple conflicting motivations of both whites and Indians. We learn that boarding schools failed because student accommodation was often little more than pragmatic adaptation to changing historical realities; Indians typically returned home not to proselytize but to "renew the familial relationships and cultural habits of their youth" (p. 299). Indian accommodation involved not swapping cultural skins but various forms of selective incorporation, syncretization, and compartmentalization, all processes that Adams explains better than anyone else to date.

The most telling weaknesses of the book are those endemic to the field and lapses in distancing from a subject. Little analysis is done of intertribal rivalries at school, of mixed racial and tribal compositions of student bodies, or of whether (or how) individual boarding schools sought to serve particular reservations. Neither does Adams identify tribal cultural patterns conducive either to acculturation or preservation. At times Adams's language confuses right with might and red for white: the basis for the new national government was "not simply a matter of greed. On the contrary, the very survival of the republic demanded that Indians be dispossessed of the land"; disregarding things possibly sacred, "the Indians arrived in a pitifully heathen state, clad in filthy blankets and moccasins, their bodies and long hair ornamented with all variety of shabby trinkets"; equally unqualified, "would returned students serve as a vanguard for progress or civilization or would they sink once again into the morass of self-destructive tribalism?" (pp. 5, 49, 275). Despite the book's imperfections, David Wallace Adams has reached the top of his field.

DONAL F. LINDSEY
Unaffiliated scholar

MARGARET J. MARSHALL. *Contesting Cultural Rhetorics: Public Discourse and Education, 1890-1900*. Reprint. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1995. Pp. 260. \$39.50.

Margaret J. Marshall appears to be an adherent of the academic school that believes that words cannot be

taken at face value but must be deconstructed in order to see what they really mean. In this volume, she chooses to deconstruct what Joseph Mayer Rice, Matthew Arnold, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Jane Addams said about education in the 1890s. Her theme, indeed her reason for writing the book, is to consider "the values and ideologies embedded in the layers of interpretation" as they are presented to the reader.

Marshall is a serious and earnest scholar and has read very widely in the American periodical press of the 1890s. As a result, she is able to list prodigious numbers of little-known references valuable to academics of the deconstructionist persuasion. Others may find the book trying. In the chapter dealing with Rice's work, for example, she uses three pages to dissect his use of the word "evil." Rice's essays were critical of the public schools in various American cities and were meant to produce reforms. He was quite explicit about the failings he saw and condemned. What, then, is so complicated about his use of the word "evil"?

Although Marshall is scrupulous about listing sources, her numerous and lengthy quotations (some a page and a half long) make the book difficult to read. Her reason for using so many of other writers' words, one assumes, is to deconstruct them, but from the reader's point of view her text is hard to follow because of the frequent need to move one's eyes downward to a paragraph of small print. The extended quotations, also in small print, are equally disturbing, although two from a Du Bois essay describing his first teaching experience in the rural South are both educational and enjoyable (albeit, at 525 words, perhaps overly long). The following pages of analysis, however, are less interesting.

Similarly, in another chapter, Jane Addams's unhappiness at being forced to attend a minor college is perfectly clear and does not need the pages of deconstruction that follow. Addams is much admired by Marshall, but her reason for this is lost in her statement that Addams deserves great credit for presenting her educational ideas in "a language that expresses the struggle to make a generalized meaning out of individual particulars."

Possibly to ward off criticism, the tone of the book is somewhat defensive. The vast amount of annotation and attribution in the text could lead one to this conclusion, but, given the fact that deconstruction has its opponents, Marshall's concern is understandable.

I found the emphasis on deconstructing an author's words to be unnecessary, but this may be the view of one old-fashioned history professor. Certainly anyone interested in seeing how this kind of analysis can be used to examine the contents of educational discourse will find the book a serious effort.

SELMA BERROL
Baruch College,
City University of New York

MARIS A. VINOVSIS. *Education, Society, and Economic Opportunity: A Historical Perspective on Persistent Issues*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 235. \$28.50.

An important principle of American folk wisdom has been that doing well in school plays a crucial role in the fulfillment of the American dream of success. But has schooling been an important agency of social mobility in American society? One group of educational historians (often designated as "revisionists") rejected this view. They argued, instead, that schooling was a strategic device used by the employing classes to prepare the children of the lower classes for productive work in the new, highly regimented factory system. Teaching punctuality was, they argued, more important than learning punctuation.

Maris A. Vinovskis, a leading historian of education, takes on these revisionist views in this collection of essays. On the basis of recent studies that he finds "conceptually and methodologically more sophisticated" than those used by the revisionists (p. 87), he concludes that "schooling in nineteenth-century America promoted individual social mobility . . . [and] schooling did matter" (p. 90).

Vinovskis's argument, however, is not simply a view from the right designed to counter those of the left. He makes a crucial point that liberals will find to be right on target: "schooling by itself is of limited value if society refuses to acknowledge and reward those with better educational preparation and training." For African Americans, therefore, "education had little impact on their subsequent occupational opportunities" (p. 90).

On a closely related issue, Vinovskis argues that the nineteenth-century high school was more democratic than previously thought. From an in-depth study of Essex County, Massachusetts, high schools in the mid-nineteenth century, he concludes that almost one-fifth of the county's children received "at least some equivalent of a high school education." In Newburyport, with three high schools, the figure was nearly one-third (p. 151). Most important, high school attendance was not confined to the elite; approximately one out of six children of unskilled Newburyport laborers spent some time in high school (p. 151). Accordingly, Vinovskis challenges the theory that expensive high schools were imposed on the laboring classes by the wealthier members of the community. He does concede, however, that maintaining a high school "may have forced [some communities] to reduce or limit their expenditures on the other schools" that were more important for lower-class children (p. 160).

These essays (most of which have been previously published) cover a wide range of issues. Topics include the changing role of the family in American education, the Infant School movement of the early nineteenth century, and the development of age stratification in schooling. A final essay addresses the contemporary problem of gaining adequate financial support for

schooling in an age when fewer households have school-aged children and when schooling has become increasingly expensive.

Although he tackles controversial issues, the tone of these essays is measured and moderate. Vinovskis, who has worked for policy-makers in Washington, recognizes a special responsibility for scholars who want to influence policy. "If we as social scientists hope to convince policy makers that they should continue to consult our work, we must assure them and ourselves that we are trying to be as 'scholarly and objective' as possible—even if it means reporting findings antithetical to our own political orientation" (pp. 140–41).

ARTHUR ZILVERSMIT
Lake Forest College

ANDREW DELBANCO. *The Death of Satan: How Americans Have Lost the Sense of Evil*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1995. Pp. 274. \$23.00.

Historians will find this work of interest, although it is not in the strict sense a work of history. Andrew Delbanco is a gifted essayist and literary historian. As history this work is spotty, but as cultural criticism drawing on historical scholarship, it is potent and provocative. The book does not offer a fully developed analysis of "how," in the words of the subtitle, "Americans have lost the sense of evil." It provides instead an often inspired *cri de coeur*, in the tradition of Ann Douglas's *Feminization of American Culture* (1977) or Christopher Lasch's *True and Only Heaven* (1991), that bewails the moral vacuity of modern liberalism. Where Douglas and Lasch stress the sentimentality of liberalism—its cloying domesticity or its utopian progressivism—Delbanco follows Lionel Trilling's argument in *The Middle of the Journey* (1947), decrying the liberal surrender of a stable frame of reference for recognizing or responding to evil.

Delbanco's most successful historical chapter is on the Puritans, about whom he wrote an earlier study (*The Puritan Ordeal* [1989]). At their best, he argues, they followed Augustine in regarding evil as "privative," as the absence of the good. Jonathan Edwards, in Delbanco's view, articulated the necessary vantage point: that moral evil is perversity, a willful turning away from the creator. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Abraham Lincoln, and Reinhold Niebuhr kept this faith alive: the fault lies in us, not in our stars, and certainly not in the witches, southerners, immigrants, Jews, blacks, Communists, or other outsiders targeted for special scorn—and identified with Satan—over the course of American history. The Puritans thought Satan met his greatest success when he seduced believers into imagining that they were without sin. Delbanco wonders whether Satan may have managed an even grander accomplishment by persuading so many modern Americans that he does not exist.

Delbanco goes beyond Trilling's secular urbanity, expressing an explicit yearning for the revival not only of "responsibility" but of what might be called "sin

talk" and "God talk." He agrees with Niebuhr that cultivating responsibility in the face of evil depends on retrieving the ideas of a transcendent God and original sin (the one Christian doctrine, Niebuhr claimed, validated daily in human experience). Delbanco may describe himself a "member" of the "party of secular liberalism" (p. 223), but he goes well beyond even Niebuhr in suggesting that liberalism needs to rekindle the idea of Satan: "There is certainly no cause to be embarrassed if . . . we take recourse to a language that posits Satan as a detectable presence in the world. We want Satan back . . . because if there is 'no devil,' as John Wesley is said to have remarked two centuries ago, then there is 'no God'" (p. 228). Where Edmund Wilson and other intellectuals of the 1930s proposed taking communism away from the Communists, Delbanco calls in effect for stealing Satan from the religious right.

Many secular liberal readers will dismiss Delbanco's musings as a new "failure of nerve," the term Deweyan liberals such as Sidney Hook applied to the postwar Niebuhrian faith. Many others will agree with Delbanco (and Lasch, whom Delbanco would have done well to cite) that a religious sense of sin and transcendence is a *sine qua non* for an American liberalism committed to justice as well as freedom. Yet some of the latter group will also urge Delbanco to clarify and develop his argument. How, for example, does the privative view of evil assist us in discriminating between the sins we all commit and the sins committed by others that may have to be resisted by force—resisted even by the commission of more evil? If Niebuhr was right, the paradox of our efforts to do good is that they inevitably embroil us in evils we do not anticipate.

RICHARD WIGHTMAN FOX
Boston University

DAVID B. DANBOM. *Born in the Country: A History of Rural America*. (Revisiting Rural America.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 306. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$14.95.

David B. Danbom's book is an overview of the history of agriculture and agrarian society in the United States that ranges broadly over five centuries, from its antecedents in early modern European village life and the indigenous woodland culture of pre-Columbian America to the troubling ecological consequences of present-day agribusiness. Danbom wrote this book to alleviate his frustrations over the lack of a suitable text for his course on the history of rural America. Indeed, such a book is necessary; since the last attempts at a comprehensive history of American agriculture, the field has been revolutionized by a new emphasis on the social dimensions of rural life in addition to its more traditional emphases on the economic and political histories of agricultural production and farm policy. As Danbom puts it, he seeks to "write a synthetic history of rural America that integrates the new social history

with the old—and new—political and economic history” (p. xi).

Danbom writes clearly and in ways that are accessible to undergraduates, and he touches on a daunting array of topics, including such recent historiographic issues as rural attitudes toward commercialization and the role of women on the farm. The thrust of the book, however, follows the customary lines and conventional periodization of an overview of United States history, albeit from a rural point of view. Although some of this material reflects new scholarship, Danbom does not engage that new scholarship so much as summarize it and incorporate its findings into an already familiar framework. Thus, his book is less a synthesis that offers a new argument or way of understanding the nation’s rural past than a survey of existing literature.

Still, bringing together scholarship on an aspect of United States history so central yet so neglected constitutes a valuable contribution. As with any survey as ambitious as this one, however, there are gaps and oversights. In contrast to his emphasis on the eastern seaboard, the South, and the Great Plains, for example, Danbom pays little attention to California and the Southwest, either concerning the influence of Mexican society on later rural development or on the rise of modern agribusiness in one of the most important farming areas in present-day American society. He also devotes comparatively little discussion to the social history of farm communities, as opposed to the family farm, especially with respect to the class and ethnic distinctions that were often a part of that history.

These caveats aside, Danbom’s study is a useful book for the undergraduate courses for which it is designed as well as for scholars who want ready access to an overview of American rural history. It may not break new ground, but the field that it covers is a fertile and important one.

HAL S. BARRON
Harvey Mudd College

WILLIAM M. OFFUTT, JR.. *Of “Good Laws” and “Good-men”: Law and Society in the Delaware Valley, 1680–1710*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 340. \$39.95.

One in a crop of new studies of law and society in early British America, William M. Offutt, Jr.’s monograph offers an exhaustive analysis of who went to court in the rural counties surrounding Philadelphia and the patterns of civil and criminal litigation and Quaker mediation and discipline. Readers will find that the study’s rootedness in quantitative methods and social science models yields valuable results, but they may rue Offutt’s choice not to adopt multiple approaches to legal culture (e.g., story-telling and more nuanced textual analysis).

What drives Offutt’s inquiry is the question of how Quaker leaders in the pluralistic Delaware Valley achieved legitimacy and established a stable social and

political climate lasting until the 1760s. Since Quakers were soon outnumbered by non-Quakers, why did residents continue to consent to Quaker men and ideology shaping law and politics? Rejecting scholarship that points to family life, politics, or proto-capitalism as the answer, Offutt makes a cogent argument for “the rule of law” as “the primary source” of Quaker authority (p. 259). The key attributes of dispute resolution in the region—ease of access, low costs, simplified rules, the absence of lawyers, and the appearance of neutral rules and unbiased outcomes—were not notably different from those of other seventeenth-century British North American jurisdictions. But Offutt contends, first, that only in the Delaware Valley was law pivotal in establishing the legitimacy of elites, and, second, that the Quakers’ success in entrenching “good laws” and “good men” was a particularly impressive achievement because of the region’s uniquely diverse population.

Offutt’s statistical portrait of the county court records from four counties (two each in Pennsylvania and western New Jersey) allows him to establish a “legal population” of 3,782 individuals who appeared as witnesses, jurors, officeholders, litigants, and defendants (p. 26). Offutt is able to establish certain attributes for this population (gender, Quaker/non-Quaker, leadership, landowning, occupation, tax assessment, inventoried wealth), and thus he can identify, using chi-square probabilities, the most significant factors determining who served in high and low offices and who won or lost in civil and criminal cases.

Offutt’s central argument is that the legal system was both integrative, thus restraining social conflict, and manipulative. He shows that not only did Quakers dominate in leadership roles, but they also managed, despite a law stipulating that the names of jurors be pulled out of a hat, to “pack” juries so that over two-thirds were Quakers (pp. 54–60). With respect to civil cases, Offutt concludes that a subtle pre-trial bias existed: justices used their discretion to favor high-status (mostly Quaker) plaintiffs, forcing debtors and other antagonists to settle out of court. Yet when litigants opted for a jury trial, juries almost uniformly delivered “neutral, unbiased” verdicts to all groups (p. 143). Offutt emphasizes that the visible, “public dramas” of jury trials sent the message that Penn’s Quaker elites had justified the founder’s (and the inhabitants’) faith in the fairness of Quaker hegemony (p. 144).

In the realm of criminal justice, Offutt describes a two-level system. Elites were charged with contempt and economic oppression, thus demonstrating processes to restrain and discipline them, while non-elites, especially non-Quakers, faced morals, property, and violence charges. (This neat dichotomous analysis might break down somewhat if Offutt were able to factor in the age and life-cycle of criminal defendants.) On the other hand, the types of charges raised against elites led to relatively few harsh, public punishments. Again, it was in the pretrial stages that bias appeared; in criminal cases that went to a jury, Offutt finds no

biases. Further, Offutt contends that the Quaker monthly meetings' disciplinary proceedings served as an auxiliary to the public courts: here average Quakers rather than leaders were subjected to scrutiny and reprimand. Moreover, the Delaware Valley courts deferred to the meetings by rarely prosecuting persons accused there, thus consciously establishing an early precedent for a principled stance against double jeopardy.

Offutt proffers a few interesting findings (a relatively high rate of cases settled out of court, a distinctive criminal caseload profile that included a high number of contempt cases) to support a somewhat inflated argument for "the development of a unique legal culture" in the Delaware Valley (p. 117). More significantly, he evades the implications of his conclusion that English common law language and procedures "corrosive[ly]" infiltrated Penn's reformminded legal system, especially after 1700 (pp. 65, 90-92). If lawyers and litigants introduced more and more English formalism into legal culture during the eighteenth century, then Offutt needs to do a better job of explaining just what elements of the early "experimental," self-legitimizing legal system survived to both keep the social peace in the Delaware Valley and "foreshadow the future pattern of" a pluralistic United States (p. 265).

This book provides scholars with surely the most comprehensive statistical portrait to date of an early American legal system, and at the same time it offers a helpful comparative study to place side-by-side new legal snapshots of Chesapeake and New England jurisdictions. The strength of Offutt's method is its ability to uncover social networks among legal actors and correspondences in litigation patterns that more traditional, impressionistic approaches would miss. Its limited range reminds all legal and social historians of the vexing challenge of how to combine the rigors of social science analysis with the seduction of imaginative historical story-telling.

CORNELIA HUGHES DAYTON
University of California,
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BENJAMIN H. NEWCOMB. *Political Partisanship in the American Middle Colonies, 1700-1776*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 258. \$37.50.

Benjamin H. Newcomb has authored an important new interpretation of politics within the Middle Atlantic colonies. Newcomb argues that a form of highly partisan politics based on long-lasting legislative alignments, contested elections, and conflicting ideological positions existed in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania from around 1740 until the American Revolution. He bases his thesis on the results of legislative cluster analysis for New York and New Jersey and an examination of contested elections and an analysis of selected issues in all three colonies. He presents his

material through a narrative that features the distinctions between the Quaker-Assembly and Proprietary, Administration and anti-Administration, and the Administration-DeLancy and anti-Administration-Livingston "parties" in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. His work complements, builds on, and challenges recent studies by Michael Batinski, Thomas Purvis, Patricia Bonomi, James Hutson, and Sally Schwartz and gives us a different view of Middle Atlantic colonial politics from that presented by W. Alan Tully.

Newcomb presents his argument in a clear, concise narrative that provides the reader with an excellent overview of and framework for the development of divisive politics within these three colonies. He relates these differences to regional, religious, and class variables, and his text gives readers a clear indication of how these relationships changed over time. His presentation for the period between 1760 and the Revolution gives the best concise, introductory account of the impact of imperial policy on legislative politics that I have read. His ability in accomplishing all this in under 220 pages of text is highly commendable.

Newcomb can accomplish so much in so little space only by presenting a narrow view of the political process. The reader must depend upon other authors for a presentation of the economic, ideological, cultural, social economic, legal, and administrative background. Except in some specific asides, he fails to give much attention to complex issues involving land and tenancy in New York and New Jersey, the importance of legislative response to petitions and other pressures from constituents, the efforts of legislators to expand their authority at the expense of the governor, council, proprietors, and imperial government, and other topics that have concerned scholars covering the same subject.

His narrowly defined argument, although well crafted, is not completely convincing. The absence of roll calls in Pennsylvania prevents him from analyzing its legislature on the same form and in the same informative tables as those used for New York and New Jersey. He argues for the existence of partisan divisions in certain contested elections but acknowledges that in Pennsylvania, despite annual elections, partisanship evaporated for lengthy periods, and he can use only a limited number of contests to prove his point for New York and New Jersey. He also notes the failure to develop broad-based, party-type organizations that could have linked legislative and electoral politics. He certainly proves the persistence of long-lasting divisions within the three legislatures, but he can relate these to only a handful of rather narrowly defined issues.

This book must be read and evaluated by anyone interested in the politics of early America or in the history of the Middle Colonies. It may even convince some of us that "party" is no longer a dirty word when

used to describe political behavior in certain colonies before the American Revolution.

VAN BECK HALL

University of Pittsburgh

ROGER H. BROWN. *Redeeming the Republic: Federalists, Taxation, and the Origins of the Constitution*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 337. \$38.50.

In this book, Roger H. Brown argues that the Federalists were responsible and moralistic champions of good government. His Federalists are not captured by dreams of ancient constitutions and pure republics. Instead, they espouse a variant of what would later be called classical economic theory, combining individual economic rationality with the moral virtues of hard work, saving, and paying one's obligations. For them, taxation—or the failure thereof—became the major issue in the 1780s, and the inability of states to fulfill the requisitions needed to maintain the Confederation spurred the Federalists to seek a stronger central government.

If some of the Federalists stood to gain personally from redemption of the national debt and stabilization of the currency, their "commitment to the revolutionary mission of building an enduring republic was an equal if not more important motivation" (p. 222). Behind the mission was a view of the world that was both optimistic and progressive. A good government, properly supported, would induce men to be productive: "Despite its paternalistic stance and its bourgeois economic morality, this Federalist behaviorism—this moral and social engineering—represents, like the Constitution itself, the Federalists' moderate Enlightenment belief in human improvement" (p. 233).

The theater in which this drama was played out was the states, and the script in most of them was pretty much the same. "Taxers" imposed their views on state government; "reliefers" led protests, which either modified the taxers' demands or threw them out of power. The source of resistance was the taxpayers, many of them poorer farmers. Seen from below, scarcity of currency made it almost impossible for ordinary people to pay their taxes. But taxers regarded resistance as proof that laxity and immorality were spreading through the land, for taxes were "a prosperity producing stimulant to lower class industriousness and saving" (p. 48). The proto-Federalist elite was also worried, with some reason, that the unwillingness to pay taxes was an omen that the Confederation itself was near collapse.

In Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, Brown finds the same scenario of "pressure-resistance-retreat" (p. 55). Despite the different complexion of local politics, the same forces led to the demise of the requisition system in all four. In other states, similar dramas were enacted. Only in those states whose governments did not attempt to ante up their full quota was politics safe from the

tumult of local disturbances, remonstrances, and refusals to pay. The answer, the Federalists concluded, was a stronger central government.

In the book's concluding sections, Brown takes on other historians' interpretations of the Federalists' motives and conduct and distinguishes his views from theirs. He then walks the reader through the major debates at the Constitutional Convention and in the Ratification period, showing how the Federalists tried to turn reliefer arguments back upon them. It was a near thing, but the Federalists won, and Brown seems pleased to report that the result was "a Republic, firm but flexible, that would last for ages" (p. 243).

Brown's work is superbly researched and clearly (if occasionally repetitively) argued. It is must reading for every student of the period and will become a standard source on Federalist politics and Confederation-era finances.

PETER CHARLES HOFFER

University of Georgia

LANCE BANNING. *Jefferson and Madison: Three Conversations from the Founding*. (The Merrill Jensen Lectures in Constitutional Studies.) Madison, Wis.: Madison House. 1995. Pp. xiii, 241. \$27.95.

Nearly all the true conversations that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison conducted during a half-century of political association and friendship are lost to the historical record. Much as we would like to eavesdrop as they chatted over a well-chosen bottle from Jefferson's cellar, our impressions of their friendship rely on their extant correspondence. Their best-known exchanges took place in the late 1780s, when they discussed the need to add a bill of rights to the Constitution and the not merely philosophical question, broached by Jefferson from France, of whether one generation has the right to bind its successors to its laws and debts. Their most momentous exchange of views, however, may have been those letters and papers of the 1790s that carried the two Virginians into opposition to the reigning policies of Alexander Hamilton and his Federalist allies.

Lance Banning gives these "conversations" a fresh reading in three essays, which originated as the Merrill Jensen Lectures sponsored by the Center for the Study of the American Constitution and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Other commentators on this correspondence have often stressed the insight it provides into the subtle but significant intellectual differences that marked the Madison-Jefferson collaboration. Madison usually appears as a conservative, prudent critic pulling an older but still impulsive Jefferson back from the momentary enthusiasms to which he was prone. But Banning presents a more balanced picture, deftly encouraging readers to perceive the deeper points of agreement that made their alliance so durable.

In his first essay, Banning suggests that Madison's decision to support the adoption of a bill of rights

cannot be explained simply as a campaign conversion. Banning's Madison, always open to argument and reconsideration, had learned something from both the concerns of Anti-Federalists and the advice of Jefferson, and he responded accordingly at the First Congress of 1789. This essay may be the least satisfying of the book, perhaps because this aspect of the Madison-Jefferson relationship has been reviewed so often—but also because a brief essay cannot quite capture all the complexities of Madison's thinking about rights.

The remaining essays, however, are well worth the price of admission. Here Banning pursues two major arguments. In reviewing the exchange over the right of each generation to escape the financial obligations and constitutional mortmain imposed by its forerunners, Banning notes that Madison's philosophical rebuttal of Jefferson's position must be read—and in effect moderated—in the light of their joint opposition to any Hamiltonian scheme to use an enduring national debt as a means of maintaining the power and influence of government. And in the concluding lecture, Banning narrows the difference between a democratic Jefferson and an anti-populist Madison by exploring the ways in which the opposition leaders of the 1790s sought not only to mobilize the “public spirit” of the people at large but also to create a properly republican mode of majoritarian decision-making.

The book includes a lengthy appendix of documents, making it a potentially useful vehicle for introducing the two Virginians to undergraduates.

JACK N. RAKOVE
Stanford University

OWEN S. IRELAND. *Religion, Ethnicity, and Politics: Ratifying the Constitution in Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 292. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

This is an engaging and well-written book. It is the first new book-length treatment of the ratification contest in Pennsylvania to appear in fifty years and, as such, it will be of interest to most students of the founding period. As the title makes clear, Owen S. Ireland writes in the contemporary tradition that sees ethnic and religious divisions, as opposed to divisions of class, economic interest, or ideology, as critical to the politics of constitutional ratification in Pennsylvania.

From an ethno-religious perspective, however, Pennsylvania's enthusiastic ratification of the federal Constitution sits uncomfortably with the history of the previous decade. Prior to the Revolution, Pennsylvania had been ruled by a conservative Quaker and Anglican elite. As the Revolution approached, a coalition of Scots-Irish Presbyterians and German sectarians seized control, wrote a populist state constitution designed to buttress their control, and held power for most of the next decade. The Scots-Irish Presbyterians and their allies, called Constitutionists for their strong attachment to the state constitution, were op-

posed throughout the decade by an English Anglican and Quaker-led party called Republicans.

When the debate over ratification of the federal Constitution occurred in late 1787 and early 1788, the Republicans took the name Federalists, because they supported the proposed federal Constitution, and they stuck the Constitutionists with the negative-sounding name Antifederalists. Why did the Constitutionists-Antifederalists, after having controlled Pennsylvania state politics for most of the previous decade, lose the ratification fight to the Republicans-Federalists? Ireland seeks to resolve this paradox.

The book is divided into two main sections, the first made up of four chapters. The first three of these chapters employ the special lens of an ethno-religious interpretation to present the standard story of Pennsylvania ratification. The federal Constitution was made public in late September, 1787, and on December 12, popularly elected delegates to the state ratifying convention approved the document by a two-to-one margin. The fourth chapter describes the apparently surprising inability of the state's dominant majority party of the previous decade, the Constitutionists, to effectively oppose, if not block, the proposed Constitution.

The second section of the book is composed of three chapters. In the first two, Ireland lays out the economic and political incentives at work on both the Republicans and the Constitutionists as they considered whether to support or to oppose the proposed Constitution. Ireland argues that both sides believed that substantial economic benefits, in the form of a more stable domestic economy, less state debt, lower state taxes, and greater leverage in trade discussions with the powers of Europe would follow adoption of the federal Constitution. The Republicans also assumed that the Constitution, with its enhanced powers, its necessary and proper and national supremacy clauses, and its structural focus on bicameralism, separation of powers and checks and balances, would strengthen their hand politically by casting implicit doubt on the weak, unicameral, multi-executive Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. The Republicans had *both* economic and political reasons for supporting the new federal Constitution, while the Constitutionists expected economic gain and political loss.

The final chapter of the second part of the book explains this apparently surprising political outcome in terms of a “quiet revolution.” Ireland shows that most Quakers and many Lutherans, German sectarians, and Anglicans withdrew from politics in 1775 rather than take up arms or swear oaths of allegiance against the king. This left the Scots-Irish Presbyterians and their German Reformed allies in the majority. The new majority pushed through the state constitution of 1776 and required Test Oaths designed to force the remaining Quakers from the electorate.

With the end of the Revolutionary War, the Quakers and their allies began to return to the electorate. Not surprisingly, the returning Quakers, Anglicans, and

German sectarians swelled the Republicans ranks, giving them majority control of the state legislature in 1786 and thereafter. The Republicans produced a two-to-one majority in the ratification convention, and by 1789 they were able to replace the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 with a new state constitution that reflected the separation of powers and checks and balance of the new federal Constitution.

Where Ireland is least convincing is in his contention that the ease with which the federal Constitution was ratified in Pennsylvania took the leading political figures of the day by complete surprise. This seems implausible, given so much of the rest of his argument. Certainly sophisticated partisans like James Wilson and George Bryan knew that the Quakers were returning to the electorate and lining up with the Republicans. The strength of Ireland's fine book is in its demonstration of the importance of ethno-religious continuities in Pennsylvania politics from the Revolution to the adoption of the federal Constitution.

CALVIN JILLSON
Southern Methodist University

SCOTT DOUGLAS GERBER. *To Secure These Rights: The Declaration of Independence and Constitutional Interpretation*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 315. \$45.00.

The clearly stated thesis of this book is that the Constitution "is grounded in natural rights philosophy, because the Framers enacted the Constitution to serve as the institutional framework through which the natural-rights principles of the Declaration of Independence can be advanced" (p. 10n). Scott Douglas Gerber thus positions himself as a "liberal originalist," in distinction from both a "conservative originalist" who insists directly and literally on interpreting the Constitution as the framers intended (Edwin Meese, Robert Bork, and William Rehnquist) and a liberal "living Constitution" advocate who sees its basic principles as changing and hopefully "progressing" (William Brennan, Ronald Dworkin, and Lawrence Tribe). A "liberal originalist" believes that we can know and understand the original intention of the framers (and the people who accepted their view by ratifying the Constitution) but that the essence of the Constitution is not detailed and time-specific provisions but simply the natural law philosophy of John Locke. In terms of the controversy over the ideology of the founding era, Gerber stands firmly with those who emphasize Locke and the rights-based liberal tradition and against the "public good" interpretation of "civic republican" historians such as John Pocock, Bernard Bailyn, and Gordon Wood.

In arguing this thesis, Gerber brilliantly explicates the Lockean philosophy of the Declaration of Independence and its subsequent implanting in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He shows as well that all the major thinkers of the founding era were generally imbued with this philosophy. He is persuasive in

showing that Locke was *the* philosopher of the American Revolution, that a natural law ideology pervaded the era, and that such an ideology remains fundamental to contemporary understanding of the Constitution.

But Gerber pushes his Lockean natural law emphasis too far. Although he admits that Locke was not the sole influence on the founders and that the Constitution is not solely about protecting rights, he insists that "the Founders were Lockean liberals on the *basic* purpose of government" (protecting rights) and that this is what "the Constitution is concerned most about" (pp. 199n and 200n). Instead, it seems clear that the founders emphasized both protecting rights and resting the public life of the new nation on virtue and the common good. Indeed, they would not have understood the dichotomy because to them both ideals rested on reason and natural law. James Madison would not, as Gerber supposes, have chosen the protection of "the natural rights of individuals" over "the general public good . . . if a choice had to be made" (p. 77). Rather, Madison would have seen each as implicit in the other and would have worked to make that manifest under the Constitution. He would have agreed with Thomas Jefferson that "Locke's little book on government [is] perfect as far as it goes [but only that far; emphasis added]" (p. 34) and that "the elementary books of public right" undergirding the Declaration of Independence included not only the allegedly "liberal" Locke and Algernon Sidney but also the profoundly civic-minded Aristotle and Cicero. Madison and Jefferson (and John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, too) were at once Lockean "liberals" and Aristotelians intent on good (virtuous) government. Therefore, it is not the civic republican interpreters who are "simply wrong in arguing that the American Revolution was motivated by concerns for virtue" but Gerber in asserting that "the *essential* political premise of the American regime is that government exists to secure natural rights, not to cultivate virtue" (p. 40).

These last quotations, moreover, illustrate a dogmatic quality about the book and an inclination to quarrel too explicitly and categorically with other scholars and interpreters. This, combined with a dissertation-like habit of "surveying the literature," a tendency to re-use and repeat quotations (see long quotes from Locke on pp. 42 and 130), and much gratuitous "scaffolding" guidance to readers about what he intends to do and what he has done, make the book tedious and irritating to read. Nonetheless, Gerber offers a learned interpretation of our foundational documents, properly finding them resting on a natural law philosophy and projecting that view in commentary on important cases in American constitutional law. Students will thus find the volume stimulating and worthwhile, although the best informed among them will challenge some of its basic arguments.

RALPH KETCHAM
Syracuse University

MATTHEW J. FRANCK. *Against the Imperial Judiciary: The Supreme Court vs. the Sovereignty of the People*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1996. Pp. viii, 279. \$35.00.

In this book, Matthew J. Franck takes aim at judicial activism, whether of the right or left. In doing so, he challenges much of the prevailing wisdom about the place of the Supreme Court in the American polity. Specifically, Franck maintains that the Supreme Court was not granted final authority to determine the meaning of the Constitution. He further asserts that the Court was not empowered to address political and social problems that the other branches of government have not resolved and that the justices may not legitimately invoke moral principles beyond the text of the Constitution as a basis for decisions. According to Franck, the framers envisioned a limited role for the judiciary. He is therefore perturbed at "the degree to which ordinary citizens seem to expect that the Court will resolve the nation's deepest political difficulties in a statesmanlike fashion" (p. 30).

Franck's basic concern is that judicial activism subverts republican self-government. Aside from specific provisions in the Constitution, he believes that there is no restriction on legislative power. He is even doubtful that all parts of the Bill of Rights are subject to judicial enforcement. Rather than put their faith in the federal courts, Franck asserts that the framers of the Constitution relied on the political process to protect the rights of citizens. The requirement of frequent elections and, if necessary, the right of revolution and formation of a new government would prevent abuse of constitutional liberties. He does not reject the existence of natural law but maintains that natural rights should guide lawmakers and are not judicially enforceable.

To bolster these conclusions, Franck has carefully parsed the views of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton and the opinions of the early Supreme Court. He contends, for instance, that Madison looked to public sentiment, not judicial review, as the primary bulwark of the Bill of Rights. Notwithstanding occasional observations about natural law, he also finds that the early justices did not reach beyond the language of the Constitution in reaching decisions. He is at pains to dispel the notion that John Marshall was a political activist. In Franck's view, Marshall never insisted that the Supreme Court was the final arbiter of all constitutional questions and did not pursue political objectives while on the bench. The villains in Franck's piece are Salmon P. Chase and Stephen J. Field. Both are assailed for importing extraconstitutional principles into the decision-making process for the purpose of enhancing the rights of property owners. He faults Field for distorting precedent in order to expand judicial power. This constitutionalization of natural-law precepts in time produced a supposed parade of horrors, from *Lochner v. New York* (1905) to *Roe v. Wade* (1973).

Historians are indebted to Franck for his meticulous reexamination of the origins of judicial review and the use of natural law in the early republic. Portions of his thesis are convincing. Marshall, for example, employed judicial review sparingly and directed his attention almost entirely to acts of state legislatures that threatened to disrupt the union. It is indeed a stretch to see Marshall as a model for the freewheeling judicial activism of the post-World War II era. To Franck's credit, moreover, he rejects the tendency of some scholars to applaud the exercise of judicial power to advance the liberal political agenda while decrying its use to protect conservative interests.

But one need not be a fan of an unbridled judiciary to find that other aspects of this book do not bear scrutiny. Although the framers of the Constitution relied in part on institutional arrangements to secure individual rights, they were fearful of majoritarian tyranny and clearly contemplated some degree of judicial review. In addition, Franck too quickly dismisses any substantive dimension to the concept of due process. Some judges and commentators early maintained that due process imposed substantive restraints on government to safeguard fundamental rights. It simply will not suffice to explain the emergence of substantive due process after the Civil War as an invention of Thomas Cooley in 1868.

There are still other problems with Franck's analysis. He gives little attention to federalism as a constitutional norm. He suggests that somehow the people are to monitor congressional power under the commerce clause yet, as a practical matter, this approach allows Congress to determine the extent of its authority, a notion at odds with the basic nature of a federal government of enumerated powers. Nor has Franck been able to escape the Progressive mythology of the *Lochner* era. Despite considerable revisionist scholarship, he persists in picturing the jurisprudence of the late nineteenth century as grounded on the extra-constitutional ideology of laissez faire. Yet the judicial commitment to economic liberty by the Morrison R. Waite and Melville W. Fuller courts might better be understood as a principled effort to fulfill the property-conscious values that infused the Constitution-making process in 1787. Given the substantive protection to property in the Constitution, jurists of the nineteenth century were not recognizing unenumerated rights. Lastly, it is unclear from Franck's account how the alleged constitutionalization of natural law has impeded popular sovereignty. The Supreme Court has rarely blocked determined congressional will for long.

If Franck has not presented a persuasive case for his narrow conception of the judicial function, his provocative book has questioned commonplace assumptions and contributed to the debate over the origins and purposes of judicial review.

JAMES W. ELY, JR.
Vanderbilt University

LEONARD W. LEVY. *A License to Steal: The Forfeiture of Property*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 272. \$29.95.

Leonard W. Levy has made another important contribution to legal history. This cogent, carefully researched, and well-argued study of the controversy surrounding forfeiture of property as a device to combat crime places historians and the public generally in his debt for making a thoroughly arcane topic comprehensible and clarifying the pressing current need for reform in this area of the law.

Early in the book, Levy makes it clear that, in both civil and criminal forfeiture, the action has a punitive effect on the perpetrator, as expected. All too frequently, however, it also has an adverse effect on constitutional rights and innocent parties. He cites the Second Circuit Court of Appeals' alarm at the widespread denial of due process in forfeiture cases: "We continue to be enormously troubled by the government's increasing and virtually unchecked use of the civil forfeiture statutes and the disregard of due process that is buried in those statutes." Levy explains that such laws make everyone who provides service to a criminal liable to lose any money they receive from or any money owed to them by the guilty party.

Much of Levy's discussion necessarily deals with the recent war on drugs which, he alleges, is almost a war on the Constitution. Given the pattern of the Supreme Court's deference to Congress, Levy attributes this abusive dimension to the legislative branch. He calls for an early congressional remedy, although he doubts that this is yet possible.

The legal historian finds much of value here. Making clear that the power of the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) and the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organization Act (RICO) form the legal basis of current forfeiture practices, Levy then moves back to thirteenth-century England for legal contexts and the concept behind deodands. A deodand (from the Latin "deo dandum," meaning "given to God") is a thing forfeited, presumably to God for the good of the community but in reality to the English crown. Even were it not for the strange and reasonably consistent use of deodands as a source of much crown income, the legal fiction of the law, Levy argues, was "unjust to the core" (p. 17). It punished innocent people, such as the owners of miscreant property that was supposed to have caused fatal accidents, and it included the arcane concept of the guiltiness of the thing.

This fiction of personification infects the law of civil forfeiture to this day, in part because, oddly enough, it has been accepted that such law has no punitive purpose because no person is involved. It would have been better had a remedial or regulatory action on behalf of the public formed the foundation of the American law of civil forfeiture. As it stands, the legal heritage of deodands has prevailed in all its injustice for far too long.

Criminal forfeiture, by contrast, derives from the

later law of felony. Of necessity, criminal actions exclusively involve the guilt or innocence of human perpetrators. The prosecution directs its energies against the person, who forfeits nothing unless convicted of the crime. From the outset, this has meant few constitutional protections for the person (???). A study of the records shows that no American colony endorsed criminal forfeitures as inevitable and severe as those of England at that time. Later, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights applied limitations, with the outcome that criminal forfeiture disappeared until the 1970s. Even then, its revival was a ludicrous failure for at least a decade. Indeed, Levy contends that, for most of the 1970s, it was a "flop" (p. 82). He then explores RICO and the case law of the 1980s, their enforcement, their victims, and the insidious but growing practice of sharing forfeiture proceeds. In all these areas, Levy carefully explicates the case law not only in its legalities but in the social, economic, and political contexts of the times, as well as in terms of the parties involved.

Fruitfully exploring the possibilities for an innocent owner's defense of his or her property, Levy finds the worst feature of both criminal and civil forfeiture to be their failure to provide adequately for the rights of innocent people. Civil forfeiture, he points out, is inherently hostile to the innocent: the owner does not matter because it is the owner's property that is the target of the legal proceeding.

Criminal forfeiture was clarified to a degree by the Comprehensive Forfeiture Act of 1984, which held that when property is acquired illegally, used illegally, or stained in any way by questionable acquisition, it becomes a target for forfeiture. Indeed, the criminal forfeiture laws make everyone who provides services to the criminal liable to lose any money involved. Thus, the relation-back doctrine followed by a conviction in a RICO or Continuing Criminal Enterprise case (CCE) beggars the defendant. That, as a matter of fact, Levy argues, was the objective of the statutes: to wipe out the economic basis of the racketeer's or drug trafficker's operation.

Overall, enforcement has been the problem. The patchwork of case law affects the law in strange, often contradictory ways, setting federal courts against each other and frequently blurring distinctions, as legal rules and standards often prove unenforceable. Clearly, class factors as well as race distinctions are at work here, as is the desire of local officials to seem to be checking crime while cashing in on its payoffs.

Reading the extended and complex detail in this book is both fascinating and frequently infuriating. Levy provides a good body of factual data, often hard to secure and harder to understand. This book supplies the data with which to do something about a crying public policy need.

PAUL L. MURPHY
University of Minnesota,
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JAMES R. ROHRER. *Keepers of the Covenant: Frontier Missions and the Decline of Congregationalism, 1774–1818*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 201. \$35.00.

James R. Rohrer's frontier missions are in the Burnt-Over area broadly defined, stretching from the west side of Vermont to the Western Reserve of Ohio, with some mention of western Pennsylvania and the old Northwest. His missionaries are the 148 Congregationalists from the Connecticut Missionary Society (CMS) sent out between 1798 and 1818.

Those who stayed a while in the field became seasoned and were "transformed" (p. 104). They responded to their new environment by preaching without notes as the sectarians were doing. They also itinerated, although they were more interested in starting up churches than the others. Methodists and Baptists pioneered the camp meeting that brought settlers and preachers together for several days of religion activities, but Congregationalists joined in. Camp meetings were notorious for producing physical manifestations (especially in Kentucky), yet Congregationalists on the frontier also came to accept this "enthusiasm" as God's work (p. 93).

In adapting to their situation, the missionaries could draw on precedents from the first Great Awakening in New England. George Whitefield preached extempore. New Lights imitated him and the more radical itinerated, even after Connecticut outlawed this in 1742. Jonathan Edwards, the New Light theologian, recognized that some people found "bodily exercises" irresistible, and described them as "natural, necessary and beautiful" (pp. 74–77).

The consistent Calvinism or New Divinity of the Congregationalist missionaries, moreover, was not a handicap in contending with Arminian sectarians. The CMS was careful to send out men who could handle confrontation and refute Methodists and Universalists who challenged predestination. Some settlers actually preferred the coherent, doctrinal exhortations of the New Divinity preachers.

In his landmark *Why Conservative Churches are Growing* (1972), Dean Kelley argues that "Churches grow when they maintain a . . . tension with society; when they adopt exclusivist membership requirements; and when members are stigmatized for their commitment" (p. 150). These missionaries maintained such strict standards and should therefore have been very successful, although accommodating to the frontier. Yet the Congregationalists, the dominant denomination in 1774, were surpassed by upstart denominations and slipped to fourth place by 1840. Why?

Rohrer's answers are reasonable but not very satisfying. He explains that they were limited by the Puritan heritage of the pure, covenanted church. They wouldn't baptize the infants of unregenerate parents; they demanded sound doctrine as well as a conversion experience for admission to communion. Moreover, many Connecticut clergy wanted to serve, but the CMS

winnowed out too many as unsuitable. And, as millennialists, they believed that Satan would be stronger during the Last Days and therefore accepted their relative decline with equanimity. Kelley's sociological thesis simply doesn't fit the Congregationalists in the early republic.

Rohrer's research revises scholarship by showing that Congregationalist missionaries did adapt considerably and were not too genteel, theological, political, or secular to compete. As keepers of the covenant, their concern for church founding was a disadvantage, yet in the new settlements demand for the Congregationalists, with their counterculture message, always exceeded supply.

CEDRIC B. COWING

University of Hawai'i at Manoa

ALAN TAYLOR. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. viii, 549. \$35.00.

The frontier and its influence on the national character is a subject that looms large in American history and in this excellent and intriguing work by Alan Taylor. As a biography, it is successful in capturing William Cooper's attempts to join the ranks of the elite and in portraying his blindness to the changing political climate of the era. The work is also a community study of an American frontier town, representing a second generation to studies by such noted historians as Kenneth A. Lockridge, Philip J. Greven, and Sumner Chilton Powell. It joins the recent spate of works that deal with settlement of the back country in the latter half of the eighteenth century, works that include Taylor's own *Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier 1760–1820* (1990). In addition to biography and community study, this new book also examines the fictional portrayal and justification of William Cooper's life and frontier experience provided by Cooper's youngest son, James Fenimore Cooper. Taylor skillfully weaves James Fenimore's interpretation of events throughout the narrative. Far from being distracting, the analysis provides another dimension to the reader's understanding of William Cooper's experiences in the town that bears his name.

William Cooper, younger son of a poor Quaker farmer, was born in Smithfield, Pennsylvania, in 1754 and worked as a humble wheelwright. His rise to fortune began with a fortuitous marriage to Elizabeth Fenimore, daughter of a wealthy Quaker farmer who gave Cooper a wedding present of 168 acres near Burlington, New Jersey. Cooper scorned the egalitarianism spawned by the American Revolution while using it to facilitate his own rise to the gentry class. As Taylor observes, Cooper's story was part of a "bourgeois revolutionary upheaval that permitted ambitious middling men to prey upon the property and positions of colonial gentlemen" (p. 83).

After the Revolution, Cooper bought almost 30,000 acres on Otsego Lake in upstate New York from its elite proprietors, who were anxious to sell because of unclear titles. Cooper established the county of Otsego and a town named after himself on what he claimed was uninhabited land. In fact, the land had been used for centuries by the Iroquois and in the 1780s was inhabited by hundreds of New England squatters. Once Cooper evicted both Indians and squatters, the town grew rapidly. By April 1795, it had fifty houses, with thirty more buildings raised in the next six months. As he developed Cooperstown, William brought his version of eastern culture and society to settlers there. At the same time, he continued to reinvent himself as a gentleman. An ardent Federalist, Cooper identified his interests with those of the elite and ignored the rising democratic tendencies of the era. Despite his efforts, the elite remained indifferent to Cooper, even after his entry into national politics as a United States representative. The reason for their indifference was Cooper's lack of breeding, reflected in his colloquial speech, poor education, and absence of refinement. His vain efforts to exhibit the values of the better sort were eventually scorned by his own son, James Fenimore, whose fictional character, Marmaduke Temple (*The Pioneers* [1823]), favored "garish ornaments and clumsy furniture" (p. 296), much as did his own father.

Cooper was not only rejected by the elite but also by increasingly vocal "rural democrats who saw him as a would-be aristocrat." Cooper's efforts to impose culture and order were resisted by the settlers, who were more interested in their own pursuit of wealth and power. Like other Federalists, Cooper "underestimated the enduring potential of the American Revolution to legitimate upstarts unwilling or unable to achieve or endure genteel authority." In trying to emulate the colonial elite, Cooper had hitched his wagon to a falling star. Old-style politics were out. The successful professional politicians of the new post-revolutionary era achieved success by courting the masses and by making "a show of their democratic love for the people" (p. 6).

Facing increasing criticism by the late 1790s, Cooper's venture in Otsego County was already in financial difficulties. Despite this, Cooper preserved his estate through his lifetime, but collapse followed within fifteen years of his 1809 death. James Fenimore wrote *The Pioneers* in an attempt to "revive and reclaim his lost property and position" (p. 7). In his fictional account of the settlement of Cooperstown, a patriarch, Marmaduke Temple, tries in vain to impose order on the violent frontier town of Templeton, much as William Cooper had. Both father and son believed that only benevolent power could preserve settlers from danger, but the fictional settlers were as reluctant to accept Temple's patriarchal rule as their real-life counterparts were in Cooperstown.

William and James Fenimore Cooper tried as best they could to ignore the changing values of their era.

James Fenimore continued to do so until his Cooperstown house was burned to the ground by resentful townspeople. Disturbed and distraught, he fled the United States for Europe, returning to Cooperstown in 1833 to find Americans more committed than ever "to egalitarian rhetoric, utilitarian ethics, possessive individualism, and social and geographic mobility" (p. 425). Cooperstown settlers, like most lower and middle-class Americans, were determined to reject elite concepts of society and to set the course of their own lives.

MARY LOU LUSTIG
West Virginia University

JACK TEMPLE KIRBY. *Poquosin: A Study of Rural Landscape and Society*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 293. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

Somewhere between the southeastern Virginia cities of Portsmouth and Suffolk, a long, low ridge known as the Suffolk Scarp rises almost imperceptibly from the surrounding lowlands. Streams to the west and south of the scarp flow into the shallow Albemarle Sound. Those to the east and north flow into the deep-water estuary of Chesapeake Bay. In Jack Temple Kirby's intriguing and highly readable book, the innocent-looking Suffolk Scarp looms large—indeed, larger than Chesapeake Bay itself—in the history of an area that has been settled by whites and Africans for almost four centuries.

The scarp divides the sometimes dry, sometimes swampy land between the lower James and Chowan Rivers, a subregion Kirby calls "Poquosin," an English corruption of "an Algonquian word meaning swamp-on-a-hill" (p. xii). Planters who raised crops and cut trees along the navigable rivers north of the scarp became immediately involved in the Atlantic trade. During the nineteenth century, as soils and forests became less productive, many of these "cosmopolitans" (as Kirby calls them) developed new farming practices designed to keep their lands profitable. Nowhere were such experiments more visible than on the lands of Edmund Ruffin, the bilious secessionist who pioneered the process of spreading fossil shells on his fields to improve yields.

South of the scarp, however, poquosin life was different. Lacking easy access to Atlantic ports, residents of this hinterland were often openly contemptuous of cosmopolitan farmers and their ways. Hinterlanders raised hogs on the open range and burned old fields to preserve fertility. Escaped slaves, criminals, and other renegades fled to the region's isolated wetlands. In the popular imagination, many of the inland swamps (especially the enigmatic Great Dismal) were celebrated by writers as places of natural splendor and romantic refuge. Not until the twentieth century, when lumber and paper companies began to utilize the region's abundant forests, did the hinterland

become completely linked to the coast in "a version of what is called civilization" (p. 234).

Poquosin plants and animals are as important as people in this story. The devastation of the Civil War is measured not only in human casualties but also in the sharp decline of the hog population between 1860 and 1870. And what better way to gauge post-World War II economic stagnation in the hinterland than to chart the advance of loblolly pine—a species that flourished on old farms and eventually became the darling of the paper and timber barons?

But what readers may finally appreciate most about this volume is its fairness. Kirby is himself a native of the poquosin. He is an unabashed admirer of its natural beauty who worries about toxic pollutants and ongoing development in the region. Yet he offers no universal indictment of those who now profit from its resources. Indeed, Kirby goes out of his way to commend Union Camp's Franklin Plant for its sustained efforts to control pollution in the Blackwater River. Such objectivity (still rare among environmental historians) will be welcomed by all who seek to understand the way life was and is in this unique part of the American South.

TIMOTHY SILVER
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WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *A Way Through the Wilderness: The Natchez Trace and the Civilization of the Southern Frontier*. New York: HarperCollins. 1995. Pp. xi, 382. \$30.00.

William C. Davis, author of numerous books on the Civil War and southern history, has written a fascinating and enjoyable book that is hard to put down once its first pages are turned. His subject is the old southwestern frontier, an area defined as the lower Mississippi River Valley eastward to Alabama, during the era from 1770 to approximately 1825. He uses the ancient Indian and buffalo trail historically referred to as the Natchez Trace—now a scenic national parkway—as the unifying motif around which he constructs his epic narrative. Along that trail, he tells, in yarn-spinning chapters, stories of education, war, Native Americans, law, disorder, pioneer settlement, cultural interchange, wealth, agriculture, and commerce in a grandly readable style.

The central theme of Davis's book is the adventure of settlement and the transition from a wilderness to something more settled, though certainly still raw, by the onset of the Jacksonian era. Much of the story he tells is actually the history of the old Natchez environs, with the lion's share of his anecdotes and stories drawn from the writings and letters of travellers mindful of the district's unique character. This should not surprise even the casual reader of the region's history in view of the town's role as terminus of the Natchez Trace and the mother settlement for most of the lower Mississippi Valley. The rest of the region eastward and upriver is attached to the main focal point of Davis's

narration as just so much baggage—as indeed much of it was in the period under review.

Serious students of the Old Southwest will not find much that is new in Davis's book. His sources are the usual ones, and most of them are secondary, except for some fascinating material gleaned from the Natchez Trace Collection at the Center for American Studies at the University of Texas in Austin. Nor is his analysis exceptionally revealing. We learn little beyond the descriptive about what it meant to have been a southern frontier rather than a western one, about the formation from the wilderness of a slavemasters' mentality, or about the interconnections and conflicts of life among the variety of its inhabitants. Too much is left out. The only women that appear are the Under-the-Hill prostitutes in Natchez. Moreover, the incredible story of slavery on the Trace and in its environs is dispatched in just a few pages. This may be the book's greatest weakness: the Trace itself is passed over as the focal point of analysis, much as its travellers passed over it in their journeys to get somewhere else.

Nevertheless, the book is so delightfully readable, so completely fetching in pace and theme, and so integrative of the existing scholarship that it is to be recommended for both the general public and scholars alike. You may finish craving more, but it is the type of robust history book that the reader will certainly finish.

RONALD L. F. DAVIS
*California State University,
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LAURENCE M. HAUPTMAN. *Tribes and Tribulations: Misconceptions about American Indians and Their History*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 164. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$15.95.

Laurence M. Hauptman draws on his twenty-five years of teaching experience and formidable history of publication on the subject of Indian/white relations in this collection of nine essays. On the first page of his brief preface, Hauptman usefully differentiates between the terms "misconceptions," which he defines as "meaning erroneous conceptions, false opinions, wrong notions, or misunderstandings," and "myths," which "quite likely concern heroes or deities and attempt to explain a society's worldview or sense of identity" (p. xi). His stated aim in examining what are often "false assumptions" is "twofold: to stimulate student interest in this important subject, one that too often has been marginalized in American history; and to raise the level of intellectual debate about Native Americans and their histories" (p. xiv).

Although each chapter provides a unique perspective on some aspect of red/white interaction, the earlier essays are more clearly responses to historical misconceptions or incidents of selective historical memory. For instance, Hauptman's examination of the term "genocide" in the first essay, in which he carefully defines the term and argues for its possible use as a description of particular Anglo-American treatments

of Indians, is well-presented and convincing. In the third essay he critiques the widely held (and widely taught) belief that the framers of the Constitution looked to the Iroquois Confederacy as a model by pointing out that James Wilson's ideas can be traced more clearly to Montesquieu than to the Iroquois. The fifth essay is an instructive discussion of the involvement of many Indian nations in the Civil War, which is distilled from Hauptman's other recent book, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (1995).

The last three essays, which discuss respectively the careers of Louis Francis Sockalexis and Jay Silverheels, the notion that there are few Indian peoples east of the Mississippi, and the tremendous amount of recent litigation involving American Indian concerns and advocates, are often enlightening, but it is not always clear in these chapters what "misconceptions" Hauptman is out to correct. It is hard to imagine that anyone interested in this volume would think that Chief Wahoo, the logo of the Cleveland Indians, or Tonto, as portrayed by Jay Silverheels, in any way represent reality, or (although Hauptman does suggest that this is the case) would believe that few Native Americans currently live east of the Mississippi, or would be unaware that there have not been numerous recent court battles fought by various individuals and tribal groups. Nevertheless, Hauptman's discussion and documentation of the controversies surrounding the federal recognition of tribal nations in chapters 8 and 9 is quite worthwhile.

Toward the end of his preface, Hauptman states that the "major underlying theme that connects these essays is that language affects our mental images and helps create and/or further misconceptions about American Indians" (p. xiii). While this crucial idea is implicit throughout the book, it could well have been further explicated and perhaps returned to in a closing statement. The end of chapter 9 marks the end of the text, however, and the reader may be somewhat disappointed that someone of Hauptman's long experience did not attempt to elaborate on the cultural and/or theoretical bases of such misconceptions. That being said, Hauptman does achieve his goal of raising the consciousness of his reader. This well-documented study makes clear that what have become the traditional understandings of red/white interactions must continually be subjected to scrutiny.

ROBERT S. TILTON
University of Connecticut,
Storrs

ROBERT E. BIEDER. *Native American Communities in Wisconsin, 1600-1960: A Study of Tradition and Change*. (A North Coast Book.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 288. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$17.95.

A strong sense of community and tribal identity comprise the essence of Indian survival. The tribes that have taken pride in their identity and value their

communities have withstood the rigors of their environment, white invasion, efforts at extermination, and the backlash to the American Indian Movement. Robert E. Bieder studies the concepts of community and identity in light of their historical, environmental, and sociological development in the tribes that made Wisconsin their home.

The Menominee were the first tribe in Wisconsin, followed in prehistoric times by the Ojibwa and the Winnebago. These tribes adapted to the environment and organized communities. Tribal members assumed roles in the community. The people refined traditions, created a spiritual expression, and established a governing arrangement for the common good. Their culture has been identified as Central Algonquian. Although the Winnebago were Siouan people, they, too, took up the role of hunters and gatherers, supplementing their diets with fish and growing beans, squash, and corn. These early Wisconsin communities survived in a constant state of change influenced by contact with each other and later with other tribes, warfare, natural disasters, and individual acts of tribal members.

Each of the early tribes developed independent means of survival. The Ojibwa, living in the far north, were forced to move about in winter in search of game. The Menominee developed a great reliance on wild rice and built birch-bark canoes to gather it. The seasons regulated their life. Because they had food, warm dwellings, and waterways, they established sedentary communities. The Winnebago practiced agriculture and came to accept some of the more beneficial Algonquian traits. A friendship developed with the Menominee, and the two groups hunted together in the fall.

Drastic changes began to occur as the Iroquois war drove Great Lake tribes—Ottawa, Huron, Petun, Fox, Sauk Potawatomi, Miami, and Kickapoo—westward. Their incursion into Wisconsin brought warfare among the tribes, resulting in destruction of the environment and some cultural disintegration for the indigenous tribes. This was, however, just a prelude to the rapid changes introduced by the arrival of the French, the English, and the Americans.

Bieder discusses French and English contacts with the various tribes and the individual tribal responses to the fur trade, European trade goods, whiskey, and the European wars in America. The desire for what the Europeans offered weakened Indian communities and leadership. Bieder sees the Midewiwin Society and the emergence of traditional Indianness among some tribes, like the Menominee, as a positive, saving response to the pressures of white influences.

The collapse of Indian communities in Wisconsin was nearly completed with American settlement in the Ohio Valley and in areas of Wisconsin from Green Bay to Milwaukee. Indian removal westward left only the Ojibwa and Menominee, their communities greatly altered but still living on and controlling a portion of their original holdings. The Oneida, removed from New York in the 1830s, also remained in Wisconsin.

Pressures to remove these tribes continued until the reversal of termination in Richard Nixon's administration. Through it all, the tribes who still survive retain the concepts that make them Indian. The ideas of community and identity are intrinsic in the people who remain.

In this little volume, Bieder presents a fresh look at the Indian tribes of Wisconsin and clearly describes what happened to them from their beginnings to 1960. Bieder briefly deals with the period after 1960 in his introduction and epilogue. This book should appeal to anyone who has an interest in Wisconsin or Indian history.

PATRICIA K. OURADA
Boise State University

JERALD T. MILANICH. *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1995. Pp. xix, 290. \$29.95.

Jerald T. Milanich, author of *Archaeology of Precolonial Florida* (1994), has written a fine study of the Florida Indians from the so-called European encounter of the sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century, when their cultures were extinguished. Like so many other pre-Colombian Indians in the New World, Florida's aboriginal peoples perished as a consequence of wars of conquest, servitude, and the introduction of destructive European diseases. Milanich is an archaeologist, but he also has complete command of the historiography of the Florida Indians. His work is based on both archaeological and historical sources. This book is a companion volume to his superb archaeological study and continues the account of the natives under European control.

The first and longest part of the book is devoted to the indigenous people at the time of the Spanish conquest. His study surveys all of Florida. The well-known Ais, Calusa, Timucua, and Tequesta as well as the Hobe, Jaega, Joron, Matecumbe, Mayaca, Santaluces, and Tocobaga are as thoroughly described as available sources permit. The paucity of written materials makes it difficult to see the sixteenth-century peoples with any clarity. A credible view of the Florida Indians emerges, however, from the combined use of archaeological artifacts and historical documents.

The second section considers the conquest of Florida, which Milanich chooses to call "The Invasion." He offers the contemporary critique of the conquest, which cost the natives the bulk of their population. In Spanish Florida, the original population of 350,000 was reduced in two centuries to a few people who migrated with the Floridians to Cuba in 1763-1764. When the exiles subsequently died in the Caribbean, the Florida Indians were gone forever.

Although Milanich avoids the temptation to blame the Europeans for the end of the Indians, he makes the point that the invasion, "whatever the intent, was wrong" (p. 103). His observation is obvious and unnecessary in a study of the Florida Indians. Humanity's

history of inhumanity, whether in the Asian empire of Genghis Khan, Aztec Mexico, Bosnia, or Northern Ireland is well known. It is also well known that the New World was no utopia; all the great pre-Colombian Indian civilizations were guilty of incredible cruelty. What happened to the Florida Indians, unfortunately, fits into the history of inhumanity. It needs no new moral judgment.

The last part of this volume looks at the aftermath of the invasion. The survival of the Florida Indians in the seventeenth-century Spanish missions resulted in irreversible cultural change, and they disappeared when the system was destroyed early in the next century. Natives from the north ultimately took their lands and incorporated survivors into their culture.

Milanich's book is an essential study of the Florida Indians. It vividly reveals the last three centuries of their existence.

ROBERT L. GOLD
Southern Illinois University

F. TODD SMITH. *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854*. (The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, number 56.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1995. Pp. 229. \$24.50.

This is the first scholarly history of the independent Caddo Indians. Three "confederacies"—the Hasinai, the Kadohadachos, and the Natchitoches—enjoyed good mutual relations, shared much language and culture, and came by the nineteenth century to form the Caddo people. F. Todd Smith has written a fine, detailed, and compact chronicle of the three confederacies' external relations with imperial powers and with other Indians.

Smith argues that productive agriculture gave the Caddos both trading advantages over and prestige among the region's Indians, conditions that the Caddos parleyed into diplomatic successes during the colonial period. Positioned between the colonial outposts of France and Spain, and later between Spain and the United States, the Caddos exacted favorable terms of trade, which they extended to their Indian allies. In the colonial period, the Caddos sought allies against the Osages, the Comanches, and the Lipan Apaches. In the early national period, they found new allies in—and faced new challenges to their regional dominance from—the displaced "emigrant" Indians of the East: Cherokees, Kickapoos, Shawnees, and Delawares.

By this time, decimated by disease, bound in economic dependency, and faced with dispossession by Anglo-American settlers and African slaves, Caddo authority dissipated as Mexico and Texas went into revolution. With the independence of Texas, the Caddos lost all diplomatic autonomy to the Texas legislature, a precarious situation that would endure into the statehood period because Texas, by virtue of its treaty of annexation, stood outside the normal constitutional

pattern of federal-Indian relations. In 1854, the book's terminal date, Texas passed an act allowing the federal government to assume jurisdiction over an Indian reservation—to include the Caddos—within Texas. A brief epilogue assures us that Caddo history did not end in 1854; even today Caddos maintain a “tribal complex” in Oklahoma.

Smith's scholarship is solid and his writing concise, but something seems amiss in his estimates of early Caddo population. If Smith is right, the Caddos suffered extremely, even by North American standards. In 1500, they numbered 200,000; in 1690, 10,000, and in 1890, 500 (pp. 7, 173). Did the Caddos suffer two demographic declines, each of ninety-five percent?

As the title suggests, this is more a diplomatic history than an ethnohistory. External relations govern the narrative; there is not much treatment of the Caddos themselves. Persistence and change in political, social, and religious forms are asserted rather than explained or analyzed. Even external relations are examined mainly for their bearing on diplomacy's functions, not on diplomacy's meanings in the fashion of Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (1991). Economic relations, which Smith argues held sway in diplomacy, are probed only at the macroeconomic level; the relations of ordinary Caddos with others are not investigated in the manner of Daniel H. Usner, Jr.'s *Indians, Settlers and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (1992). Instead, Smith clearly, traditionally, and succinctly outlines the Caddos' diplomatic and strategic relations with others over three centuries.

GREGORY EVANS DOWD
University of Notre Dame

HOWARD MEREDITH. *Dancing on Common Ground: Tribal Cultures and Alliances on the Southern Plains*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1995. Pp. 218. \$29.95.

During the past three hundred years, many different Indian tribes have moved into the original homelands of the Wichita Indians in southwestern Oklahoma. Among these tribes are the Caddos, Comanches, Kiowa, Delawares, Plains Apaches, Cheyennes, and Arapahos. Some of these tribes relocated willingly, while others were forcibly moved there by the United States government. Howard Meredith combines “traditional tribal approaches” (p. 1) with solid historical research to provide a highly original and informative account of three centuries of Native American life on the Southern Plains.

Meredith uses information provided by his own Indian students as well as linguistic, anthropological, and historical studies to discuss the various tribal customs and cultures in a manner that is clearly understandable to the reader. He looks at the way each tribe physically interacted with the ecosystem of the

region and explains the myths and symbols the tribes used to understand their world. Not only did each tribe attempt to coexist in balance with the environment, but they also strove to create harmonious relationships with each other. Meredith insists that the tribes successfully accomplished these goals because all of their cultural traditions were based on common understanding and inclusiveness. During the eighteenth century, therefore, the agricultural Wichitas and Caddos were able to forge strong collaborative alliances with the buffalo-hunting Comanches and Kiowas.

Unfortunately for the tribes, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries they have been dominated by the overwhelming power of the United States government. Throughout the work, Meredith consistently juxtaposes the Western worldview, which he believes is based on adversarial positions and demonstrated through the metaphor of warfare, with the Southern Plains tribal notions of inclusiveness and understanding, which are expressed in terms of dance. Although Meredith overworks this idea at times, it helps explain why the Indians and the United States government have found it so hard to reach a mutually satisfactory understanding over the past two hundred years. Rather than join the harmonious system developed by the Southern Plains tribes, Anglo-American officials tried to destroy it and to force the Indians to assimilate to their way of life.

This adversarial relationship was very destructive to the Indians, but the government did not succeed in completely stamping out the ways in which the various tribes viewed the world. In fact, Meredith believes that the tribes have recently begun to re-employ their traditional integrative system in order to force the government to implement policies of self-determination and self-sufficiency. Although the struggle is still incomplete, Meredith insists that only through the readoption of their past ideals of harmony and coexistence will the Southern Plains tribes be able to be successful in the future.

F. TODD SMITH
University of West Florida

FREDERICK E. HOXIE. *Parading through History: The Making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805–1935*. (Cambridge Studies in North American Indian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 395.

Frederick E. Hoxie's study traces how, under duress, the Crow people transformed themselves from nomadic bison hunters to an ethnic community or “nation.” He self-consciously discusses how documentation can illuminate the historical experiences of Crow people, although they produced few written documents. Simultaneously, he makes explicit connections between Crow and other histories. This work admirably transcends the parochial bounds that stymie integration of American Indian history into the mainstream.

The most visible male political leaders receive most of Hoxie's attention. Tribal self-governance never disappeared, despite federal opposition. Leaders struggled to maintain their prominence by striking a delicate balance; they gained authority from federal approval but lost popular support by being too cooperative. Supporting issues that galvanized Crow people bolstered the leaders' prestige and influence. Plenty Coups unified the Crow in the face of persistent pressure to sell land. Robert Yellowtail spearheaded efforts to press claims against the U.S. government and was the first Native American appointed as superintendent of an agency. Cohesiveness allowed the Crow to prevail politically. As the title suggests, the Crow demonstrated their pride by dressing up and parading.

The Crow failed, however, to achieve meaningful economic success. Misguided federal policies and mismanaged funds doomed farming and ranching efforts. Hoxie interprets the Crow Act of 1920, which partitioned lands that remained as surplus after allotment, as a victory. It is hard to agree. Twenty years of precedents should have provided ample forewarning of the dispossession that would result.

Hoxie's analysis of religious adaptation is penetrating. The ancient Tobacco Society endured all efforts to destroy it. Crow people continued to show flexibility in considering their spiritual options. They sampled Catholicism and Protestantism. The peyote religion gained headway. Older ceremonies that they successfully defended as "innocent," along with borrowed innovations like the grass dance, became features of celebrations that coincided with American holidays like the Fourth of July, Easter, and Christmas. Individuals saw no contradiction in practicing several options simultaneously.

Five district communities emerged, characterized by clan and band exogamy but district endogamy. Diseases plagued the population, killing more children and women, even as women bore more children than ever before. The Crow continued to have successive early marriages before settling into a long-term last union. Tantalizing bits of information, however, suggest a lost opportunity. More women remained in the same district communities. Women wrote the majority of wills and left nothing to their husbands. Given that the Crow, offshoots of the Hidatsa, were matrilineal, these tidbits suggest that the Crow practiced matrilocality and maintained their matrilineal descent system. Perhaps census enumerators who recorded male "heads of household" exhibited androcentrism. Indeed, Hoxie's overall analysis implies that women had little role in making the Crow nation.

Several aggravating problems mar the volume. It is riddled with typographical and punctuation errors. Graphs of age structures fail to identify sex, maps have no scale, and one table of families is incomprehensible. The book makes no use of terms in the Crow language. Nowhere does Hoxie explain where the term "Crow" came from or what they called themselves. And it is jarring to find a contemporary scholar repeatedly using

"the white man" to describe the society and institutions of the United States.

Nonetheless, Hoxie's work is a welcome addition to our understanding of how native people adjusted to the advance of American society and its capitalistic economy.

MELISSA L. MEYER
University of California,
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CLARA SUE KIDWELL. *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818-1918*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 271. \$32.95.

Commonplace knowledge of Choctaw experience 150 years ago has it that those Native Americans, their culture weakened by missionary influence, succumbed meekly to Andrew Jackson's removal stratagems. They ceded ancestral lands in what became the state of Mississippi and moved west of the big river to begin a new life in territory allotted there. Now we know better. In the best tradition of revisionist work, Clara Sue Kidwell's solid study provides a more thorough coverage of the subject and a more balanced interpretation of its many nuances.

The greater part of this book recounts familiar episodes, but it does so with an unmatched wealth of detail and insight. We learn, as is increasingly the case when we study tribes more carefully, that Choctaws did not constitute as closely integrated a political unit as whites made them out to be. It is more accurate to say that several large kinship groups occupied three separate geographical districts and shared elements of a common material and intellectual culture. Pre-existent divisions and rivalries made it easier to treat with bands of people who never really adhered to a monolithic union to begin with. We also read again of such missionaries as Cyrus Byington and Cyrus Kingsbury, this time with replete documentation and careful scrutiny of their personalities and methods. Kidwell is balanced and candid as she traces the changes wrought by disease, trade goods, livestock, and induced literacy, all of which culminated in 1830 with the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. Losing their land base, Choctaws appeared to be headed for oblivion.

But about five thousand remained near Nanih Waiyah, their place of origin, forming what is now recognized as the Mississippi Band of Choctaws. In this portion of the book, Kidwell makes her greatest contributions. Simply by bringing new material to light, she enhances our awareness of complex realities. Further removal in 1903 had devastating effects on Choctaw community stability. But, again, not all left, and a tenacious remnant held on to vestiges of pre-contact ways. Local churches, particularly Baptist and Methodist ones, provided locales where congregants could bond together, speak their own language, and play stick ball. The vigor of today's tribal governments in both Oklahoma and Mississippi refutes earlier pronouncements (notably those of John Swanton and

Angie Debo) that the Choctaws have lost ethnological integrity. Ironically enough, modern Protestant educators and evangelists may have helped protect Indian identity rather than destroy it through further assimilation. The perennial questions of conversion, syncretism, and the essentials of cultural identity take on new configurations as a result of this study.

HENRY WARNER BOWDEN
Rutgers University

JEFFREY BURTON. *Indian Territory and the United States, 1866–1906: Courts, Government, and the Movement for Oklahoma Statehood*. (Legal History of North America, number 1.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 314. \$28.95.

Jeffrey Burton is the latest historian to offer an explanation for the demise of the governments of the Five Southern Tribes. He rejects the theories of predecessors ranging from Roy Gittinger and Carl Coke Rister to H. Craig Miner. Gittinger, and more directly Rister, emphasized the roles of railroads, speculators, and homesteaders in dismantling the tribal governments. Miner placed the principal blame on the machinations of corporations, particularly railroads.

Burton, however, maintains that “the federal Government, acting not for homestead or commercial interests but for itself as a political organism and engine of political change” (p. xii), did the deed. He acknowledges that the politicians had an easier time of it because of the “diversities of attitude, ambition, and action in most of the five individual Nations and by the absence of any continuous common political front linking their governments” (p. xiii). Extending the federal judicial system, according to Burton, was “the axis of a political campaign to undermine the tribal governments” (p. xix).

Burton devotes most of his attention to the functioning of the federal and Indian courts in Indian Territory, the home of the Five Civilized Tribes after their removal from the Southeast. He finds the tribal governments and their justice systems generally inefficient, often corrupt, and usually faction-ridden. Nor does he find the federal courts, the wedge for the introduction of federal power, totally efficient and free of corruption, using the district court at Fort Smith as his principal illustration of their inadequacies.

Inevitably, Burton faces stylistic problems as he again and again recounts in sequence what occurred in the Five Tribes. Sometimes the mass of detail on the operation of tribal governments and federal courts becomes tedious. Overall, however, he provides a well-organized and lucid account.

Although I admire Burton’s handling of a difficult topic, I am not convinced of the validity of his thesis, which substitutes a Washington political entity for the demographic and economic forces that other historians have offered to explain the dismantling of the Five Tribes’ governments. As his own account demonstrates, by the late 1890s, non-Indians greatly outnumbered

Indians in the territory. Congress used concern for the welfare of these intruders to justify the growing role of federal courts. As Burton makes clear, there were both white men and a majority of the Indians who had a stake in perpetuating the status quo, but in the end they were outlobbied by the forces that stood to profit by change. Financial interests from St. Louis to Wichita Falls, hundreds of thousands of homesteaders, and land speculators demanded action. These were real forces that congressmen in a representative democracy could not ignore. The Washington establishment was not a political organism operating in isolation.

A flawed thesis need not detract, however, from the overall usefulness of a volume. This one will have to be consulted by anyone seeking information on why and how the nineteenth century governments of the Five Southern Tribes were destroyed.

WILLIAM T. HAGAN
Norman, Oklahoma

EMMY E. WERNER. *Pioneer Children on the Journey West*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. xii, 202. \$21.95.

In this highly idiosyncratic, short (186 pages) book, Emmy E. Werner, a developmental psychologist interested in high-risk children, relates stories of selected Anglo children on the overland trail to California. For the most part, Werner presents harrowing tales: Nancy Kelsy, a young mother who walked barefoot through the snow in 1841 with her infant daughter in her arms; the children of the Donner party; children caught in the 1849 snowstorms on the Lassen Trail; children who crossed Death Valley in 1849–1850; and young people on the Gila Trail during the 1850s who “encountered mayhem and massacres along the way” (p. 5). Even in chapter six, which purports to relate stories of “ordinary” journeys, the subjects tell of gales, hail and dust storms, and fear of Indians.

While it is useful to have children’s voices speak about the trail experience, some analysis would have been welcome. Instead, Werner offers short narrations interspersed with long, direct quotes from diaries, letters, and memoirs. There is little application of the vast and rich scholarly literature on the overland trail experience; in fact, endnotes number only thirteen.

In addition, there is no sense of fun, mischief, and pranks. One wonders if nothing but miniature adults existed on the overland trail. Were the youngsters all saints who were “vulnerable, but invincible,” the title of the concluding chapter? It is hard to believe that, as Werner states, “most pioneer children on the overland journey were active and outgoing youngsters—not passive onlookers” whose “cheerful, easygoing personalities attracted the attention and affection of their fellow travellers” (p. 160). And did children generally possess religious and spiritual natures, so that “even when confronted with seemingly insurmountable hard-

ships, they believed life made sense and that they had some control over their fate" (p. 170).

My own reading of trail narratives suggests that not all children were pioneer saints; many romped, played, caused trouble for their elders, and whined or gave up in times of hardship. Some were brats, others malcontents, and others hated the idea of migrating westward.

Westward-trail children is a long-neglected topic and I would welcome a balanced scholarly examination of it, one that also includes some children of color and differentiates young people's experiences by age groups. But a paean to prove that pioneer children demonstrated humans' "resilience as a species" (p. 159) only presents those stories and documents that the author collected; it does not enhance understanding of young overlanders' experiences.

GLEND A RILEY
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KATHLEEN DE GRAVE. *Swindler, Spy, Rebel: The Confidence Woman in Nineteenth-Century America*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1995. Pp. x, 270. \$37.50.

Kathleen De Grave's book studies images of confidence women mainly from the turn of the century. She defines "confidence woman" in terms of American myth criticism, not ordinary language, and she is only minimally interested in the actualities of women's lives. In the real world, confidence men or women are swindlers who operate by gaining the confidence of their victims. You buy the Brooklyn Bridge, invest in worthless stock, give to a phony charity, or pay my way to Tucson because you believe my story; you have confidence in me. Confidence scammers are produced by, and inimical to the functioning of, modern societies composed of mobile strangers. De Grave, equating confidence with self-confidence, sees her subjects as feminist rebels and heroines.

With this definition and the entire literary field to analyze, one expects an avalanche of examples. De Grave has found only a few instances of what she seeks, however, and she argues curiously both for the existence of an overlooked tradition and for its absence. Absence and presence are explained by the same theory: confidence women were so disruptive of expectations for women that they had to be ignored.

Chapter 2 offers a genealogy of confidence women beginning with Scheherazade, whose storytelling De Grave claims created respect for women's gender as well as saving her life. Chapter 3 gives a typology of confidence women, from criminal deceivers to adventuresses to escape artists to everyday pretenders, encompassing any woman who deceives so as to escape the system, with a particular focus on cross-dressing and passing as straight, male, white, or genteel. Chapter 4 looks at six autobiographies of confidence women. Chapter 5 discusses toned-down versions of confidence women in nineteenth-century fiction, including Catharine Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie* (1827), E. D.

E. N. Southworth's *Hidden Hand* (1859), and Louisa May Alcott's *Behind a Mask* (1862). (The index, by the way, is horrible; Alcott is not listed in it.) In chapter 6, De Grave approaches late nineteenth-century women novelists as confidence women practicing the bait-and-switch tactic of promising a conventional story and delivering instead a subversive one. Examples are Elizabeth Stoddard's *The Morgesons* (1862), Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Oldtown Folks* (1869), Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *Doctor Zay* (1882), and Frances E. W. Harper's *Iola Leroy* (1892).

In conclusion, De Grave says that, in nineteenth-century America, the confidence woman was any woman who "used disguise, deception, and manipulation to become human" (p. 245). Even putting aside the fact that her subject is image not reality, this formulation—assuming that the only way to be a good woman in those days was to be a pious, pure, passive, and dependent "true woman"—is false. Feminist scholars have discovered hundreds of nineteenth-century women activists who vigorously pursued various causes that seemed to them right and good. A study of confidence women needs this context to explain how and why some women chose to be bad. Swindling people may be justified, and is certainly a way to be human, but it is not the only way.

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SYLVIA D. HOFFERT. *When Hens Crow: The Woman's Rights Movement in Antebellum America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 153. \$25.00.

Sylvia D. Hoffert offers a valuable new perspective on the movement for woman's rights in antebellum America. Combining intellectual and social history, Hoffert focuses on the origins and impact of the ideology and rhetoric developed by a network of feminist men and women who laid claim to public space and speech from which women had traditionally been excluded. In a well-orchestrated campaign of conventions and publicity, these advocates of equal rights rescued the movement from obscurity by targeting the editors of the penny press as their primary audience. Believing that even negative publicity was better than neglect, they enlisted both hostile and supportive journalists. Hoffert argues that this strategy was successful in reaching a mass audience and in establishing the "intellectual, rhetorical, and public relations foundations upon which modern American feminism could be built" (p. 118).

Hoffert makes a significant contribution to the study of the ideological origins of American feminism in her brilliant synthesis of the disparate elements that early American activists brought together to consolidate their intellectual progression beyond Republican motherhood. In fine readings of Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, utilitarianism, and contract theory, Hoffert traces how early advocates used the language

of Republicanism and the Common Sense school to legitimate their claims to reason and the propriety of their pursuit of self-interest. She relates ideology to rhetoric, observing that the activists' language avoided the imagery of domesticity. Hoffert notes the use of traditionally male idioms, including the mechanical, the agricultural, and the military, viewing women's use of such language as evidence of their secular and progressive tendencies. She acknowledges, however, that the movement's evangelical Christian soldiers used martial references driven by religious symbolism.

Hoffert is interested as well in the rhetorical strategy of the opponents of woman's rights in the press and convention hall. She explores their portrayals of woman's rights advocates as "Amazons" in breeches, "Aunt Nancy men" in skirts, and, as the volume is titled, hens who crow, suggesting that the adversaries' attacks focused primarily on the anomalous gender identities of advocates. Hoffert sees such sensationalized portrayals as serving the interests of newspaper publishers, but she is timid in exploring how such imagery may have reflected not only the hostility of opponents, but, more broadly, contemporary "gender trouble," to borrow Judith Butler's phrase (*Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* [1990]): the anxieties about gender dislocations in a society facing profound shifts in roles, identities, and perhaps even sexualities.

In the end, this fine study demonstrates Hoffert's extraordinary talents at synthesis: of the diverse intellectual traditions that contributed to the ideology of the early woman's rights movements; of the existing historiographical approaches to subject; and, finally, of interpretive frameworks of the relationship of the early movement to modern feminism. She firmly places the antebellum claims of possessive individualism between the era of Republican motherhood and the ascendance of social science. Scholars and students will turn to this work for many years.

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STEVEN MINTZ. *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers*. (The American Moment.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 179. Cloth \$38.95, paper \$13.95.

This is a history of the first era of reform in the United States, from roughly 1820 to 1860. Relying on the large secondary literature on reform in this era, Steven Mintz builds his own interpretation of reformers and their goals, successes, and failures. He charts a middle course between those who have interpreted reformers as intent upon imposing middle-class values such as hard work, sobriety, thrift, and ambition on the lower classes and those who have viewed reformers as pioneers in improving the lot of the downtrodden. Mintz argues that reformers responded critically to the enormous economic changes of the era and particularly to the growing emphasis on "acquisitiveness and exploitation." They insisted on "human dignity and decen-

cy." This insistence led them both to try to change the moral values of the outcast and to create "modern institutions to rescue and rehabilitate the victims of social change" (p. xviii).

Mintz begins the book with a description of the vast social changes taking place in antebellum America and moves on to discuss the religious response to these changes. He covers the evangelical Protestant Christian response and also that of millennialists, Mormons, Catholics, Jews, and free African-American church members.

Mintz divides the actual reforms of this era into three types: those that spread morality and virtue (such as Bible, tract, and missionary societies and, later, anti-prostitution, Sabbatarian, and temperance groups), those that constructed new institutions to combat various social problems (including almshouses, penitentiaries, houses of refuge, mental hospitals, asylums for the deaf and the blind, and public schools) and, last, those that sought to change social attitudes (antislavery, feminist, and utopian movements). Mintz concludes with a brief analysis of how the antebellum reform movement relates to other liberal reform efforts in Britain and the United States. He notes that liberalism is out of favor in the United States today but argues that the goals of nineteenth-century reformers are in many ways as relevant now as ever.

The brevity of this book is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength because it makes the large and varied antebellum reform effort accessible and comprehensible to students and to others unfamiliar with the historiography of reform of this era. It is readable and without footnotes, although there is a good bibliography for those who wish to delve more deeply into any one of the innumerable reforms Mintz covers. The brevity of the book also results in simplification of complex movements, however. While Mintz attempts to present the nuances of each reform, he is most successful with the antislavery movement and less successful with some of the other reform efforts. For example, he notes that moral reform gave way to more scientific reform by the mid-1840s, but he neglects to mention that many of the early moral reform groups continued to operate all through the nineteenth century. In other words, more professional, realistic reformers did come to the fore later in the century, but some of the older groups persisted alongside the new ones.

This is a small quibble. Overall, this is a well-written, informative book on an important topic.

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THOMAS D. HAMM. *God's Government Begun: The Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform, 1842-1846*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxv, 312. \$39.95.

In New York City, on May 12, 1843, the day after the conclusion of the American Anti-Slavery Society meeting, the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform held an organizing convention intended to take radical abolitionism to the next step: from the abolition of property in slaves to the abolition of all property. Although some Fourierists attended, the mainstream Garrisonians did not, thinking that such a move would detract from abolitionism rather than bring it to fruition. Their plan for an immediate mass movement proving unsuccessful, the Society for Universal Inquiry and Reform carried on for four more years, founding eight utopian communities that put to the test the principle of spontaneous collective life without property or government.

Thomas D. Hamm has rediscovered, reconstructed, and analyzed this radical society in a dedicated and creative feat of scholarship. Although three of the founders—John A. Collins, Orson S. Murray, and John O. Wattles—were evangelical Christians at the fringes of antislavery leadership who are known to scholars, most members as well as leaders of the society were obscure Hicksite Quakers from Ohio and Indiana to whom Hamm gives the first historical voice.

These strange bedfellows gathered in the woods between 1843 and 1846 to make their voluntary and pacific revolution against capitalism and the state. The preamble to the constitution of their umbrella society gives the tone of their endeavors. After denouncing all existing “parties, sects, governments, creeds, and Authorities” as the natural enemies of “human progress and human happiness” and ownership of private property as the essential cause of social evil, they proposed “that a better state of affairs can exist by organizing the social system in accordance with God’s government, by which equality of rights and interests shall be secured to all . . . [to which end] we associate together” (p. 75). Change, if total, would be simple and peaceful.

Undercapitalized as well as proudly unorganized, the eight Universal Reform communities collapsed almost immediately. All but one were obscure backwoods affairs in Ohio and Indiana, the histories of which Hamm has reconstructed with great skill. The community in Skaneateles, New York, lasted a bit longer and is somewhat better known, but Hamm provides the most sensible historical analysis of it. In an astonishing outburst of egoism, the semi-notable Garrisonian John A. Collins attempted to rule there by authoritarian fiat, but the no-government people sent him packing almost overnight and the community went on without rules. In all cases, the lives of the communities may have been prolonged by the extremely simple and cheap vegetarianism they all practiced.

In his previous book, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (1988), Hamm reminded scholars of American radicalism just how central had been the history of a protean nineteenth-century Quakerism, which by the 1820s had produced both many dedicated abolitionists and the sizable Hicksite faction of anti-government men and

women. Both that book and this effort challenge the cliché so dear to historians of radicalism that one need look no further than the evangelical Second Great Awakening for the source of radical abolitionism and other social movements. Hamm also emphasizes the importance of shared secular programs in explaining the odd coalitions of ultraists who went beyond radical abolitionism into a thousand programs for universal revolution.

Hamm never condescends to his subjects, although an ironic tone of frustration does enter his discussions of what is hard for us not to read as monumental naiveté. Neither does he attempt to make too much of this marginal effort of marginalized people. There was a serious and even noble, if also faintly comic, attempt to find an alternative path for human and economic relations. In the early 1840s, industrial capitalism was not destined to sweep all before it, at least not without powerful protest. Given what we now know what was to follow, it is hard to explain the empowering enthusiasm Hamm so richly documents, but it was there, and it led to action, not resignation.

Hamm is never anachronistic, always placing his subjects carefully in context, but I will draw the clanging analogy to sixties hippies. Pity we never knew about our precursors, but there they were, challenging false government just by going out and experiencing life beyond rules and strictures, showing the world that one might live in peace and love. As Hamm demonstrates in his final chapter, many of the reformers spent the rest of their lives strengthened by the knowledge that once they had run their race for brotherhood and sisterhood.

MICHAEL FELLMAN
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STEPHEN R. GRAHAM. *Cosmos in the Chaos: Philip Schaff's Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century American Religion*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1995. Pp. xxv, 266. \$22.00.

Philip Schaff is something of an insider figure in the world of religious history, not widely known to a broader readership but of enormous significance to the initiated. The Swiss-born Schaff spent much of his professional career in the provincial confines of Mercersburg Seminary in central Pennsylvania. Isolated in this enclave of German Reformed culture, he and his colleague, John Williamson Nevin, forged an entire movement in American religious thought: the Mercersburg theology, a sort of high-church version of Reformed Protestantism. After leaving Mercersburg, Schaff ended his scholarly career at the somewhat more cosmopolitan Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Shortly before his death, he addressed the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in a valedictory testament to the ecumenism he had long fostered.

Neither the Mercersburg theology nor the German

Reformed Church was destined for a lasting role in American religion. Schaff is rather remembered for another accomplishment: the founding of the American Society of Church History (ASCH). After merging with the American Historical Association and then re-establishing its independence, the ASCH celebrated its centennial in 1988 at Lancaster Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, the institution into which Schaff's Mercersburg was eventually melded. The numerous latter-day members of the organization commemorated the event by, among other things, commissioning a brief biography of their founder: George H. Shriver's *Philip Schaff: Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet* (1987).

Although historians of Christianity today generally incline toward the interpretive methods and standards of their secular counterparts, Schaff's historical investigations, culminating in his editing of *American Church History* from 1893 to 1897, were intimately connected with his theological concerns. He sought to root contemporary Protestant thought in an organic, dialectical interpretation of history that stressed progress in an ecumenical context. Historical knowledge, therefore, was essential for an empathetic understanding of the character of other branches of Christianity, such as Roman Catholicism, traditionally anathema to Protestants.

Stephen R. Graham's book is a thorough exposition of Schaff's thought and its development. Schaff's central European origins invite frequent comparisons with Alexis de Tocqueville; he was not, however, simply a passing observer but an increasingly enthusiastic participant in the American scene. He made the case for a benignly providential American exceptionalism to his European counterparts in *Amerika* (1855), the translation of which was reprinted with an introduction by Perry Miller in 1961. Schaff had to come to terms with issues such as religious pluralism, church-state separation, and the purported threats of Roman Catholicism and rationalism from a participant-observer's perspective; his attempts were characterized by a spirit of sympathetic engagement and the double consciousness of a transplanted European.

Graham's study of Schaff is lucid, plausible, and a bit old-fashioned. It reminds the middle-aged historian of the state of the profession in the 1960s, when the history of theological ideas still reigned as the dominant interpretive paradigm. Although such a systematic exposition of Schaff's ideas and their development is useful, Graham could have benefited from recent trends in intellectual history that stress the dissemination and impact of ideas as well as their contours and biographical context. Although this book is not entirely devoid of such concerns, it would have been a stronger work had Graham offered a clearer answer to the perennial question in such investigations: so what? Schaff's career did, I think, matter a great deal to both his contemporaries and his successors, and a more

systematic investigation of how he mattered would have been appreciated.

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DAVID S. REYNOLDS. *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. xii, 671. \$35.00.

The prologue of David S. Reynolds's long, fascinating study of Walt Whitman's America concludes with the poet's regret that he had never reached "the people: the crowd" (p. 6). The rest of the book is about how the crowd and its fascinations did indeed reach him. If America never quite absorbed Whitman as he hoped it would, Reynolds aims to reveal the poet's absorption of the gaudy, complex world of nineteenth-century America. There can be no doubt that the book—winner of the Bancroft Prize—succeeds spectacularly in this revelation.

In contrast to the raucousness of the subject matter, Reynolds's basic method and tone are sober and methodical. The volume is not without an antiquarian aroma, like a collection of specimens cataloged by an aficionado and laid out in chronological series keyed to Whitman's life. One cannot help but be impressed by the pastness of the past, an effect so rare in recent literary histories that one has almost forgotten it. The disadvantage of this method is a psychological flattening out, as if Whitman merely absorbed a myriad of contemporary influences and committed them to the page in his own peculiar, boundary-dissolving combination. Similarly, we discover many parallels to Whitman's style or content (in contemporary oratory, popular music, and sensationalist fiction, for example), but the argument can seem insensitive to his poetry's distinctive effects. On the other hand, Reynolds rewards us with an appreciation of the enormous fecundity of the popular and elite cultures of the time and proves how thoroughly Whitman's career dovetailed with the social dramas of his region. Anyone reading this book is going to learn much about Whitman's cultural context.

Reynolds produces surprising new morsels of information about an author on whom scholars and disciples have feasted for decades. That Henry Ward Beecher and John Herbert Clifford borrowed liberally from Whitman and quoted *Leaves of Grass* at the pulpit is certainly news to me. The most spectacular discovery—actually a confident speculation based on oral history, but with new evidence from a painting by William Sidney Mount—is that Whitman, years before writing *Leaves of Grass*, was run out of town on a rail for sodomizing a student. I found Reynolds's evidence compelling but should point out that Jerome Loving, who is also writing a Whitman biography, has questioned the story's validity (see *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 12 [1995]: 259–60). Nothing important in Reynolds's book depends on this episode, however, and he

presents it with appropriate cautions. The book's important revelations concern the world around the poet more than the world within.

Reynolds's basic positions on the aims of Whitman's poetry are always solid and abundantly supported. He gives new reasons for stressing the inseparability of the physical and the spiritual in Whitman and for appreciating his religious and political motives. But the sources of Whitman's thought are not encompassed by contemporary cultural influences, nor can his attraction to those sources be explained without some theory of motivation and desire. What were the needs and drives that coalesced around the cultural events of the period, in Whitman's emotional complex or other people's? I, for one, would appreciate a little more psychological risk-taking on Reynolds's part.

Nonetheless, the traditional historian's caution has plenty of rewards. Whitman's complex and inconsistent positions on race and sexuality are explored here far more thoroughly and judiciously than anywhere else, as is the relationship between his own ambiguous (even to himself, apparently) sexuality and the mores of his culture. Here Reynolds's deep immersion in the time and resistance to political ax-grinding help sort out one of the most controversial aspects of Whitman's life and work.

Reynolds's book neither replaces nor merely supplements earlier biographies, for it is, in the end, less about Whitman than about the contemporary cultural contexts that mattered to him and how they mattered. If the historian's poetic sensibility occasionally seems flat and the treatment of the poet's personality less intimate than some might hope, Reynolds's cultural history is still immensely rewarding. By recovering the now strange, multitudinous culture that one great, insatiable writer absorbed, Reynolds gives us not just a different kind of biography but also, more precisely, a different kind of history than we have seen before.

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WILLIAM H. PEASE and JANE H. PEASE. *James Louis Petigru: Southern Conservative, Southern Dissenter*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 237. \$35.00.

After a life punctuated by ambiguities, hardship, and heartache, southern Unionist and lawyer James L. Petigru suffered the cruel fate of becoming a legend. As such, his life and reputation have served many causes posthumously—that of sectional reconciliation, that of national patriotism, and strangest of all, that of a symbol representing contrasting modern views of minority rights. Finally, in the Vietnam era, the Petigru legend was rehabilitated once more to legitimate and symbolize what was considered heroic dissent. Rather than attack anachronism head on, William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease provide an objective and

accurate picture of Petigru's troubled life at home, in politics, and at the bar.

The loss of manuscript material in a disastrous 1861 house fire, followed by the wartime loss of Petigru's law office papers, limits the crisp detail and psychological analysis we have come to expect from biography. Nevertheless, Petigru emerges as a valiant but star-crossed citizen and attorney who refused to compromise his principles even at the cost of political disfavor and public condemnation.

Despite modest back country origins, Petigru quickly made close friendships among South Carolina's planter elite, and these were cemented by his 1816 marriage to Jane Amelia Postell. Admitted to the bar in 1812, he rose rapidly in the profession and established a firm foundation for success in local and state politics. Petigru's political career perished in his opposition to Nullification in the 1830s, but he maintained his position in society and his legal practice continued to flourish. Generosity in extending financial assistance to friends and relatives involved him in debt, but he gradually worked his way back to prosperity. During these periods of prosperity and adversity, his family situation deteriorated. His wife became addicted to morphine and alcohol, one son was killed early in life, and his daughters married unwisely. Nieces and nephews became dependent upon him, not only for advice but often for support. Through it all Petigru persevered.

After the Nullification Crisis ended his political career, Petigru gradually shifted the emphasis of his practice from law cases to equity matters, where jury reactions to his unpopular political views would not be a hindrance. It was his equity practice that nourished Petigru's contemporary reputation and legendary place as a reformer and dissenter. Marital unhappiness within his own family caused him to advocate reform of the common law of married women's property. Although he never repudiated the institution of slavery, Petigru became active in representing emancipation claimants before the courts and in counseling British diplomats in cases where British sailors were victimized by the repressive South Carolina Negro Seamen's Acts. Paradoxically, he strenuously advocated the constitutionality of state blue laws when they were at issue before the Court of Errors. During the Civil War, Petigru defended private property against Confederate confiscation, and his last effort at law reform was his life-draining labor on a state code revision that never was considered legislatively in his lifetime.

Unquestionably, the authors have provided a more accurate and far more balanced view of Petigru's life than we have ever had previously. No student of South Carolina's legal or social history can afford to ignore this outstanding biography.

HERBERT A. JOHNSON
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THOMAS D. MORRIS. *Southern Slavery and the Law, 1619–1860*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. x, 575. \$49.95.

This book is a tour de force. We have nothing as comprehensive and valuable in the literature of slavery and the law in the United States. Based on prodigious research, the book draws heavily on published legal treatises and compilations of statutes, but Thomas D. Morris selectively examines many other sources that, as he says, confirm that law is always “practice as well as doctrine” (p. 3). His use of local records, some of which remain in county courthouses, is especially impressive. Seeking materials that constituted a representative sample, Morris examined manuscripts from counties in every southern slave state except Delaware, where he employed published records.

Morris covers the subject from every angle, and he is not unmindful of comparative dimensions of human bondage in the western hemisphere and the Old World, as well as differences in America stemming from the distinct legal traditions of French Louisiana and Spanish Texas. Although smoothly written and sensibly organized, his study is hardly an easy read, filled as it must be with Latin terms and legal phraseology that will send all but broad-gauged lawyers and other specialists repeatedly scurrying to their law dictionaries. It is a book that for most historians will be a reference and research tool rather than one to assign undergraduate students.

Historians are guided in their treatment of things both by the availability of sources and by their interests. Perhaps both factors explain the organization of this tome: part 1, “Sources: Racial and Legal”; part 2, “Slaves as Property”; part 3, “Slaves as Persons”; and part 4, “Manumission.” Indeed, it would have been hard for Morris to have avoided his lengthy treatment of “Slaves as Persons” (207 of the book’s 443 pages). For slaves were human beings, and, as persons, could not be viewed solely in the context of English common law and equity-law precedents. Gradually, although never completely, American statutory law made inroads into the custom of following English precedents. That process also took place because slavery, never a static institution, changed over time and space; slave institutions reacted to evolving African-American society, not to mention a burgeoning slave population and the high percentage of southern agricultural wealth that slaves as property constituted.

Even so, Morris effectively argues in parts 2 and 3 that lawmakers and jurists did not endeavor to create a precise and systematic body of law confined to slaves. Resisting explanatory models of slavery, he describes the southern legal formulations as often messy and multifaceted. How could it have been otherwise when slaves were “thinking property,” often mulattoes, and in some places able to obtain their freedom? Throughout, Morris charts his own course, agreeing at times and disagreeing on other occasions, with the work of

such scholars as Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Eugene Genovese, Stanley Elkins, James Oakes, and Orlando Patterson. Denying that race alone defined slavery in what became the United States, asserting that southerners never were of one mind about a definition of slavery—even proslavery apologist George Fitzhugh in *Cannibals All* (1857) admitted the difficulty—Morris nonetheless sides with Winthrop Jordan’s *White over Black* (1968) in contending that racist perceptions reinforced attitudes favorable to slavery.

What might have been the future of slavery had the Civil War not occurred? Could slavery, with a powerful assist from the law, have gradually ended by evolutionary, nonviolent means, as happened in other societies before and after the 1860s? Certainly, aspects of evangelical Christianity and liberal capitalism were not easily made compatible with permanent bondage. One can at least say—a major theme in Morris—that traditional Anglo-American legal procedures were increasingly used to evaluate questionable confessions, take slave testimony seriously, and provide the accused legal counsel. Were these developments to protect slaves as property or to protect them as human beings? It seems that the answer depended on time and place, although sometimes both explanations simultaneously applied. A clearer trend evident by the 1850s was providing for slaves a limited form of civil rights (but not civil liberties). An Alabama law of 1852, for example, stated that “The master . . . must provide him [the slave] with a sufficiency of healthy food and necessary clothing; cause him to be properly attended during sickness, and provide for his necessary wants in old age” (p. 195).

Granting all the above, as well as the confusing tangle of laws and practices from one state to another, the future of slavery was not questioned by most southerners in 1860. The number of states that prohibited grants of freedom to bondsmen by either deed or will was increasing, and that even included the border state of Maryland. Incoherence and inconsistencies in the law do not necessarily lead to legal crisis. The most important contribution of this excellent volume (and there are many) is to show that slavery remained devastating in its effects on those in bondage, the vast majority of whom had no reason to look realistically for a better day either through a reformation of the southern conscience or through subversion of slavery jurisprudence by capitalistic values.

Morris, refreshingly modest about his superb volume, encourages scholars to challenge his work and to flesh out his archival research. No doubt he missed or failed to use some materials that others would like to see. For example, I noted the absence of any reference to a fine article dealing with the most celebrated contested will about slavery in North Carolina, Memory F. Mitchell and Thornton W. Mitchell’s “The Philanthropic Bequests of John Rex of Raleigh” (*North Carolina Historical Review* 49 [1972], 254–79, 353–76). Readers may also wish to note the recent publication of Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee

Cary's long-awaited *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748–1775* (1995), which appeared too late for Morris to examine.

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BRENDA E. STEVENSON. *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 457. \$35.00.

This book is an ambitious effort to study the families and communities of slaveholding Loudoun County, Virginia, across lines of race, class, ethnicity, religion, and gender. Limiting most of her research to a single county enables Brenda E. Stevenson to delve into a vast array of primary records, including family papers, court records, and ex-slave narratives. Although Stevenson considers ethnicity, religion, and class in her analysis of family and community, she is far more successful in applying concepts of gender and race. Indeed, she states at the outset that race is the book's overriding theme, and she accordingly divides the book into "white" and "black" halves. Part one explores marriage, family, and community among Loudoun County's whites; part two does the same for blacks. For the most part this structure works well, but occasionally it leads to a repetition of themes.

Stevenson begins her introduction to part one with an account of a divorce suit that centered on a white wife's adultery. She uses the case to demonstrate the connections between individuals' sexual behavior, power in families, community rules and sanctions, and the Old South's system of patriarchy. Witnesses and jurors exhibited intense interest in Eliza Jane Yonson, not simply from a lurid fascination with her illicit sexual behavior, but also because she flouted the strictest and most sacred rules that governed white women in Old South society. Her adultery destroyed William Yonson's honor to the extent that the community itself demanded that he divorce her. Because adulterous wives challenged husbands' exclusive sexual ownership of their bodies, Stevenson shows, they threatened an important basis of family and community order.

Having established gender as a primary category of analysis, Stevenson explores the topics of courtship, marriage, parenting, and divorce in the following chapters. Those who have read the works of Anne Scott, Catherine Clinton, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, and Sally McMillen will find the material in part two interesting but familiar. Stevenson's most valuable insights concern the effects of poverty and slavery on the childrearing efforts of white women. She emphasizes that upper-class writers who defined society's "family values" ignored the needs of white women who lived outside the boundaries of the economically secure, nuclear, southern family. More directly, the county court punished poor mothers who lacked husbands by routinely denying them custody of their

children. Stevenson poignantly illustrates the dehumanizing effects of slavery on white children by emphasizing its psychological damage. Slaveholders' children learned to stifle emotional feelings and sympathy for slaves who once were their intimate playmates. Some were forced to watch, or even to assist, their parents' abuse of them.

Stevenson is at her best when she discusses slavery. She begins part two with an argument for the premise that slavery was first and foremost an economic institution in which market forces largely determined slaveholders' actions in the buying and selling of slaves. For example, because Loudoun County began as a distant frontier of Virginia's Northern Neck, few slaves arrived before 1749. Initially, Loudoun's slaveholders purchased far more men than women, delaying for decades the development of slave families and communities. By the late eighteenth century, gender ratios had become balanced, and African Americans had built families, communities, and a new culture. By the turn of the nineteenth century, increased numbers of childbearing slave women caused a tremendous rise in the slave population, just in time, ominously, for slaves to be sold as surplus labor to the booming Southwestern frontier.

Virginia laws that denied marital and parental rights to slaves served the economic needs of slaveholders and contributed to a dearth of nuclear, male-headed slave families. According to Stevenson, even the most paternalistic slaveholders began to break apart slave families after the decline of tobacco agriculture in Virginia. Even African traditions of extended, matrilineal, and matrifocal family structures could not protect Virginia slave families and communities from violence by profit-maximizing masters. Stevenson emphasizes that alternative household structures and female-headed families did not destabilize slave families; rather, the rise of the domestic slave trade did. During the antebellum period, slave markets in the Southwest stimulated more separations of spouses, greater willingness among slaveholders to buy and sell children under the age of ten, and increasing sales of single individuals.

Stevenson's final two chapters describe the lives of free African Americans in Loudoun County. Not surprisingly, she finds that racial discrimination crippled free blacks' ability to own property, find jobs, and create stable households. This was particularly true for single women of color, who possessed fewer artisanal skills and less property than free black men. Single mothers also regularly lost custody of their children under the county's apprenticeship system. Kinship networks were vitally important to free black communities, which, argues Stevenson, bound them tightly to slave communities. These chapters add an important regional perspective to the history of free African Americans in the Old South. Inexplicably, however, Stevenson ignores the works of Ira Berlin, James Roark and Michael Johnson, Loren Schweninger, and others on the subject. Consequently, her study de-

prives readers of any comparative basis on which to judge the lives of Loudoun's free blacks.

In general, this book suffers from Stevenson's neglect of all but a handful of important works in Southern history published after 1990. Despite inadequate consideration of others' works, however, she has written an important book that enriches our understanding of family and community among blacks and whites of the slaveholding South.

VICTORIA E. BYNUM
Southwest Texas State University

MARVIN L. MICHAEL KAY and LORIN LEE CARY. *Slavery in North Carolina, 1748–1775*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 402. \$45.00.

This book adds to an ever increasing list of studies of slavery in the British colonies on the North American mainland, in recent years an area of burgeoning scholarly growth. This surge began more than twenty years ago with books like Peter Wood's *Black Majority* (1974) and Edmund Morgan's immensely influential *American Slavery, American Freedom* (1976). Since then, historians like Allan Kulikoff, Daniel Littlefield, Philip Morgan, and Mechal Sobel have presented an abundance of new information and offered fresh interpretations that have revolutionized both the study and the understanding of the origins and early history of racial slavery in the British South and much of American colonial history as well. In the midst of all these investigations, however, relatively little has been published on North Carolina, an often overlooked colony nestled between older, more established Virginia and far richer South Carolina.

Marvin L. Michael Kay and Lorin Lee Cary have stepped forward to fill that geographical and historiographical gap in an ambitious book, wide ranging in its concerns and based on extensive research in primary sources. The authors examine a myriad of subjects in useful ways: from the growth of North Carolina ports to the harvesting of naval stores, from court practices to the Great Awakening. On matters pertaining to slavery, Kay and Cary are inclusive. Readers will find informative discussions on critical topics such as religion, resistance, naming practices, family, and work. Then there is the appendix with its seventy-eight pages of tables and notes; this alone makes this volume a real contribution to students of colonial slavery and of colonial society in general.

Kay and Cary hope to accomplish a great deal more, however, than present new material and provide an impressive series of tables. As they make clear in their preface, they have two interpretive goals: emphasizing African cultural dominance in the life of eighteenth-century North Carolina slaves and disputing the proposition that the concept of cultural hegemony with its reciprocity between master and slave had any relevance in colonial North Carolina. On these matters, I do not find them especially persuasive.

The authors spend considerable time on the African

homeland and its culture, and they do make a good case that the North Carolina slave population included a substantial percentage of Africans, though it had signally declined by 1775. They insist on the domination of African cultural values and practices. Surely there were African influences, but in their zeal to press for African domination, Kay and Cary often do not recognize that their own evidence argues for a more complex situation. Two examples illustrate my point. Discussing the virtual absence of Christianity among the slaves, Kay and Cary conclude that the power of African culture kept it at bay. Yet, they also demonstrate that most masters had no interest in Christianizing their bondspeople, which meant, at best, a minimal white effort at conversion. As a result, whatever religious beliefs prevailed cannot be ascribed solely to the strength of African culture. Likewise, they argue that the slaves, with no white involvement, controlled naming practices and retained African names. Possibly, but masters may have assigned those names; in most cases it is impossible to be sure. That the authors' sample included more Georges than Henrys does not prove what they claim. In conclusion, the question of African cultural ascendancy is more complicated than this book suggests.

On the cultural hegemony issue, Kay and Cary contend that masters really did not care about slaves, whom they treated brutally. Thus, with nothing to gain or protect from the monsters who owned them, slaves fashioned their own ways apart from whites and certainly without any sense of reciprocation. Of course, those who have supported cultural hegemony, like Eugene Genovese, a whipping boy here, never glossed over the brutality. Too frequently the authors' zealotry leads them into a one-dimensional argument, often laced with acerbic comments on those who present contrasting views. Suffice it to say that Kay and Cary will not convince all scholars.

WILLIAM J. COOPER, JR.
Louisiana State University

CARL A. BRASSEAU *et al.* *Creoles of Color in the Bayou Country*. Foreword by CLIFTON CARMON. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1994. Pp. xiv, 174. \$32.50.

The least-studied class of southerners, free people of color, has the potential to tell historians the most about race relations and society in the Old South. Neither white nor slave and basically unassimilated, they stand in marked contrast to all the basic stereotypes of southern law, culture, and economics. Indeed, the ambiguous parameters in which they existed evolved into a caste delineation. Had that pattern not been interrupted by the racial strike of the War between the States, it might well have determined the nature of future race relations. As it were, the class did provide much of the leadership for postbellum African-American life.

In South Louisiana, Creoles of color are even more of an enigma—a minority within a minority, a unique

culture within a unique culture. While their origin is similar to such other groups as the Metoyers of Natchitoches Parish, their region (as was part of their ancestry) was distinctively Acadian rather than the Creole society in which other Louisiana free people of color developed.

From humble beginnings in the colonial era through antebellum generations of surprising privilege and affluence, these families maintained themselves as a distinctive class, avoiding attachment to the low status of the slave but never pushing propriety so much as to demand equality with white planters of similar wealth. Giving respect to political superiors, they were accorded a peculiar respect in return. Other than the American Colonization Society's minor and peaceful attempts to relocate them, there was no real effort to restrict their numbers until late in the antebellum period. As war loomed imminent and hostilities heightened between political factions, vigilante groups formed in South Louisiana and some of the free Creoles of color were targeted—particularly those involved in miscegenous relationships. Wartime Jayhawker activities increased the level of violence, generating harsh feelings from which the class suffered well into the 1880s. Meanwhile, the postwar U.S. government forced them legally into the ranks of the former slaves; although they struggled to maintain their social separateness, that, too, gradually eroded. While it is popularly assumed that all people of color now stand united as one, Carl A. Brasseaux *et al* report animosities even today between descendants of the old antebellum Creoles of color and the descendants of Louisiana slaves.

In chronicling the rise and fall of this unusual class over almost two centuries, the authors appear to have exhausted virtually all available records, including grassroots-level resources that are not regularly consulted by historians. Their expert familiarity with the region and the culture is above question. Unfortunately, they apply dual standards in the presentation and documentation of their data. Historical conclusions are supported by citations of primary as well as secondary evidence, but their extensive genealogical compilations offer none at all. Readers are, in essence, asked to assume that they have reconstructed their subject families correctly—something that experienced genealogists know is an exceedingly risky leap of faith. It is ironical, and regrettable, to see an academic press producing material that scholarly genealogists would never accept.

GARY B. MILLS
University of Alabama

DREW GILPIN FAUST. *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 326. \$29.95.

The women of the Confederacy stare out from the photographs in Drew Gilpin Faust's book. Their hair

parted in the middle and tightly pulled behind their ears, their long dresses made from imported Northern textiles and decorated with ribbons and fashionable balloon sleeves, their expressions serious and even melancholy, these "mothers of invention" tell their own stories in Faust's subtly nuanced and thoroughly researched account of their lives during the Civil War.

Faust has based her study on evidence from 500 Confederate women, supplemented by her informed reading of relevant materials in the Confederacy's popular culture ranging from plays to songs to female-authored fiction. The latter is especially represented by Augusta Jane Evans's *Macaria: or, Altars of Sacrifice* (1864). No matter what the medium, the sources are those of "an especially articulate and introspective group of women: those of the privileged and educated slaveowning class of Confederates, a group that has left us in diaries, letters, and memories an extraordinary window into their experience and consciousness" (p. 5). It is one of the significant strengths of this contribution to the Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies that the evidence for Faust's analysis of the transformations in the lives and behaviors of elite southern women comes from the participants themselves. To these materials, Faust adds her own deep knowledge of southern, Civil War, and women's history. The result is a significant addition to all three fields.

Faust organizes her study of the war-imposed challenges to Southern elite women around the traditional enclosures of female relationships. There are chapters on marriage, motherhood, unmarried women, managing slaves and households, religion, reading, and clothes as well as on new public areas of female concern relating to work, southern secession, and, finally, allegiance to a Confederate government that eventually turned the female sense of sacrificial support into anger at "this dreadful war" (p. 236).

Faust's theme is implicit in her title. These mothers of invention created novel roles for themselves as nurses, teachers, managers of slave plantations, and organizers of religious services in homes. "I find myself, every day, doing something I never did before," writes one woman (p. 49). At the same time, according to Faust, these elite women remained enclosed in a metaphorical (and actual) motherhood of sacrifice and self-abnegation. Thus, in the process of becoming more independent, elite southern women violated the prescriptions of a prewar status that had privileged them on the grounds of their race and class but limited them to submission within the patriarchy.

The paradox of the wartime existence of the Old South's female elite emerges in every endeavor and might be summarized in letters that often carry the disavowal, "Excuse the Liberty." In the past, gendered submission carried the compensation of protection by the men of the master class. This security disappeared during the war, according to Faust, and in response the female allegiance to the Confederacy and in fact to men eroded. Women came to view themselves as

independent human beings, and they took this new self-consciousness of their autonomy into the postwar South, where property laws and other aspects of state intervention were designed to protect women from men. But even amid this change, ancient paradoxes were at work. Some women came—logically—to work both for female suffrage and the Lost Cause.

In making this latter connection, Faust offers speculation in a book whose arguments mostly emerge organically from the letters and documentary evidence and not from what David Hackett Fischer once called “the Fallacy of the Lonely Fact.” One exception is Faust’s assertion that “Many wives, though, feared the loss of their husbands’ affections almost as intensely as they worried about the loss of their lives” (p. 120). And while it is surprising to learn that the secession winter occurred in 1861–1862 (p. 9), this is complaining about a book that will frame historical interpretations for years to come.

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

EMORY M. THOMAS. *Robert E. Lee: A Biography*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. 472. \$30.00.

Since 1935, the Lee literature and legend have been dominated in one way or another by Douglas Southall Freeman’s massive work. Scholars have contended over Freeman’s vision of Lee, while that vision has itself become the stuff of legend. During the last twenty years, Freeman’s concept of Lee as a simple and noble military genius has come under increasing attack by scholars. Such historians as Alan T. Nolan and the late Thomas L. Connelly have leveled harsh criticisms at Lee, both as a general and as a man, but the agenda has remained the one that Freeman set sixty years ago. Emory M. Thomas carefully uses the new scholarship to construct an image of Lee much different from Freeman’s.

Thomas offers less detail but clearer insight on key points of Lee’s life. He probes deeply into Lee’s words and particularly his actions to produce a psychological portrait of the great southerner. Thomas’s portrayal of Lee is far more complicated than Freeman’s, and his life is characterized by paradoxes. Lee was a man who desired freedom and so practiced rigid self-control. He disliked conflict and so became a great warrior. He was strict to the point of austerity but at the same time could be indulgent.

Lee was also a man who could cope with adversity, repeatedly making the best of very difficult circumstances. He overcame the horrendous irresponsibility of his father, with its attendant shame and (relative) poverty. He persevered in a career in which the pace of promotion was “geological” (p. 414) as well as in a marriage that was far from satisfying. He faced defeat in the Civil War, increasing physical debility, and the inability of his children to establish lives of their own, and through it all he maintained his belief that “the great duty of life is . . . the promotion of the happiness

& welfare of our fellow men” (p. 414). Surprisingly, Lee usually managed to live up to that creed. With all of his faults—his depressing racial attitudes, his leading of armies in a war to make the world safe for slavery, and his other inconsistencies—Lee the man comes through this unblinking, deeply searching modern biography as a figure who can still excite intense admiration.

As is fitting in a biography, Thomas’s search for Lee the man takes precedence over his examination of Lee the general. Yet he offers important insights on Lee’s conduct of the war. He astutely recognizes both the basic difference of strategy between Lee and Jefferson Davis and the fact that Lee carefully concealed this difference from the Confederate president. Thomas correctly sees Lee as favoring an offensive grand strategy, notwithstanding Lee’s bland suggestions to the contrary in his correspondence with Davis. Thomas gives a fair and accurate assessment of Lee and his lieutenants, including a perceptive and balanced treatment of James Longstreet.

Like other books, this one has its faults. While most of Thomas’s analysis of Lee’s psyche is fascinating and convincing, some aspects seem unreasonable and overdone. In the area of Lee’s religion, Thomas contrasts characteristics that are in fact entirely harmonious. Also, typographical and other inadvertent errors appear frequently enough to be disconcerting; for example, Sharpsburg, Maryland, is twice referred to as “Sharpstown” (p. 261).

These quibbles aside, however, Thomas has produced an excellent work of biography that presents a complex and very human portrait of one of the great figures in American history and represents a mature expression of the post-Freeman era of Lee studies.

STEVEN E. WOODWORTH
Toccoa Falls College

KERRY A. TRASK. *Fire Within: A Civil War Narrative from Wisconsin*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 279. \$30.00.

On the eve of the American Civil War, Manitowoc, Wisconsin was barely a generation old. Nestled against Lake Michigan, the village had just over 3,000 residents, split evenly between immigrants and natives. When South Carolina troops fired on Fort Sumter in April 1861, Manitowoc responded with patriotic fervor. One of the first volunteers was nineteen-year-old Scottish immigrant James Anderson, who joined Company A of the Fifth Wisconsin Volunteers.

The heart of Kerry A. Trask’s book is Anderson’s wartime story, told largely through his own diary and letters. After several months’ drilling in Wisconsin, Anderson and his comrades traveled east. For the next three years, Company A fought in many of the most important engagements in the eastern theater, including George B. McClellan’s Peninsular campaign of 1862, the crucial battles of Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Gettysburg (where the Fifth was held in reserve),

and Ulysses S. Grant's bloody campaign through Virginia in the spring of 1864. By the time they dug in outside Petersburg, an exhausted Anderson wrote that he was "hardly able to crawl" (p. 228). Only fifteen of the original 104 enlistees were still among their number when the company returned home in August.

Trask could have settled for telling Anderson's story alone, but he has taken a much more challenging path, attempting to tell the "interior history" (p. 2) of the war as experienced by Manitowoc's citizens both at home and on the battlefield. The account of Anderson's military exploits are interwoven with (less rich) narratives of other Manitowoc volunteers scattered across the nation. Thus, he moves from Company A at the Battle of Gettysburg to the Fourteenth Wisconsin outside of Vicksburg. In the meantime, Trask periodically turns to the home front, telling Manitowoc's wartime history through the eyes of diarist Rosa Kellner, who ran the local hotel, and through the pages of the local newspapers. The result is an interesting, highly readable narrative that perhaps falls short of its potential.

The ever-expanding literature on the Civil War includes more and more home-front studies, a growing list of monographs examining soldiers' lives, and a seemingly unending flow of diaries and letters. Trask's book brings all these genres together in a single small volume. But beyond the implicit insight that these pieces must be more fully integrated, it is not clear what this volume contributes to our understanding of the Civil War. The military portions lean heavily on detailed accounts of skirmishes and battles. Readers less familiar with the war's military history may have a difficult time keeping their bearings, whereas those with more expertise will find no new insights into the soldier's life. Similarly, Manitowoc's wartime chronology is so familiar—down to the battling local newspaper editors—that some readers will swear they have read it all before. But those who do not know the basic home-front story will find a spotty rendition here, with many crucial issues unaddressed and almost no attempt to place Manitowoc in any larger context. Those reservations aside, this is an entertaining book that I hope will point other historians toward a new integration of Civil War scholarship.

J. MATTHEW GALLMAN
Loyola College,
Maryland

JIM CULLEN. *The Civil War in Popular Culture: A Reusable Past*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. x, 253. \$29.95.

The first book Jim Cullen read in graduate school was Warren Susman's *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (1984). Like many of us, he was moved by Susman's artistry and inspired by Susman's call to expand the range of history's acceptable subjects. Cullen took up the Civil War, and in this book he explores five

instances of the war's appearance in "popular memory": Carl Sandburg's biography of Abraham Lincoln, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (the book and the movie), white Southern rock musicians of the 1970s, and the film *Glory* and Civil War battle reenactments. His project seems to have been to reverse the terms of Susman's title and to investigate history as culture. How, he asks, have nonprofessional historians used the materials of the past to comment on the present?

Unfortunately, in his search for history as "communion," Cullen failed to learn several lessons crucial to Susman's methods. The first is that good cultural history requires both precise readings and supple interpretations. It cannot be written with mere assertions of superficial similarities and easy generalizations. Cullen is guilty of both. He writes, for example, "The very factors that shaped rock music—a tradition of slavery and distinctive cultures arising from it, the presence of blacks and whites in relative proximity, a strong sense of (and belief in) regional identity—are precisely those that helped bring on the Civil War" (p. 111). "If rock 'n' roll grew out of Civil War tensions," he continues, "the fact that it did not emerge until the next century suggests that other factors must also have been at work" (pp. 113–14). We also learn that Martin Luther King, Jr., did far more for civil rights than Elvis Presley and are reminded that "The United States won World War II" (p. 149).

The bulk of the book consists of Cullen's readings of his "texts," but he offers only the crudest means of connecting his materials to the historical contexts in which they were produced, read, watched, or performed. He sets up each of his chapters as a response to a simplified sense of crisis. As he says near the end of the book, "For Carl Sandburg, this crisis was the Great Depression. For Margaret Mitchell, it was uncertainty about women's roles in a South on the cusp of increasing turmoil. For Southern rock performers, it was the Civil Rights movement" (p. 199). For the creators of *Glory*, it was Vietnam, and for the hobbyists who reenact Civil War battles, it is multiculturalism. The material set forth in the chapters is hardly more enlightening.

The fault in Cullen's book lies not in its subject matter nor in its methods but in its utter simplification of all that is complicated, compelling, and interesting in popular uses of the past. So careful is Cullen not to condescend to his subjects that he has stripped them of meaning. Cullen might have analyzed, interpreted, and informed without either betraying those about whom he was writing or baffling his nonprofessional readers. He manages instead to insult both the intelligence of his readers and the intelligence of audiences for the popular materials he studies. For example, he offers as explanation for the success of Alexandra Ripley's sequel to *Gone with the Wind* that she addressed "middle-aged white female readers for whom clothes, shopping, and travel are relevant matters" (p. 104). His footnotes indicate that he has read many studies of

popular culture that neither betray nor insult. I have no doubt about Cullen's good heart, but he should remember that when he writes history, popular or academic, he should use his head as well.

ANN FABIAN
Columbia University

DAVID R. JOHNSON. *Illegal Tender: Counterfeiting and the Secret Service in Nineteenth-Century America*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. xviii, 222.

David R. Johnson belongs to a small group of historians who argue that reports of the death of national state-building in the United States after the collapse of Reconstruction are premature. Emphasizing that faith in the integrity of national currency is vital to the life of any state, he analyzes the campaign of a federal policing agency, the Secret Service, to defeat counterfeiters who were undermining that faith.

Johnson traces how Secret Service "operatives" developed into highly specialized detectives. Success was achieved only after a period of corruption and disgrace under the first two (capable but reckless and dishonest) chiefs. Later heads reformed the Secret Service, waged its victorious war against counterfeiters, and developed other functions (including protection of the president) that gained the respect of other federal agencies and many citizens.

Johnson discusses how counterfeiting was a serious but largely ignored problem before the nationalization of currency during the Civil War. With the authorization of "greenbacks" backed by the faith and credit of the national government (by the Legal Tender Act), federal officials took an active interest in suppressing counterfeit notes. The Secret Service itself was a wartime creation.

Describing how counterfeiters participated in a national market in "queer" notes, Johnson depicts them as highly skilled, specialized members of the criminal underworld. A successful "coney man" had to be an entrepreneur, building a network that covered large regions and maintaining his customers' faith in the quality of his product. Most counterfeiters were American-born, but Italians dominated by the 1890s, and the best notes were produced in Italy (and consequently harder to trace to the manufacturer).

Beginning in the 1870s, Secret Service operatives for the first time attacked the marketing network of manufacturers and wholesalers as well as the "shovers." Relying on informers and infiltrators was a guarantee of corrupt bargains with criminals, but the Service developed new relations between operatives and informers: no legal immunity, at best plea bargains; no pay until after arrests were made; no bargains without the chief's approval. The new determination, given teeth by successful arrests and prosecutions, disrupted the market. Counterfeiting did not disappear, but the Secret Service's attack made it an occasional rather than constant threat to the currency.

Johnson nicely mixes social and economic analysis of counterfeiting with an account of the bureaucratic struggles of the Secret Service to legitimate itself and win its war for the currency. Some critics may argue that a small agency's attempt to resurrect the national state in the later nineteenth century may have been premature. Johnson makes a strong case not only that the Secret Service contributed to state building by protecting the currency but also that it planted a hardy seed for developments in federal policing (such as the FBI) that clearly represented expansion of the coercive role of the state in the early twentieth century.

WILBUR R. MILLER
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

REGINALD F. HILDEBRAND. *The Times Were Strange and Stirring: Methodist Preachers and the Crisis of Emancipation*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 189. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$17.95.

Methodism was the most dynamic religious movement in America in the early nineteenth century, rising from virtual nonexistence in 1776 to become by far the largest group of believers in the United States by 1850. Moreover, as Reginald F. Hildebrand relates, the various branches of Methodism all launched major drives aimed at evangelizing the four million newly liberated African Americans in the South immediately after the Civil War. Although the controversy over slavery, the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (MECS), and the war itself had prevented northern missionaries from entering the southern states between 1844 and 1863, Union military victories and the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation opened up the South to northern Methodists once again. As a result of the forced reunification of the nation in 1865, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZC), and the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) vied, first with the MECS and later with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (CMEC), to incorporate freedpeople into their organizational structures.

Hildebrand argues that each of these denominations advanced a unique social and theological interpretation of emancipation that guided its missionary work among African Americans. For example, the desire to maintain a harmonious relationship with their former masters and the acceptance of white paternalism motivated the black leaders of the CMEC. After the MECS formed the CMEC as a segregated denomination for African Americans in 1870, black Methodists who felt comfortable with traditional racial mores switched their affiliation to that church. On the other hand, members of the northern-based AMEC and the AMEZC espoused a "Gospel of Freedom" (p. 32) that fostered pride in the accomplishments of their race. These denominations were also hostile to the folk culture of black southerners and urged freedpeople to

adopt the moral and political values of northern evangelicalism instead. Finally, MEC evangelists pressed for the eradication of all distinctions based upon race, thus distinguishing their mission both from the accommodationism implicit in the CMEC gospel and from the incipient black nationalism promoted by the AMEC and the AMEZC. Despite their initial commitment to racial integration and equality, however, MEC leaders eventually backed away from the color-blind ideals they advocated in the heady period following the Civil War.

Hildebrand builds on the work of historians such as Ralph E. Morrow (*Northern Methodism and Reconstruction* [1956]), Leon F. Litwack (*Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* [1979]), and William E. Montgomery (*Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South 1865–1900* [1993]) to analyze in detail one facet of black religious experience during Reconstruction. Although he certainly provides a usable tool for understanding post-bellum Methodism in the South, Hildebrand's narrative follows such a narrow course that it might have been more suitable as a major article than as a slim book. The individuals he examines—a handful of clergy (all, by definition, male) who left written evidence about their views on emancipation—represent an extremely small sample. Because he readily concedes that he has not explored the ideas of either women or lay men and because he does not compare Methodist evangelism to the missionary efforts of other denominations, Hildebrand is unable to offer much insight on larger issues taking shape in American Protestantism at that time. He further undermines his argument by using the last pages of his book to list the topics he has failed to include in his study. Although this candor is admirable, greater research, better editing, and a more effective conclusion would also have been in order.

These reservations aside, Hildebrand has contributed a perspective on Methodist evangelistic activities in the aftermath of the Civil War that will help scholars continue the investigation of this important aspect of American religious history.

GARDINER H. SHATTUCK, JR.
School for Ministries,
Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island

DAVID L. KIMBROUGH. *Taking Up Serpents: Snake Handlers of Eastern Kentucky*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 232. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$14.95.

For much of this century, a credulous public has seen snake handling as a shibboleth of southern Appalachian religion. Sensationalist accounts have portrayed—or, rather, ridiculed—the snake handlers as a species of religious freak, and their proclivity to handle fire and drink poison made them seem all the more so. Weston La Barre's Freudian analysis, *They Shall Take Up Serpents: Psychology of the Southern Snake-Han-*

dling Cult (1962), was in this condemnatory tradition; Le Barre had little sympathy for the participants, wrote in a condescending tone, and was as interested in debunking as in describing their beliefs.

Recent studies have been more judicious. Scholars such as Vinson Synan, David E. Harrell, Elaine J. Lawless, and Mickey Crews have taught us much about the origins of the Holiness-Pentecostal movement in general. Thomas Burton in *Serpent-Handling Believers* (1993) and Dennis Covington in *Salvation on Sand Mountain: Snake Handling and Redemption in Southern Appalachia* (1995) take the reader inside the belief system of snake handlers in east Tennessee and northeastern Alabama, respectively.

David L. Kimbrough also writes sympathetically of the movement, utilizing primarily his own field investigations and oral interviews in eastern Kentucky along with available written materials. Although he documents the rise of snake handling with the practices of George Hensley in east Tennessee between 1908 and 1910, Kimbrough focuses on the Saylor family of Kentucky, long associated with the Church of God with Signs Following (who take their name from the biblical verse, Mark 16: 17–18: "And these signs shall follow them that believe . . . They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them"). Kimbrough contextualizes the church's scriptural literalism in the history of Appalachian Protestantism and provides ethnographies of a variety of worship services. He shows that snake handling does not occur at every worship service (and fire handling and drinking of poison even less often), that not every devout member engages in any of the unusual practices, that most of the church members have a normal if very ascetic lifestyle, and that there is a wide variety of theological beliefs among the churches. Most of the worshipers do believe in the gifts of speaking in tongues, healing, and raising the dead through prayer.

Kimbrough emphasizes the concept of "anointing." This refers to the belief, universal among those who actually pick up serpents, that on occasion "God transfers spiritual power to an individual" (p. 25). The experience is palpable and usually occurs after intense prayer, enthusiastic singing, and a spirit of accord among all the worshipers. The leaders of the movement insist that only when an individual is anointed should he or she pick up serpents (or fire or poison), for only in that state will worshipers be protected by the Holy Spirit. Kimbrough points out that on rare occasions the devout die from snakebites, although some have survived hundreds of bites and many drinks of strychnine. Kimbrough suggests naturalistic causes for high survival rates from snakebites but gives the devout interpretation a fair hearing.

Many readers will finish the book wanting to know more about the effects of handling fire and drinking poison. Do these churches have any black members, as do most other Pentecostal churches? Is the number of snake handlers decreasing? Certainly not all these questions are answered, but Kimbrough's book is a

perceptive account of a misunderstood minor movement still extant in portions of the Appalachian South. Its participants emerge as real people, not caricatures.

JOHN B. BOLES
Rice University

LYNETTE BONEY WRENN. *Cinderella of the New South: A History of the Cottonseed Industry, 1855-1955*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 280. \$38.00.

By neglecting the history of the cottonseed industry, historians have overlooked an important facet of the American cotton industry and life in the cotton South. Lynette Boney Wrenn attributes the incentive for this study to Pete Daniel, author of *Breaking the Land* (1985), and she notes the omission of the cottonseed and crushing industry from Harold D. Woodman's *King Cotton and His Retainers* (1968), an influential account of the financing and marketing of the cotton crop. The story of the cottonseed industry has much to do with Woodman's subject.

The reader is struck with the paucity of reliable financial information about cottonseed prices and marketing before 1930. That fits, however, with the realities of the crop lien and the sharecropping system, wherein money rarely changed hands and producers ended a harvest holding a bag emptied by interest costs of thirty-six percent or above and toll-ginning fees that extracted much of the farmer's potential profit. Once it became commercially significant, cottonseed provided marginal additional income for the farmer.

The first truly commercial phase of cottonseed processing, ca. 1855-1879, involved cottonseed crushing in the lower Mississippi Valley, with most of the oil and cake shipped abroad. Cottonseed meal for feed and fertilizer became increasingly important after the 1870s. The use of vegetable oils for paint, lubrication, soap, candles, lamp oil, and edible fats resulted in rapid expansion of the industry between 1880 and World War I. Capital invested in cottonseed-oil mills tripled between 1880 and 1885: "A small number of largely northern-owned refining and manufacturing companies stood at the top of the cottonseed-processing pyramid composed of farmers, seed buyers, crushers, and manufacturers of cottonseed products" (p. xvii).

By 1885, the American Cotton Oil Trust controlled eighty percent of the crushing capacity in the United States. The Southern Cotton Oil Company, founded in 1887, began to compete with more efficient mills, undercutting the prices and position of the American Cotton Oil Trust, which responded with lawsuits. Litigation failing, the two companies entered into cooperative purchasing agreements, creating a pool that dominated the industry. Independents, nevertheless, continued to multiply. They either joined the collusion or failed financially. As an example of the power of the pool, in the 1890s the Texas Cottonseed Crushers Association forced a fifty percent reduction

in cottonseed prices, further aggravating farmers' depression.

After World War I, despite the ever-larger cotton crops, the cottonseed industry went through a period of extreme consolidation. The number of mills declined from 885 operating in 1914 to 214 in 1958. The New Deal contributed to the industry by stabilizing cotton-oil prices. Tariffs eliminated domestic competition from coconut oil. Food uses of vegetable oils rose. Industry standards and regulations adopted by the Cottonseed Products Association improved marketing conditions and increased the uses of cottonseed oil.

This is an interesting and important story. I suspect that the cottonseed-vegetable oil industry has been transformed since 1955, when Wrenn's study ends, and that a sequel that focuses on technologies, nutrition, and marketing is in order.

HENRY C. DETHLOFF
Texas A&M University

THOMAS J. MISA. *A Nation of Steel: The Making of Modern America, 1865-1925*. (Studies in the History of Technology, number 17.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 367. \$49.95.

In this splendid work, Thomas J. Misa explores how steel producers implemented technological change. Rejecting the notion that science and technology are independent variables, Misa investigates the development of Bessemer, open-hearth, and electric furnace steel making and the introduction of steel alloys, thick armored plates, and high-speed steel. He concludes that the steel industry is not a useful unit of analysis, for sub-sectors associated with different customers and products (rails for the railroads, armor for the government, sheets for auto manufacture, slabs for construction, crucible steel for tool makers) each had a technology trajectory of their own. Central to that trajectory was the relationship between the steel consumer and the steel producer. Users at various times defined needs for products, dictated technology choices established quality standards, controlled prices, and regulated demand in ways that shaped the steel producers' priorities for research and technological change. In a suggestive concluding chapter, Misa argues that the decline of American steel in the years after 1925 can be traced to the fact that U.S. Steel, the dominant producer, isolated itself from emerging consumer needs, thereby ignoring new technologies that foreign producers and domestic mini-mills went on to explore. He suggests that an appreciation of the dynamic of technological change, including an understanding of the centrality of customer-producer dynamics, could be helpful to those attempting to develop industrial policies.

Misa develops his overarching analysis through six case studies of steel-industry sectors, and it is his "thick description" of these cases that makes his book extraordinary. For example, in his analysis of the

development of plate-making technology for armor in the years before World War I, Misa shows how the U.S. Navy established priorities for technological change by setting prices fifteen times above those for steel rail, and by fudging performance tests in order to favor certain products (and technologies) above others. Misa's analysis of this case also documents how steel producers shaped the market by developing customer demand for their varied products, and how they attempted to capture the market through patent suits and collusive partnerships. In the end, Bethlehem Steel and U.S. Steel enjoyed such massive profits by limiting entrance into a market defined by the Navy to suit the companies' needs that they were able to finance entry into growing markets.

Misa's analysis of how the Carnegie empire captured so much of the structural steel market points to the importance of government policy (including building codes), corporate marketing strategy, the multi-centered nature of the consumer market for structural shapes, and the importance of knowledge diffusion tracks (the publishing of customer handbooks of standard shapes and uses).

Each of Misa's six case studies is fruitful, and together they capture the enormously diverse and complex influences on technological change. Taken as a whole, this study constitutes a massive and successful assault on the neo-classical paradigm; however, as fruitful and suggestive as Misa's case studies are, they are not sufficient to sustain the conceptual framework that he develops in his concluding chapter. While Misa shows how different user-producer interactions shape different technological trajectories, his work tells us little about how different strategies for government intervention affect such interactions. Thus, Misa's promise to help industrial planners improve their policy making seems overly ambitious. Nevertheless, this book will profoundly shape the way scholars understand how technologies "are not only socially constructed but society-shaping" (p. xv).

DAVID BENSMAN
Rutgers University,
School of Management and Labor Relations

MARK H. ROSE. *Cities of Light and Heat: Domesticating Gas and Electricity in Urban America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 229. \$34.50.

Mark H. Rose provides a deeply researched study of the development of electricity and gas services in American cities by using Kansas City and Denver as cases in point. His theme is the evolution of "built environments" in which technology is "contextually dependent." Hence he explicitly positions himself at the end of a continuum leading from European culture-change views (Tönnies and Durkheim) through American technological drive theories (William F. Ogburn *et al.*) to more recent "social constructivist" interpretations (Thomas P. Hughes and Ruth Schwartz

Cowan). Rose has added to the story of light and heat as Sam Bass Warner did for streetcars and Claude Fischer did for telephones.

Rose's pictures of Kansas City and Denver show that, in these interior boomtowns, growth came fast, quickly overwhelming the small utility companies serving the rich of the late nineteenth-century core cities. Progressive politicians then encouraged the likes of Henry L. Doherty (of the shrewdly named Cities Service) to furnish not only the city core but also the industrial belt and the emergent suburban ring with light and heat at fixed rates, irrespective of distance from the center of the city. This opened the way to reshape the American dream via commercial hymns emphasizing technology-made "cleanliness, comfort, and convenience, especially for women" (p. 169).

Rose has hit on an intriguing way of elucidating the technology diffusion that fueled this version of the American dream. He not only analyzes utility company records, the trade press, and general advertising; he also describes the careers of two "diffusion agents," J. C. Nichols, developer of the Country Club District in Kansas City, and Roy G. Munroe, sales manager at Public Service Company of Colorado. Their actions enable Rose to show that American dreams are themselves constructs, and that takes him to the extraordinary post-Depression, post-World War II emphasis on the dream of comfort, particularly for homebound housewives.

In the 1960s, Rose avers, the unexamined secondary effects of urban-technological growth started to create doubts. Women, for instance, came to prefer a different diffusion pattern that, in Ruth Schwartz Cowan's terms, would not mean "more work for mother" and lost careers. Social scientists likewise began to question elite constructs and to urge technology assessment (Rose cites Joel Tarr here). Eventually, political and economic elites themselves hit a wall of worry over energy sources in the 1970s, causing utility companies to begin another redefinition, another construct, this time favoring energy efficiency.

There is something in this book for many types of historians: for historians of technology, much on application of gas and electricity; for urban and Western historians, insights into the development of Kansas City and Denver; for business historians, in-depth research on several major companies; and for social historians, cogent examples of how constructs become manifest in built environments.

THOMAS J. KNIGHT
Colorado State University

GREGORY A. WALLER. *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896-1930*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1995. Pp. xxii, 342. Cloth \$49.00, paper \$19.95.

This book is more than a pioneering discussion of the reception of the movies in Lexington, Kentucky in the early decades of this century. It is also an excellent

case study of the interaction of tradition and modernization in the New South, and a reminder of the halting but ultimately enthusiastic ways in which people learned to seek and to enjoy commercialized entertainment in the United States. Gregory A. Waller demonstrates that southerners simultaneously absorbed new experiences from the larger world around them while also placing their own imprints on the new media. Above all, he convincingly argues that southern movie viewers were not passive spectators who unreflectively absorbed the fare presented to them. Recognizing that audience reception is difficult to discern, he nevertheless effectively challenges the ideas that audiences everywhere responded to the movies in the same way or that the intervention of these outside cultural phenomena produced a uniformly national response in all communities.

Waller joins those scholars who insist that a full comprehension of the movies will come only when we go beyond the simple explication of film "texts" themselves to a study of audiences, theater settings, and community contexts. A contextual study of the movies in Lexington, for example, shows that while that city's movie history does bear some resemblance to that of other American cities, it also differs because of the influences of region, gender, and race. Lexington was a small city with a proud tradition of genteel cultural leadership, but it also possessed a population with marked racial and class differences whose members ardently embraced the movies and responded to them in a variety of ways. The multiplicity of white and African-American responses, in 1916, to the local screening of "The Birth of a Nation" clearly suggests that Lexington's movie audiences included several "communities" of viewers whose perceptions were influenced by history, prejudice, racial pride, public relations, and the desire for social diversion.

Waller's strongest contribution is his explication of the ways in which the movies—treated at first as little more than fly-by-night novelties and co-existing uneasily with skating rinks, tent shows, and other forms of public amusement—gradually became a "habit" among most Lexingtonians regardless of age, race, gender, or social rank. By 1915, the movies had clearly surpassed all other forms of commercialized public diversion, surviving despite attempts to censor their content and to regulate the hours and construction of the theaters in which they were shown. Although theater owners successfully resisted the blue laws and did practice self-censorship, they ultimately won community acceptance for their medium through methods similar to those employed earlier by Harriet Beecher Stowe and other defenders of the novel: they demonstrated that their films could be simultaneously entertaining, moral, patriotic, and educational. Commercialized pleasure, in short, could be respectable.

Although his book sometimes reads like an unedited dissertation, replete with the disconcerting habit of using direct quotes from other scholars that add little to his own analysis, Waller's contributions are sound.

This study will be useful to students of popular culture, southern history, and American film studies.

BILL C. MALONE
Tulane University

ANDRE MILLARD. *America on Record: A History of Recorded Sound*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 413. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$17.95.

Andre Millard's survey of the interface between technology and the business of recorded sound offers what he aptly calls a "concise narrative" of the highlights of phonograph history from cylinders to digital playback systems. Particular technological systems provide the organization of his narrative and act as focal points for synthetic overviews, based on secondary sources, of shifting time periods. Millard also comments on what he calls "the cultural effects" of sound-recording technology on society. By "cultural effects," Millard merely refers to changing mass musical movements like jazz, swing, and rock. Here, too, his interpretations have been synthesized from secondary works. Millard is aware of the subject's immense complexity and wisely limits "the scope of his efforts," leaving fuller accounts of the subject "to the experts" (p. vii).

Millard shows a particular empathy with the machinery of sound recording and reproduction, lovingly detailing the evolution of phonographic machines, cylinders versus discs, hill-and-dale versus lateral recording techniques, acoustic versus electrical recording, hi-fi versus stereo, shellac versus vinyl, micro-groove records versus tape cassettes, and so on. He demonstrates a firm grasp of the interface between technology and business, helpfully tracing the rise of the major companies, their reorganization into "Empires of Sound," and their most recent reincarnation as media conglomerates.

Throughout this book, Millard, who has previously published a monograph on Thomas Alva Edison and the business of invention, emphasizes the influence of technology on society and culture. Inventors create new machines, which then influence more and more people's lives until, finally, recorded sound becomes ubiquitous, pervasive, and even tyrannical in America and throughout the world. Millard, nevertheless, sees the phonograph's major influence to have been educational, bringing musical styles—be they those of the conservatory or those of the streets—to untold thousands who could not otherwise have heard them. Records, moreover, created aural traditions like jazz, swing, bebop, rock and roll, and ethnic musics capable of surviving and even growing over several generations.

Students at all levels will benefit from reading this survey, but, perhaps because the book is a survey, Millard devotes very little space to the complex mutual interactions between culture and technology. To say that technology shaped culture can amount to a stereotype that fails to express how culture shaped technology. Contrary to this book's model, inventors,

themselves parts of on-going, changing culture systems, decided that they wanted certain kinds of phonographs and records; record promoters and A&R men used the available technology to produce certain kinds of products; most of all, masses of people sifted through the avalanche of sound recordings, creating new subcultures of sound that in turn influenced what the companies placed on the market. To say only that the phonograph influenced society comes too close to assuming a form of mechanical or technological determinism that, among other things, absolves people of all that they have done with machines.

Likewise, Millard avoids any confrontation with the phonograph's critics; his book appears to imply that the diatribes of Dwight MacDonald, Allen Bloom, and Theodor Adorno against phonograph-born fads in popular music may be safely ignored or chalked up to unavoidable technological determinism. Millard's survey does not tell us either about the ways people, both individuals and groups, turned the phonograph to their different purposes. But the aim of his book is not to explore the cultural effects of the phonograph but to present the history of its technology, and, as such, it is useful, readable, and informative.

WILLIAM KENNEY
Kent State University

JOEL D. HOWELL. *Technology in the Hospital: Transforming Patient Care in the Early Twentieth Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 341. \$47.50.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the hospital became the central feature and defining characteristic of modern medicine. Joel D. Howell explores the role that an evolving medical technology played in this process. For two decades now, historians have challenged the inevitability of the hospital's ascendance. Howell extends that challenge to medical technology itself, focusing on the multiple negotiations that accompanied the introduction of new technologies and the various meanings ascribed to them. This is a study of the social construction of knowledge and its applications.

Howell examines New York Hospital and Pennsylvania Hospital in the period 1900–1925. He uses patient records kept by the elite physicians who practiced at these private, nonprofit institutions to probe the introduction (or transformation) and use of the x-ray, urinalysis, and blood testing. When the century began, a hospital stay involved little or no technology, and a patient record might be a single page devoid of test results. By the mid-1920s, extensive records charted and graphed various laboratory procedures and often presented their results in quantitative form. Howell devotes some of his most insightful attention to the changing patient record itself.

Howell's analysis looks beyond the availability of the diagnostic technologies whose use he traces to a growing faith, among physicians and public alike, in

the value of test data. Although Howell is careful not to discount the therapeutic efficacy of medical instrumentation, he argues that x-rays, urinalyses, and blood tests came to be valued because they were increasingly viewed as objective and scientific by an efficiency-obsessed culture receptive to the claims of science and its promises.

The organizational transformation of the hospital made technological innovation possible. New record-keeping systems—which Howell argues depend heavily on financial cost accounting—allowed and even encouraged physicians to subject patients to medical tests. The new specialties of radiology and clinical pathology created themselves around control of the new technologies, and their practitioners reshaped the hospital to meet their own needs. Howell notes how the promise of precision embodied in the new technologies fed into the ongoing debate over whether medicine was an art, which would treat each patient as a special case, or a science, which could apply objective criteria across patient populations.

Howell embeds an interesting story in an intelligent argument. I think, however, that his emphasis on the social construction of knowledge makes him less sensitive than he might be to the fact that symbols sometimes capture realities. Efficiency became an important cultural value in the United States in the early twentieth century. But it did so—in medicine, at least—because it served in some measure as a proxy for the sum of the technologies in which medicine was then investing. Those technologies were themselves powerfully attractive to physicians and patients alike.

Howell is on much firmer ground in arguing that medical technology made the hospital more acceptable to the middle classes, broadening its patient mix beyond the poor who had been its nineteenth-century population. Hospitals reoriented themselves around medical technologies and advertised their x-ray facilities and laboratories at least in part to attract paying patients. At the same time, hospitalization increased a patient's likelihood of encountering medical technology. The hospital and medical technology thus mutually reinforced each other and created a modern medicine identified in terms of both.

MORRIS J. VOGEL
Temple University

SILKE WEHNER-FRANCO. *Deutsche Dienstmädchen in Amerika 1850–1914*. (Beiträge zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland Band 87.) New York: Waxmann Münster. 1994. Pp. viii, 389. DM 49.90.

In the burgeoning literature on the history and sociology of domestic labor, the history of female domestic servants who came to the United States as immigrants in the nineteenth century is a well-established subfield. The "Irish Biddy" is the dominant example, but we know that other immigrant groups (notably Germans and Scandinavians) also sent their daughters to work in other people's households.

Silke Wehner-Franco's book focuses on single German women who migrated to the United States and worked as domestic servants during the second half of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. It uses a wealth of letters written by the women themselves as well as data from the manuscript census schedules in select cities and the contemporary advice literature on domestic service to paint a detailed portrait of the lives, working conditions, and expectations of these working-class immigrant women.

From the varied, usually urban lives of these women a complex picture emerges. According to Wehner-Franco, German domestics made well-reasoned choices about their places of employment, workload, and wages when it came to finding and keeping a job and fitting domestic service into their life plans. Initial employment was most easily found in general housework. As the women became familiar with their new environment, its language, and the ways domestic labor was classified, they sought out more specialized employment (as cooks, for example) that paid better and was less arduous. Moreover, German immigrant women sought out employment with "American" families, who had the reputation of treating their help better and paying more than German-American employers. In the long run, though, marriage and the establishment of an independent household clearly emerged as the social goal of these women.

Overall, Wehner-Franco's perspective remains firmly anchored in the German experience of domestic servants with its close connection to pre-industrial indentured service. While this may very well have been the implicit and explicit frame of reference for the newly arrived women themselves (especially when they wrote home), it is unlikely to have shaped their ideas of themselves for the rest of their working lives. A more differentiated discussion of the shift from the German to the American standard for work and living might have added important insights. The German-centered perspective also limits the connections and parallels for readers of this book with the literature on domestic service in the United States.

As useful as Wehner-Franco's portrait is, some important aspects of female immigration and domestic labor that have recently been discussed in the historical and anthropological literature are barely touched in this study. For example, the relationship between women employers and women workers within the domestic sphere is largely unexamined. Wehner-Franco's focus on gendered assimilation as a phenomenon mainly expressed in female styles of consumption is an unnecessarily limiting concept. Nevertheless, this careful study merits a place on the expanding bookshelf of literature on both German immigrants and the history of domestic work in the United States.

DOROTHEE SCHNEIDER
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MAGDALENA J. ZABOROWSKA. *How We Found America: Reading Gender through East European Immigrant Narratives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 359. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Each of the five twentieth-century writers who constitute the literary tradition of Eastern European women immigrants to the U.S.—Mary Antin, Elizabeth Stern, Anzia Yezierska, Maria Kuncewicz, Eva Hoffman—receives careful scrutiny both as an author with a unique voice and as a speaker in dialogue with the others in the tradition. In her compellingly detailed analysis, Magdalena J. Zaborowska openly challenges the distinctions between fiction and autobiography as she closely reads the expressions and revisions of what she calls "model narratives" of immigrant experience. Defined by men's stories, these "master plots" have relied on expressions of gratitude and tales of success. The Eastern European women immigrants implicitly criticize the male version by presenting "an America that often does not live up to the outsider's expectations" (p. 44), particularly when that outsider is a woman. This criticism is one of the defining characteristics of the tradition.

By arranging chapters on authors chronologically, Zaborowska implies that her study traces the tradition's history, a history that I see as defined by two eras: an early period documented by Antin, Stern, Yezierska, all of whom had arrived in the U.S. by the turn of the century and had published a book by the early 1920s; and a later period described by Kuncewicz and Hoffman, whose post-World War II careers provided them with a perspective on the Cold War and its aftermath. Although the earlier writers are more familiar in chronicles of U.S. immigrants' experiences, Zaborowska offers fresh insights into their texts by revealing what they have in common with each other as well as with the later texts.

Focusing on the writers' "double otherness," as ethnics in the U.S. and as women "other" than the men included in the canon of Eastern European literature (Jerzy Kosinski, Joseph Brodsky, and Milan Kundera, to name just three), enables Zaborowska to contest not only traditional expectations about immigrant writing but about U.S. women's writing as well. She offers an exciting strategy for this challenge in the short chapter on Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Invitation to a Beheading*: reading canonized men as "others" to a female tradition. Such a vantage point should inspire new questions about conventional interpretations of the male story. Zaborowska's study itself revises established models of Americanization and makes possible new readings of both male and female immigrants' texts.

Despite the thoroughness of the analysis of each writer and her relation to the others, Zaborowska does not adequately explain how five writers, all of whom wrote in the twentieth century, delineate a tradition. Other literary scholars, such as Elaine Showalter, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., who have also recovered and regrouped

noncanonical writers, have defined particular literary traditions with many more than five authors.

Four out of the five women included in the study were/are Jewish. Zaborowska examines this integral part of the women's identities and texts, but some issues remain unexplored: how does Jewishness complicate the notion of "other"? What are the implications for U.S. literary history in defining the tradition as that of Eastern European immigrant women rather than that of American Jewish women?

In keeping with feminist literary practice, Zaborowska interrogates her own position as an Eastern European woman immigrant in relation to the writers she studies. She concludes this analysis and the whole study by asking readers to acknowledge the full "otherness" of East European literature in the United States. It is a request I am persuaded to honor.

DIANE LICHTENSTEIN
Beloit College

FREDERICK M. BINDER and DAVID M. REIMERS. *All the Nations under Heaven: An Ethnic and Racial History of New York City*. (Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 353. \$27.50.

This book usefully brings together information about the history of immigration and ethnicity in New York. It is a straightforward narrative whose nine chapters follow a basically chronological arrangement. The periods from 1789 to 1880 and from 1880 to World War I, however, are each the focus of two chapters.

Frederick M. Binder and David M. Reimers trace the presence of diversity in New York from the visit of Giovanni da Verrazano in 1524. Because of the city's importance in American history, much of the information about the arrival of the Dutch, Irish, Germans, Jews, Italians, and other groups is familiar. The authors, however, do an excellent job relating those materials to the political history of New York and to the evolution of its neighborhoods. Moreover, their thorough treatment also recognizes groups whose numbers are relatively small, and their discussion of recent immigrant flows brings the story up to the minute.

The overall message is optimistic. Ethnic groups come *seriatim* to the city and face great hardship there. Most immigrants—or at least their offspring—eventually achieve success. Economic advancement, however, may be faster or slower for some groups, depending on the level the skills they bring with them and on the compatibility of their Old and New World experiences. Social acceptance accompanies assimilation, and tolerance allows various subgroups a range of options, from adhering closely to old ethnic mores to almost complete absorption in the broader community.

Limiting the authors' positive message is their recognition that prospects for progress have faced greater obstacles when race rather than intra-European ethnic differences have been involved. Binder and Riemers

repeatedly call attention to the prejudice that hindered the efforts of nonwhites—most notably African-Americans and Puerto Ricans—to match the steps forward taken by other ethnic groups. The prominence of "people of color" among the most recent arrivals intensifies their concern in this regard. Nevertheless, they conclude that although today's diversity poses great challenges, those "who truly love this great city believe that its future should and can be no less than its past" (p. 262).

Both the optimism and the caution expressed by Binder and Riemers are constructive. A positive portrayal of New York's ethnic history is a useful antidote to the nervous reactions emanating from regions of the nation now experiencing unaccustomed levels of population diversity. Likewise, a commitment to avoid reductionism is essential when discussing the overlapping histories of immigration, ethnicity, and race.

No single study can do full justice to so complex a topic as that addressed by this book. It is a form of survivors' history: a celebration of those who endured. To some degree, therefore, the costs of building a city through repeated infusions of impoverished immigrants are minimized, and the pains of those who experienced that cauldron are sanitized. Because the book is not explicitly analytical, its interpretation treats assimilation as a kind of mythic inevitability—provided good will is available—and does not systematically address what structural, institutional, or economic factors may be necessary to the process.

THOMAS J. ARCHDEACON
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

MARIO MAFFI. *Gateway to the Promised Land: Ethnic Cultures on New York's Lower East Side*. New York: New York University Press. 1995. Pp. 343. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.50.

Perhaps the most common complaint of urban historians about the published work of other urban historians is that their studies fail to capture the substance and flavor of the city about which they are writing. Analyses of urban politics, ethnic adjustment, horizontal and vertical mobility, and other topics frequently become so involved in the minutia of the topic that one gets no sense of the city in which human events occur. That is definitely not the case with Mario Maffi's work on the turbulent, diverse, and vibrant Lower East Side of New York.

Maffi manages to capture it all. Jews, Germans, Irish, Chinese, and Italians all become a part of an urban mosaic in which crowding was the most common element. We view immigrant families attempting to create humane conditions in their tiny tenement apartments. During the hot summer nights, entire families escaped to the rooftops. The street, too, became a crowded extension of the apartment, with children playing, young couples courting and occasionally finding a private alley or cellarway for sexual experimen-

tation, and Old World parents gossiping and talking in the language of the motherland.

Through a deft use of primary sources and contemporaneous literature, Maffi also takes the reader through the sweatshops of the garment trade, the cigar-making shops found throughout the Lower East Side, and the distinctly ethnic industries such as laundering (Chinese), street peddling (Jews), and city building construction (Italians). Maffi's city contains real live people busily engaged in building a life in an environment that they did not create but that they modified to meet their needs.

If Maffi's work reads a bit like earlier works by historians such as Oscar Handlin and Moses Rischin, it is a welcome relief from the microanalytical works that have characterized recent urban history. What distinguishes his work is that the immigrant families described are not passive players content to accept the conditions they encounter in ethnic New York. These are not individuals and groups who assimilated into the existing American culture. They adjusted and adapted it in small and large ways. They transformed single-family dwellings into extended family quarters. They created a boarding system to help them cope with inadequate wages. An abundance of local literature, theater, and other forms of entertainment emerged to give relief to an oppressed population.

But the workers changed their environment in large ways as well. Successful labor action, often organized and led by women workers, brought improved working conditions throughout the Lower East Side. Conditions and wages in shirt and cigar making were significantly altered through the collective action of workers in those industries. Children struck for higher wages. Tenement residents struck for better conditions and lower rents. Jewish women stuck in protest of rapidly increasing kosher meat prices. Most of the above actions met with success.

Excepting several chapters in which Maffi dwells excessively on the literature produced in the Lower East Side, this is a highly readable, important work. I expect that it will find a long life in both undergraduate and graduate college classrooms throughout the country.

MICHAEL P. WEBER
Duquesne University

KENNETH FINEGOLD. *Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 264. \$39.50.

Kenneth Finegold is a political scientist who purports to bring modern tools of analysis to the history of urban politics, including the use of regression analysis to generate data where hard figures on demographics, election behavior, and the like do not exist. He studies three cities whose anti-machine politics over several

decades after 1890 had different outcomes. This comparative approach, he argues, would "maximize the variance of the dependent variable, defined quite broadly as the city's subsequent patterns of politics and policy" (p. 4).

Finegold's analysis challenges head-on the identification of machine politics with ethnic and class alignments. Machine politics, he notes, has been revised by "political economists" who have refuted the Robert Merton thesis that the city machines had a functionalist role in supplying services and largesse to the poor ethnic and working classes. Finegold insists that the machines were never very coherent organizations but were aggregations of semiautonomous ward machines; they didn't function to serve the lower classes (whatever Richard Hofstadter, Samuel Hays, *et al.* have had to say about it) but served only their own interests; and the New Deal did not kill the machines. If anything, the New Deal helped them survive as long as they did by providing them with resources for distribution among their constituents. Other approaches to reform, such as Robert Wiebe's organizational imperative, have also been helpful. But, says Finegold, Wiebe's "abstract conception of the 'search for order'" lacks attention to the politics of it all.

Proposing to "rethink urban reform opposition to party organizations," and to "pay attention to reform as politics," Finegold remarks especially on the role of the expert and of "expertise as a potential source of change in American politics and policy." He sees three distinct sources of reform politics: "traditional," "municipal populist," and "progressive." The first corresponds most closely to the Hofstadter-Hays model of native-stock elites; the second represents self-conscious ethnic and working-class groups; and the third consists of coalitions combining the first two.

The last, he says, depended much on how experts were brought into the political process. "Experts' ideas influenced policies; policies influenced voting behavior" (p. 171). When experts' policies developed independently of "business" interests and cut across class and ethnic lines, they were more successful in sustaining progressive reform than when they did not.

I am not sure how much all this revolutionizes our understanding of the history of urban politics. But Finegold's work is to be welcomed especially for its emphasis on the importance of "the expert," of the scholar and intellectual, in progressive era politics, a legacy of that era not altogether discarded even in these days of mindless sloganeering and retreat into gestures of piety and "faith."

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GARNA L. CHRISTIAN. *Black Soldiers in Jim Crow Texas, 1899-1917*. (Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 57.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 223. \$35.00.

At a number of times in the past 150 years, relations between African-American soldiers and southern white civilians have become violent. Garna L. Christian has written a very interesting account that focuses on one aspect of this topic. Christian makes clear that the Brownsville and Houston shootings, instead of being isolated incidents, were part of a pattern occasioned by white racism and a feeling of combativeness empowered by the uniform of the United States Army.

Christian organized his book around eight different racial incidents that occurred in Texas between 1899 and 1917 and involved, at one time or the other, all four African-American regiments. Most of the problems developed in small towns along the Rio Grande border. Whites generally did not want the African-American soldiers stationed in their communities, treated them as second-class citizens, and were upset when the soldiers attempted to change the status quo. The local police tried to handle the soldiers as they did black civilians. The soldiers, accustomed to a better reception in other areas, resented this. They also felt that, as representatives of the federal government, they should be dealt with as whites were. The Army, generally, favored the local citizens and punished the soldiers harshly for their efforts. They also did not try to understand the problems or support the soldiers in their attempts to receive equal treatment.

This study demonstrates that understanding the context gives a new meaning to well-known events. Christian has done a great deal of research in local records, especially newspapers, to provide a well-written account of race relations in Texas. He clearly shows that Texans wanted the money that the presence of the U. S. Army brought to their local communities. On the other hand, they did not want the racial status quo to be changed. African-American soldiers clearly were a tension-inducing element. The only way that peace could be kept was if the soldiers behaved in a subservient manner—a position that was not acceptable to them. Unlike their civilian brethren in the same situation, African-American soldiers had the will and the means to retaliate.

As Christian notes, this attitude is much the same as that which fueled the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. He makes it clear that the Army should have anticipated the problems that occurred in Brownsville in 1906 and Houston in 1917 and done something to prevent them. He also helps us to understand the deep-seated causes of these events. Christian would have strengthened his study by exploring the Army's attitude on race relations. As incident after incident occurred, one wonders if the Chief of Staff seriously contemplated the problems of stationing African-American troops in the South. Taken as a whole, however, Christian's book offers an interesting account of a somewhat neglected aspect of the history of race relations in the United States.

MARVIN E. FLETCHER
Ohio University

AMY HELENE KIRSCHKE. *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1995. Pp. xviii, 166. \$45.00.

During the last ten years, interest in the Harlem Renaissance has steadily increased, resulting in several studies of the movement as well as in new biographies of the major writers involved. Amy Helene Kirschke adds to this growing body of Harlem Renaissance scholarship her own study of the foremost visual artist of the movement, Aaron Douglas.

Kirschke's book is part biography, part history of the Harlem Renaissance, and part description and analysis of Douglas's work. She discusses briefly Douglas's early childhood in Topeka, Kansas, and his experiences in college and during World War I. Relying heavily on a series of oral history interviews, which Douglas participated in late in his life, as well as his correspondence with wife-to-be Alta Sawyer, Kirschke describes in some detail Douglas's years in Harlem and his association with the Harlem Renaissance. Kirschke spends almost as much time defending the Renaissance against its critics as she does describing Douglas's relationship to it. She contends that the Renaissance was positive and discounts claims that (at least as far as Douglas was concerned) the movement was dominated by the aesthetic and artistic demands of its white patrons. In fact, it is clear from her description of Douglas's experiences that black intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois and Alain Locke were as much involved in attempting to direct the careers and creations of young black artists as were white patrons.

Kirschke argues convincingly that Douglas was a central figure in the Harlem Renaissance. Without question he was the most accomplished visual artist associated with the movement; he also occupied a central position in the black bohemia that revolved around Langston Hughes and Wallace Thurman, and he collaborated with this group in the production of *Fire!!*, the short-lived effort of Renaissance writers to create their own literary magazine. He also published his art in the principal publications of the Renaissance (*The Crisis*, *Opportunity*, and Alain Locke's anthology *The New Negro*), and he created illustrations for many of the major works of the Renaissance, from Langston Hughes's *The Weary Blues* to Carl Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven*.

The second half of this book consists of three chapters in which Kirschke describes and analyzes eighty-two examples of Douglas's Harlem Renaissance-era art. These descriptions (which refer to black and white illustrations included in the book) discuss the style and sometimes detail the history of each work. At their best, these descriptions are insightful and increase our understanding of Douglas's career and his relationship to the Harlem Renaissance; occasionally, however, the discussions in these chapters are repetitive and duplicate material included in the biographical narrative.

Kirschke essentially concludes her discussion of

Douglas in 1934, at a time when the Harlem Renaissance phase of his career (as well as his greatest productivity as an artist) was coming to an end. Kirschke leaves several intriguing questions unanswered. Why did his artistic productivity come to a virtual halt in 1934? Is there any connection between the Kansas childhoods of Douglas and Langston Hughes and their later association in Harlem? What is the significance of the role that German emigré artist Winold Reiss played in defining the nature of African-American art in the 1920s? Even though these and other questions remain largely unexplored, Kirschke deserves our praise for focusing attention on Douglas and reminding us of the role that the visual arts played in the Harlem Renaissance.

CARY D. WINTZ
Texas Southern University

JOHN A. BRITTON. *Revolution and Ideology: Images of the Mexican Revolution in the United States*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. viii, 271. \$35.00.

Debate concerning the nature and trajectory of Mexico's Revolution continues to flourish, even if those who compare twentieth-century revolutions pay it little heed. Here John A. Britton reviews how American politicians, journalists, novelists, historians, political scientists, filmmakers, and business people have viewed the Revolution from the outbreak of hostilities in 1910 to the 1960s. Britton contends that the assertions of these observers (as prejudiced and wrong-headed as they may be) "provide useful and provocative insights into the turbulence of a world where the juggernaut of expansive capitalism, often supported by eager and pliant politicians, collides head on with the struggles of common people for material subsistence and cultural substance" (p. 225). Maybe so.

The "observers" analyzed by Britton are old friends to Mexicanists. We met them all in graduate seminars: Jack London, Ernest Gruening, Dwight Morrow, Walter Lippman, Eyler Simpson, Stuart Chase, Carlton Beals, Frank Tannenbaum, Howard Cline, Lesley Bird Simpson, Nathan Whetten, Robert Scott, and others. Britton carefully places them in the context of their times and properly concludes that "Their eyes were fixed on Mexico, but their feet and also their ideologies and other cultural baggage remained planted in the United States" (p. 182). Britton helpfully divides these "political pilgrims," as he calls them, into seven political categories that run left to right, from independent leftists, Communists and fellow travelers, and Socialists through liberal statists and liberal capitalists to business conservatives and racists. Much of his attention is focused on independent leftists such as Tannenbaum and Beals, Socialists represented by Eyler Simpson, and liberal statists such as Gruening.

Britton believes that Mexico's upheaval did constitute a genuine social revolution that was and continues

to be characterized by the tension between tendencies toward authoritarian rule and the endeavor to give peasants and workers a meaningful voice in government. American observers supported or lambasted one tendency or the other depending upon their own political proclivities. In other words, the analysts largely ignored the aspirations of Mexicans and the realities of that country. Only during the administration of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) did Britton find that leftist commentators in the United States, as well as the Roosevelt administration, came to recognize that "an ongoing social revolution need not mean that the diplomatic resolution of serious international conflict was impossible" (p. 157). By the 1950s, however, the Cold War had led American viewers to interpret Mexico's experience largely in terms of the Communist revolutions in the former Soviet Union and China.

While the political gloves into which Britton slips the Americans do not always fit as snugly as he suggests, his careful linkage of the observers to their political designs in the United States represents a noteworthy contribution to the study of American attitudes toward the neighbors on their southern flank.

PAUL J. VANDERWOOD
San Diego State University

LINDA B. HALL. *Oil, Banks, and Politics: The United States and Postrevolutionary Mexico, 1917–1924*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. x, 224. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

Linda B. Hall has provided scholars of the United States and Mexico with a carefully crafted and researched study of the bilateral relationship between the two countries in the late 1910s and early 1920s. The obvious comparison is with Robert F. Smith's volume *The United States and Revolutionary Nationalism in Mexico, 1916–1932* (1972). Smith's fine earlier study was more comprehensive in nature, covering the years to the end of the Republican administration in 1932, and his interpretation is similar to Hall's. Yet Smith did not have the same access to a wide range of archival materials in Mexico and Great Britain that Hall has employed with substantial imagination as well as fortitude. In addition to the more standard diplomatic records of the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico, Hall has mined the Pemex, Plutarco Elías Calles, Torreblanca, and Obregón papers in Mexico.

A significant amount of scholarship on the revolutionary period and Mexican-American relations has been published since Smith's study, including, among others, work by Friedrich Katz, Alan Knight, Stephen Kane, George Philip, and Jonathan Brown, as well as an earlier study by Hall herself (*Revolution on the Border*, [1988]). One might consequently wonder what Hall has added to a largely familiar story of the international bankers' association, Dwight Morrow, and the American and British oil companies. The chapter headings themselves do not provide an answer to that question because they delineate the familiar

ground of the struggle for Mexican oil: Albert Fall, power and resources, the gentlemen's agreement and recognition, and the De la Huerta rebellion. I nevertheless hope that readers will be drawn more deeply into the volume itself, because it provides extremely rich, in-depth studies of those issues; Hall goes well beyond the extant knowledge.

Hall's discussions of De la Huerta's revolt, the detailed negotiations over the debt issue, and the conflict surrounding the development of the Juan Felipe oil fields near Veracruz are especially valuable, not only because of the quality of the narrative and analysis but also because of the extremely sound nature of the archival materials with which she buttresses her arguments. The analysis is also extremely strong in its treatment of the Mexican and American private sectors; Hall has had little access to the records of private companies, but she has more than compensated for that difficulty. Those scholars, including myself, who have both preached and practiced the gospel of linking the diplomatic record with private sector research will be especially pleased by Hall's study.

As a Mexicanist, Hall has rightly made her main contribution on the Mexican side of the study, but she also carefully sets her analysis into a larger interpretative framework, drawing on the work of Theda Skocpol on the Russian, French, and Chinese revolutions and the importance of studying the international context of modern social revolutions (*States and Social Revolutions* [1979]). As Hall suggests, Mexico was not an idle bystander in its own history, but the critical force in the Mexican Revolution was the development of international capitalism, in particular the international oil industry and international banking. Hall has made that connection between domestic Mexican developments and the international context as well as it can be made.

STEPHEN J. RANDALL
University of Calgary

JAMES WILLIAM PARK. *Latin American Underdevelopment: A History of Perspectives in the United States, 1870-1965*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 274. \$37.50.

Arguing that scholars lack a systematic analysis of the history of the U.S. interpretation of Latin American underdevelopment, James William Park has examined the literature produced by travel writers, essayists, journalists, and educators for the period from 1870 to 1965. What Park finds is "a consistent and enduring pattern of disdain toward the peoples and cultures of Latin America" (p. 4). These writers judged Latin America as politically unstable, technologically backward, and culturally barren and ascribed those deficiencies to the region's unfortunate colonial heritage and tropical setting. Latin America allegedly had enormous potential because of its size and abundant natural resources—what Park dubs the "El Dorado

myth." But Latin Americans would never match the accomplishments of their northern neighbors, because they lived in the tropics, were a racially mixed people, and had an authoritarian, medieval culture derived from their "Black Legend" colonial heritage. As Park notes, the common portrait offered to the educated U.S. public was "of a slothful, priest-ridden population of inferior, mixed breeds perpetuating the nonproductive ways of the colonial era and stagnating in tropical languor amid undeveloped abundance" (p. 33).

By the mid-twentieth century, putative experts on Latin America began to modify their explanations for the region's underdevelopment. Geographers made the obvious point that most Latin Americans lived not in the tropics but in the temperate zones. Racist interpretations became less acceptable once the U.S. civil rights movement gained widespread support, and some economists pointed out physical barriers to development in Latin America, such as the lack of good harbors and navigable river systems. Park argues, however, that ethnocentrism continued to characterize the U.S. approach to Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s. Modernization theory infused U.S. economic aid programs like the Alliance for Progress. Latin Americans would presumably enjoy political stability, economic growth, and social progress once the modern values and institutions of the United States supplanted the outmoded Hispanic way of life. Commentators also continued to uphold the vision of El Dorado, contrasting potential wealth with needless poverty.

Although Park has made a significant contribution in reviewing travel literature and highlighting what was said about Latin America in journals of opinion like the *North American Review* and *Harper's*, his study seems incomplete. His explanation for isolating the period from 1870 to 1965 for study is unclear. Interpretations of Latin America based on racial, geographic, and cultural attributes appeared long before 1870. Public officials such as John Quincy Adams dwelled on the Black Legend. Park acknowledges that other theories of underdevelopment and prescriptions for progress, such as dependency theory and the market model, have appeared since 1965. But he declines to analyze whether the patterns of the past—ignorance, misinformation, and ethnocentrism—also characterized these approaches. Perhaps those who espoused dependency theory and Raúl Prebisch's doctrine of unequal exchange implicitly embraced Park's El Dorado myth.

Scholars will also want to know how these perspectives on underdevelopment shaped the public acts of U.S. officials and the private activities of investors, traders, missionaries, and philanthropists. Park declines, however, to explore the "complex issue" of relating ideas to action. He worked only with published records and did not consult governmental archives or the private papers of those who operated in Latin America, limiting his study to the "more modest goal"

of identifying notable interpretations of Latin America's underdevelopment (p. 6).

STEPHEN G. RABE
University of Texas,
Dallas

CHARLES W. CHEAPE. *Strictly Business: Walter Carpenter at DuPont and General Motors*. (Studies in Industry and Society, number 6.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 309. \$48.50.

The managerial revolution of the early twentieth century seemingly produced a new type of business leader, the faceless, grey-suited bureaucrat featured and usually condemned in mid-century sociological tracts and popular novels. After examining the career of a highly successful member of the new elite, Charles W. Cheape reports that, yes, the popular image had substance. Walter Carpenter, the principal manager of DuPont and an influence at General Motors from the 1920s to the 1950s, was dull and colorless. He had few interests apart from his work and no recorded vices or eccentricities. Despite an immense salary (he made \$300,000 per year in the 1930s when the leading sports celebrity, Babe Ruth, made a mere \$80,000), he remained modest and unassuming. Yet if Carpenter was no Lee Iacocca, he was an extremely useful individual whose story adds valuable perspective to the history of big business.

Despite his bland personality, Carpenter had a meteoric rise. Cheape is least helpful on this phase of his career. Extolling Carpenter's abilities, he is unable to show how Carpenter's behavior elevated him to the early twentieth-century version of the fast track. The evidence points to two factors besides talent and hard work: nepotism—a brother and several family members were already DuPont executives—and a knack for cultivating the boss's favor. Though Carpenter was capable, he was also exactly what the imperious du Ponts wanted: an all-round Mr. Fixit who would do as he was told, step on as few toes as possible, and leave the public and corporate spotlight to them. Only in the 1920s, when Carpenter became *de facto* chief executive and an important advisor to Alfred Sloan at General Motors, the duPonts' other major interest, did he emerge from the family's shadow, and then only hesitantly. For the next twenty years, he would be a pleasant, low-key champion of reason and realism. He opposed the duPonts' crackpot schemes, such as their efforts to buy U.S. Steel and U.S. Rubber and to spearhead an establishment backlash against the New Deal; warned against the General Motors investment long before the government forced DuPont to dispose of it under unfavorable circumstances; sought to leave the armaments business as quickly as possible and opposed post-World War II efforts to re-enter; promoted systematic public and government relations activities; and warned against a mechanical, accounting-based approach to management. The company was

remarkably successful during that period, in no small part due to Carpenter's sensible leadership.

Cheape's book is not a biography and not a comprehensive account of Carpenter's business career. It is a brief overview of his contribution to corporate governance and a valuable complement to the many scholarly works on DuPont and the duPonts. It potentially has another, even more useful role, as a manual on executive leadership for MBA students. Carpenter may have epitomized the faceless corporate bureaucrat of mid-century, but he would stand out today as a paragon of humility and refreshing good sense next to the regal CEOs and narrow-minded technicians who seemingly dominate the world of big business today.

DANIEL NELSON
University of Akron

ALAN RYAN. *John Dewey and the High Tide of American Liberalism*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. 414. \$30.00.

It is hard to categorize this book and to describe its aim. Alan Ryan says it is less a history or biography than a friendly but critical tour of the ideas that made John Dewey the central American intellectual figure of the first half of the twentieth century. He also calls the book a conversation between Dewey's aspirations and our doubts. Transplanted from Oxford (and now replanted), Ryan says that he wanted to write on Dewey from a transatlantic perspective. His focus is on Dewey's political and social thought, but Ryan sketches the more formal philosophical background from which it came. Overall, he additionally offers us a substantial account of Dewey's academic, personal, and public life.

The result is engaged and intelligent. The book is well-written, and its themes are accessible and cogently presented. But Ryan is not historically learned. There is much comment about the United States in the Gilded Age, American foreign policy in the period from 1914 to 1945, and the domestic politics of the New Deal. Ryan's views are not exactly wrong, but they show no deep knowledge of American history. His understanding is conventional, and his footnotes are superficial.

Ryan notes his indebtedness to Dewey's chief biographer, George Dykhuizen, and he is far more interpretatively agile than Dykhuizen. But Ryan is not really interested in the relation of Dewey's ideas to his personal life. He has little to say, for example, about Dewey's call for intelligence in action and the philosopher's self-interested and incompetent performance as an administrator throughout his career. Dewey said you could not finally distinguish practice and preaching, but he did not practice what he preached. These biographical conundrums are of little concern to Ryan, who at times apologizes for giving us what he does of Dewey's life.

The book's main goal is to unpack the theory and action of Dewey's politics. In large measure, Ryan gets

this right, charting Dewey's efforts as an "advanced liberal," an anti-Marxist social democrat, and an advocate of many progressive cultural causes. A minor theme is the defense of Dewey's conception of the religious. Here Ryan is less persuasive, but since the theme is secondary, it doesn't much mar the account. Ryan's touch in these substantive areas, too, is light. He thanks archivists, but even the published material that he cites suggests comprehensive but not erudite reading. Part of the reason for this is that the book's purpose is not just to explicate Dewey but to tell us what Ryan thinks of Dewey and the positions he took.

Ryan's preface wonders about the need for his book because of two recent publications. Steven Rockefeller's *John Dewey* (1991) deals with Dewey's religiosity. Robert Westbrook's *John Dewey and American Democracy* (1991) is a better book on almost exactly the same subject. Ryan cites both of these works frequently and is at pains in his notes to separate his claims from Westbrook's. Ryan would have made a contribution had he not been preceded by these two volumes.

BRUCE KUKLICK
University of Pennsylvania

MARK C. SMITH. *Social Science in the Crucible: The American Debate over Objectivity and Purpose, 1918–1941*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1994. Pp. 353. \$15.95.

For this book, Mark C. Smith selects five men to explain "the American debate over objectivity and purpose" between the wars: Wesley Mitchell, Charles Merriam, Robert Lynd, Charles Beard, and Harold Lasswell. These scholars produced a scientific literature both more compelling and more deeply situated in history than is Smith's account. Their selection both constrains and presumes the distinction between "service intellectuals" and "purposive social scientists" that Smith wishes to draw.

The difficulty is familiar: for any historian studying institutions in the process of formation, *post-hoc* definitions of those institutions impinge upon the formative narrative. For Smith, social problems, moral dilemmas, and political conflicts remain residual categories to formal social science, "controversial social and political issues" (p. 5) that do not incur the urgent practical concern of public intellectuals. This initial default on the social uses of social science leaves Smith unable to address, historically, Lynd's classic question: "Knowledge for what?"

The key players are those intellectuals who Smith sees as "purposivists" struggling against the spurious rise of objectivity. Aiming to countermand an allegedly "Whig" history of the social sciences, Smith does not appear to have studied this secondary literature carefully enough to judge it. References to recent work appear hasty; a single note (p. 276, n. 18) to Mary O. Furner's brilliant and pertinent work, *Advocacy and Objectivity* (1976), is mean. Lacking engagement with

the extant literature, Smith is stuck from the outset with oddly gerrymandered, opaque, and ahistorical definitions of social science, social scientists, objectivity, and purpose. Oddest is his unreflective elision of "objective" into "quantitative" social science (pp. 48; 91–96). Smith appears more tightly bound by disciplinary convention than are virtually any of the historians he whips with the wet towel of "Whiggism" (pp. 5–8).

The central polemic of Smith's work is oddly disjoined from his casting: he wants to correct a "dominant view" that objectivity triumphed over purposiveness, yet he omits better exemplars of his claim, activist scholars whose production and use of social knowledge changed the American political landscape. While he touches upon the irruptions into social science of the Civil War and the Great War, he neglects their broader historical import. The people in this book seem to lack historical consciousness; yet their own writing suggests otherwise: that the great legacy of the Civil War for social scientists born in its aftermath was not, as Smith implies, the formation of the American Social Science Association (p. 17) but new political roles for intellectuals.

Absent from Smith's account of the debates about war, patriotism, service, democracy, economy, progress, and "purpose" are such giants as sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois, whose careful and passionate call-to-arms to "make America safe for democracy" led directly to new claims for full African-American citizenship. In 1919 white Americans lynched seventy African Americans, some still in uniform. If interwar social science was in a "crucible," it was arguably the crucible of race.

For a study of purposiveness and service in social science, one could propose other figures, other constituencies. But Smith's inattention to the political valences of "social" science leaves even his own "purposive" men disconnected from the great social questions of their times: woman suffrage, socialism, capitalism, education, disenfranchisement, social hygiene, immigration, labor, health, eugenics, war, religious modernism, unemployment, racial violence, state propaganda—the very contexts of politics and culture in which their social investigation was made meaningful and purposive.

Covering ground already well-worked by Robert Booth Fowler, Mary Furner, George Stocking, Barry Karl and Peter Novick (and by Lasswell, Lynd, and Du Bois themselves), this narrowly cast book begs the historical and historiographic question, "Whose knowledge?" Lacking this, can we reasonably inquire, "Knowledge for what?"

JOANNE BROWN
Johns Hopkins University

P. DAVID SEARLES. *A College for Appalachia: Alice Lloyd on Caney Creek*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. x, 216. \$24.95.

Recently, historians and folklorists of the southern Appalachians have concerned themselves with the encounter between native-born mountain people and the host of social workers, schoolteachers, public health nurses, and mission workers who descended upon the mountain and hill people between the 1880s and World War II. Although many of these scholars have questioned both the motives and accomplishments of reformers, recent historians are assembling a more complex view of this encounter, especially the role played by women reformers of the Progressive Era. Now, P. David Searles, using Alice Geddes Lloyd's lifetime of work in eastern Kentucky's Knott County, presents a more sympathetic view of the motives of mountain social reformers.

Born in central Massachusetts, Alice Lloyd enjoyed a career similar to that of many other Progressive Era women. As a young woman journalist, freelance writer, and social settlement worker, she became attracted to uplift and reform. In 1915, Lloyd moved to Knott County and eventually founded a community center, settlement house, and school at Caney Creek; in 1922, it became a junior college. Closely tied to her strong personality, Caney Junior College survived its first four decades as a result of Lloyd's determination. She hired and dismissed faculty, fashioned the curriculum, and personally recruited and admitted all of the college's students. Nonetheless, under Lloyd's leadership, Caney Junior College struggled to maintain academic credibility. Following her death in 1962, it nearly folded as the result of deficient facilities, restrictive rules governing student life, low faculty salaries, and an uncertain financial base.

Searles suggests that the college survived—and, in the early 1980s, became a full four-year college—because Lloyd succeeded in creating a powerful bond to mountain people. In exchange for free education, students—many of whom transferred to the University of Kentucky after two years at Caney Creek—were required to make an unwritten pledge to return to the mountains and “take a decided stand for capable and consecrated citizenship” (p. 76). Unlike the nearby and well-known Hindman Settlement School and the Pine Mountain Settlement School, which emphasized instruction in handicrafts and vocational skills, Lloyd insisted on the value of the liberal arts curriculum as a means of developing Appalachian leadership.

This book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the role of reformers in the southern Appalachians. Searles is admittedly sympathetic to Lloyd and her objectives, and he vigorously contests the depiction of mountain reformers as people engaged in “cultural intervention” and as violators of the integrity of mountain culture. Searles is no apologist; he correctly points out that, along with many of her contemporaries, Lloyd shared an enthusiasm for the dubious science of eugenics. But he suggests that we should understand Lloyd and other reformers like her

on her own terms, as the product of a complex array of motivations with numerous and diverse effects.

WILLIAM A. LINK
University of North Carolina,
Greensboro

CONSTANCE COINER. *Better Red: The Writing and Resistance of Tillie Olsen and Meridel Le Sueur*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 282. \$45.00.

When the TWA Flight 800 jet went down in flames, women's history lost a valuable scholar, political thinker, and energetic spirit.

Constance Coiner's book is an interesting exercise in looking backward from a feminist perspective at the context for the political fiction of two wonderful women writers who were as committed to the practice and vision of the Communist Party of the 1930s as they were to the struggle for domestic justice. She creates a convincing argument for refocusing attention on working-class literature, paying special homage to women who understood and expressed in exquisite detail the courage of small and large gestures toward freedom. Both Tillie Olsen and Meridel LeSueur were political activists who have been rediscovered and embraced as literary icons and foremothers of the feminist movement. But Coiner admonishes the women's movement and a generation so enthralled with sexual politics that they have obscured the critical importance of the communist and socialist roots of the 1930s from which Olsen and Le Sueur emerged. Coiner reintegrates formative class categories of the 1930s with the centrality of gender issues of the 1960s and 1970s. Her corrective is manifested in succinct biographical sketches of the two writers interspersed with literary analyses displaying the inseparability of the personal and the political in LeSueur's and Olsen's fiction. She illustrates how each wrote about the struggle for women's justice even when it was diminished by her comrades as a distraction from the higher priorities of the political agenda of the day.

Their writings, however, express a very different sense of place and focus of concern. Le Sueur was a chronicler of the prairie, of great marches, of lumber towns, bread lines, and cornfields, of the Depression, while Olsen's “Iron Throat,” “I Stand Here Ironing,” and “Tell Me a Riddle” also offer inner dialogues (though not exclusively) of the struggle and of the pathos of time and compromise. *Silences*, Olsen's patchwork of other women's testimonials interspersed with her own, points a finger at the noble and necessary commitment to family, children, paid work, political and community meetings—all of which act as benign culprits thwarting the quest for written expression.

Bringing Le Sueur together with Olsen is a fine pairing, an interesting perspective, and a natural bridge between literary and historical scholarship. Great writers like Le Sueur and Olsen deserve a book that pays attention to style as well as content, that has

its own literary integrity or at least seeks first to establish rather than assuming the importance of the writings and the women it analyzes. In light of Coiner's tragic death one appreciates that in spite of its rough edges, she has left us this path-breaking book.

CANDACE FALK
University of California,
Berkeley

SALLY H. CLARKE. *Regulation and the Revolution in the United States Farm Productivity*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 310. \$59.95.

This is a model monograph that judiciously employs economic theory and business history to tackle an intriguing question: why, in the 1920s, did farm productivity in the Corn Belt lag behind what economic theory would predict, only to increase in the late 1930s and after, when economic theory would predict that productivity growth should be constrained by government regulation?

Sally H. Clarke divides her book into three parts. In part one, she lays out the economic theory and shows how technology (the tractor and hybrid seeds) and the dissemination of scientific knowledge (through various government and private associations) laid the basis for productivity increases. She then shows that, in the 1920s, many farmers were conservative. Operating in financial markets with short-term mortgages and high interest rates and in a competitive business with year-to-year uncertainty in crop prices, they chose not to go into debt to buy tractors that would have increased their farms' productivity. In part two, Clarke shows that several New Deal farm programs, initially established as short-term relief measures, evolved into permanent programs because they reshaped the financial markets in ways that encouraged farmers to employ technology and more land to increase productivity. These programs gave farmers a measure of security, in the form of price supports, and cash with which they could expand production. Government programs also initiated new approaches to financing (long-term mortgages and lower interest rates), which spread to the private sector lenders (mostly life insurance companies). The revolution in productivity was predicated on a revolution in farm financing that did not emanate from an unfettered competitive market but rather from political responses to an economic crisis.

In part three, Clarke traces the story into the postwar era. She argues convincingly that regulation of the competitive farming sector rewarded farmers who invested in new technologies and more land. She is careful throughout her argument, however, to note that these results were not always the intended ones. For example, higher prices remained an elusive goal, as farm prices generally declined after the 1930s. She also notes that while the revolution resulted in fewer farmers, many farmers who left the business took advantage of higher land prices that accompanied the

increases in productivity. In an epilogue, Clarke analyzes the farm credit crisis of the 1980s. The legacy of New Deal farm programs did not cause the crisis; volatile world markets, poorly timed new debt, increased interest rates, and a strong dollar did. Indeed, once the crisis was under way, government action helped out the farmers.

While she focuses on the Corn Belt (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, with parts of Missouri, Nebraska, Minnesota, and Michigan included), Clarke also draws upon the work of southern agricultural historians to include comparisons. Three appendixes at the end of the book support her econometric analyses. Also impressive is her use of primary sources, particularly the records of life insurance firms and farm implement manufacturers.

Clarke's methodology should be extended to other regulated industries, for she has shown that focusing on a broad array of forces (productivity, finance, technology, competition, political action) over time can yield fruitful analyses of ideologically charged subjects.

WILLIAM R. CHILDS
Ohio State University

RONEN SHAMIR. *Managing Legal Uncertainty: Elite Lawyers in the New Deal*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 252. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

From today's perspective, the New Deal appears as a uniquely lawyer-friendly episode in American history. The passage of complex federal statutes, the development of government agencies, the attendant growth of administrative law, and the creation of rights in government largesse all guaranteed the full employment of lawyers for years to come. Furthermore, much of the law that went with the New Deal was elite law: made in the service of corporate clients, in federal courts, and explicitly engaging policy issues in a fashion unknown to the common law.

But, as Ronen Shamir's book illustrates, elite lawyers viewed the New Deal with trepidation, considerable angst, and some outright hostility. For example, they opposed the way that the National Industrial Recovery Act, which compelled American industries to adopt self-regulating "codes of fair competition," appeared to give decision-making power to lay entrepreneurs rather than lawyers themselves. Most importantly, Shamir argues, when confronting such programs, lawyers often found that they had little expertise to offer. Just like their clients, they were traveling in new territory, but the clients at least had the advantage of familiarity with their businesses. An important subtext to this argument is that the New Deal not only forced lawyers into new areas, such as business regulation, about which they knew much less than their corporate clients, but it also obliged them to share their advisory role with other kinds of experts, such as economists, who often appeared to have more relevant things to contribute. Shamir also believes that

elite lawyers feared that the New Deal compromised their traditional position of neutrality by blurring the line between law and politics. The New Deal threatened to turn lawyers into just another kind of lobbyist, undermining the traditional view of law as an impartial umpire in political debates among interest groups.

The result is that much of the elite bar did not view the New Deal's regulatory programs as a golden opportunity. Rather, they opposed the new legislation at every step. Lawyers launched a vigorous defense of traditional judicial authority over business decision-making, mainly under common-law principles. Shamir shows that the senior partners of the country's most prestigious law firms headed up the various bar committees that developed well-financed attacks on New Deal legislation, attacks that went far beyond the immediate demands of specific clients.

Perhaps no development of the New Deal threatened the legal profession more than the rise of administrative law. Here, argues Shamir, the new agency law threatened to divide practicing lawyers from legal academics (who generally viewed administrative law more favorably), large law firms from smaller ones, and private practice lawyers from government lawyers. Rather than seeing this as a grand opportunity, elite lawyers viewed it as tending to break down the perceived homogeneity and politically neutral character of legal representation. The rise of legal realism only exacerbated these attitudes by pitting elite lawyers against legal academics. Shamir's interesting account of legal realism presents it as an effort by law professors to acquire distinctive legal turf rather than being mere librarians for practitioners.

Most students of the New Deal or twentieth-century legal history will find this book worth reading. For my taste, the history is embedded too deeply in extensive theoretical presentations. But even for those who reject Shamir's lengthy sociological and psychological models, getting to the underlying observations is a worthwhile task.

HERBERT HOVENKAMP
University of Iowa

ALAN BRINKLEY. *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1995. Pp. x, 371. \$27.50.

Liberalism these days is in trouble, a "much weaker and more vulnerable force" (p. 14) than historians and many citizens anticipated, and Alan Brinkley acknowledges that his new book grew in part out of the desire to understand this. He thus offers us an early entry in what will surely become a fast-growing literature on "where liberalism went wrong." There seemed to Brinkley to be a "missing chapter" (p. 14) in the transition between the "reform liberalism of the first third of the twentieth century and the rights-based liberalism that succeeded it." He found this chapter in the late 1930s and World War II years (where he

begins) rather than in the 1933–1937 period of reform activism so well chronicled by others.

The early New Deal had taken a wide range of approaches to reform (Brinkley makes no use of the distinction between a First and Second New Deal, and relegates the idea of the 1936–1938 emergence of a Third to a footnote), but it was united by broad agreement that the "nation's greatest problems were rooted in the structure of modern industrial capitalism" (p. 5), chiefly monopoly power. This conviction, and the reform ideas it generated, did not survive the changed circumstances brought about by economic recovery and war. Brinkley traces in some detail how a succession of liberal administrators/thinkers engaged in a post-1937 "redefinition of New Deal thought" so gradual and complex that "relatively few liberals were fully aware" of it (p. 3). By the war's end, they (FDR is virtually absent from the story, with no explanation) had shaped a new, consumption-oriented liberalism that was "substantially different from the cluster of ideas" (p. 3) of the early to mid-1930s. The welfare state was embraced along with fiscal management aiming at a full-employment economy. This reconciliation with the existing structures of capitalism left behind earlier New Deal commitments that Brinkley simply calls "reform": anti-monopoly efforts, industrial policies, and planning, all undergirded by "open skepticism toward capitalism and its captains" (p. 265).

Brinkley's account of this transition is grounded in an impressive research effort and is lucidly stated. It is not news to historians that Keynesianism triumphed over the many forms of planning in the late 1930s and after and that liberals were chastened by the wartime experience and became more accommodating to business. But this is the first book to trace the evolution of liberal thinking forward into the second half of the FDR years and to assert that the really important things about the New Deal happened during the war. A rearrangement of liberal commitments from the first half of the century to the second is undeniable, and Brinkley has made a formidable case for when and how it happened, although he unaccountably leaves out of the lost "reform" agenda the widespread commitment to conservation, land-use planning, regionalism, and income redistribution.

The actors in this story, as Brinkley concedes, were older white males in and around Washington. Reaching for a wider conception of these events, he connects this ideological transition to the nation's cultural passage from a production-oriented to a consumer-oriented set of values and preoccupations, although this intriguing cultural dimension is not seriously pursued.

Beyond offering historians a redrawn map of the Roosevelt era, Brinkley's book carries a contemporary message. Liberalism after 1945 achieved much in the area of rights, but in the end it had taken a wrong turn. Administering a welfare state that failed to solve the poor's problems and increasingly engaged in "divisive cultural battles" (p. 270), liberals retreated from the unfinished assignment to reform capitalist institutions

in the public interest. Liberalism gradually lost its way as a guide to America's troubles in a globalizing economy.

Historians of modern America must reckon with this important book—both its version of history and the lessons the author derives for contemporary public policy.

OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR.
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Wilmington

GRAHAM WHITE and JOHN MAZE. *Henry A. Wallace: His Search for a New World Order*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 347. \$34.95.

Henry A. Wallace (1888–1965), a major New Deal figure in the days of the Great Depression, was a peculiar character. He was a geneticist who pioneered in the development of hybrid corn, a farm editor, an agricultural economist, Agriculture Secretary (1933–1940), Vice President of the United States (1941–1945), Commerce Secretary (1945–1946), and the 1948 presidential candidate of the ill-fated Progressive Party. While embracing empirical truth as a scientist, Wallace was fascinated simultaneously by supernatural phenomena and occult beliefs. He was a practical administrator who guided the formation of farm policy and then expertly implemented vast agricultural programs. Yet when it came to matters of foreign policy, Wallace presented an impractical, idealistic vision of a new world order that far exceeded the fondest aspirations of either Woodrow Wilson or Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Graham White and John Maze are sympathetic biographers but do not gloss over Wallace's many flaws. The man that emerges from their book is a complex person who possesses a Janus-like personality. One face reflects a first-rate, fertile intellect embracing a pragmatic realism. The other shows a reflective and visionary temperament bewitched by periodic flirtations with theosophy and mysticism. The tension between these two distinct aspects of Wallace's personality constitutes the central theme of this highly interpretive work.

In the preface, the authors seem to identify themselves as New Left by asserting: "If he [Wallace], rather than Harry Truman had become president on Franklin Roosevelt's death, his policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union might have spared the world some forty years of cold war." Only a few lines later they modify that stance by stating that Wallace's "fascination with mystical, theosophical conceptions of perfectibility of humankind . . . gave rise not only to his internationalism but also to a quixotic adventurism and indiscretion that repeatedly threatened his public career" (p. ix). By the time White and Maze have covered Wallace's Progressive Party crusade, enumerating his mistakes and elaborating on his messianic quest for the Holy Grail, one is convinced that Wallace was no match for Joseph Stalin.

In fact, Wallace was no match for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Wallace's naiveté was most evident in 1944, when he believed that FDR truly wanted him as his vice-presidential running mate. In actuality, he had already been dumped. FDR and Wallace were a political odd couple, with Wallace the victim of Roosevelt's adroit deception and guile. The same was true when Wallace naively let key Communists (or party liners) gain control of the Progressive Party. Later, after his political career had been ruined, Wallace acknowledged his mistakes and errors in judgment. He then repudiated the Progressive Party and thereafter blamed the leaders of the Soviet Union as obstructionists to world peace.

In our own work on Wallace, *Prophet in Politics* (1970), my brother and I offered a different interpretation than that of this work. Nevertheless, this is a well-researched and excellently written book. White and Maze have done a fine job in trying to fathom the significant factors that motivated Wallace. In the end, however, Henry Wallace remains an enigma.

EDWARD L. SCHAPSMEIER
Illinois State University

RON ROBIN. *The Barbed-Wire College: Re-educating German POWs in the United States during World War II*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 217. \$29.95.

In the more than fifteen years since the appearance of the first comprehensive studies of German prisoners of war in America during World War II (by Edward J. Pluth, Judith Gansberg and John Hammond Moore, and myself), the field has blossomed to produce a dozen state and local histories, numerous oral history projects, a national photo competition, and one scurrilous book claiming that Eisenhower ordered the starvation of one million German prisoners. Few of these books, however, are as good as the volume by Ron Robin under review.

Between 1943 and 1946, the U.S. War Department held 380,000 German prisoners of war (POWs) in camps and on military bases across the country. They lived in boredom, worked and plotted, and, beginning in March, 1944, were quietly (and illegally) re-educated. The Special Projects Division (SPD), created by the Provost Marshal General's Office, had several grandiose goals: to de-fang recalcitrant Nazis among the POW population, identify possible future leaders, replace National Socialism with "Americanism," and prepare postwar Germany with trustworthy (cooperative) government officials and civil servants. The Re-education Program was staffed by such academic luminaries as Howard Mumford Jones, Harvard professor of English literature; T. V. Smith, former Illinois Senator and professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago; Edward Davison, professor and poet from the University of Colorado; and Maxwell McKnight, a product of Yale Law School and the New York society set. Fatefully, all were drawn from the

humanities rather than the behavioral sciences like psychology or sociology. By interpreting Nazism as a historical illness and designing the educational program on their only model, the university system, these earnest academic dons, joined by German writers in exile like Walter Schoenstedt and Henry Ehrmann, unknowingly doomed the project from the beginning. Re-education became an intellectual effort to convince POWs of the error of their ideological ways rather than to approach the problem in behavioral terms, by isolation, intimidation, and/or manipulation, as was done so successfully five years later in Korea.

Operating from a secluded special camp at Fort Kearney, Rhode Island, nicknamed "The Idea Factory," a working staff of some eighty-five German intellectual and eccentric (and opportunistic) prisoners, democrats all, monitored the political sentiments in seventy-odd camp newspapers, previewed camp-bound American movies for their propaganda value, developed courses on democracy, and wrote a national POW newspaper called *Der Ruf* ("The Call"). The story of *Der Ruf* says it all. Each issue, when available, contained mind-numbing articles on esoteric topics ranging from the "inner self" to medieval history. The suspicious and largely uneducated POWs were not impressed, and the SPD never understood why. By the war's end, the program's ineffective approach was more concerned with countering communism than with eradicating Nazism. Offshoot experimental schools for the POWs were established at Forts Wetherill and Getty, Rhode Island, and at Fort Eustis, Virginia, graduating hundreds of enthusiastic converts.

Ron Robin's book is quite good—a ground-breaking study—although rather narrow in scope, often densely written, and overly philosophical. In addition to analyzing the Re-education Program, Robin argues convincingly that, from the beginning, the SPD used the program to challenge its academic rivals, the behavioral scientists. In the end, and despite self-congratulatory final reports by the staff, successes were few, temporary, and often stymied by postwar American ineptitude. Robin's excellent book illuminates this unknown wartime chapter in American history as well as the struggle in American education and, interestingly, foreshadows the McCarthy era.

ARNOLD KRAMMER
Texas A&M University

ROBERT JAMES MADDOX. *Weapons for Victory: The Hiroshima Decision Fifty Years Later*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1995. Pp. 215. \$19.95.

While the dust jacket of this book notes that Robert James Maddox is the author of "numerous books," it neglects to mention the title for which he is best known: *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War*, an *ad hominem* attack on "revisionist" historians that, when it appeared in 1973, quickly became the Bible of conservative scholars hoping to discredit various academic critics of American foreign policy. From initial

appearances, this new book seems intended as an updated edition of Maddox's earlier work. In a splotic introduction, Maddox brands the revisionists as "incompetent," guilty of "pervasive misrepresentation of the historical record," and persisting in falsehoods in order "to promote their own agendas" (pp. 2, 4). With the exception of barbs directed at Gar Alperovitz and Kai Bird, however, Maddox refrains, for the most part, from personal attacks and instead condemns the revisionists wholesale.

Whereas Maddox's earlier book assaulted Alperovitz and his ilk, this book focuses laser-like on the historical issue brought to the fore by the recent V-J Day anniversary: Harry Truman's decision to drop the atomic bomb. In his eagerness to flay his opponents, Maddox is often guilty of the same sins he attributes to the revisionists: selective use of evidence, misrepresentation of opposing arguments, and a stubborn unwillingness to concede that any part of the opposition's case might have merit. In his discussion of projected American casualties in the planned invasion of the Japan, for example, Maddox ridicules low estimates based upon contemporary official documents in favor of a far higher projection, based upon the discovery—many years after the war's end—that U.S. planners had significantly underrated the strength of Japanese defenders.

Similarly, Maddox is compelled to ignore the many references by Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Secretary of State-designate James Byrnes to the atomic bomb as the "master card" and "the gun on our hip" in order to reach his conclusion that the U.S. did not practice atomic diplomacy before or after Hiroshima. Maddox's argument evidently rests on the fact that there was never any overt U.S. threat to use the bomb militarily against the Soviets. Yet a contemporary newspaper cartoon of the first postwar foreign ministers meeting, which showed Byrnes and his Soviet counterpart seated at a table balanced precariously atop an atomic bomb, eloquently makes the point that the threat did not have to be overt to be real, as did Byrnes's admission, at the end of this conference, that the Russians were "stubborn, obstinate, and they don't scare"—despite the bomb.

Ironically, the argument by Maddox and other so-called traditionalist defenders of the atomic bomb decision—that the president and his top advisers gave essentially no consideration to the potential postwar consequences of the most powerful weapon in history—not only requires that one turn a blind eye to the evidence but seems a curious defense of the intelligence and motives of Truman, Stimson, and Byrnes. Maddox himself seems to acknowledge this fact obliquely when he observes, within the last ten pages of the book, that Truman and the men around him were not "unmindful of the implications nuclear weapons would have on world affairs and on relations with the Soviet Union in particular" (p. 155).

Where other recent traditionalist accounts of the bomb decision have succeeded in poking holes in the

revisionists' arguments—by demonstrating, for example, that military provincialism rather than hard evidence lay behind the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey's conclusion that the bomb was unnecessary to victory—Maddox's book adds little in the way of new scholarship to this debate; it is, rather, more of a précis of the arguments in these secondary sources.

Curiously, although the dust jacket promises that Maddox will confront "the proposed Smithsonian Enola Gay exhibit with careful historical analysis," there is no consideration in the book of the errors, real or imagined, in that doomed exhibit. Indeed, the recent controversy at the Smithsonian, as well as Maddox's latest book, suggest that the time for a dispassionate, objective discussion of the Hiroshima decision and its aftermath is not yet.

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DANIEL LEE KLEINMAN. *Politics on the Endless Frontier: Postwar Research Policy in the United States*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 248. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Like so many other aspects of American life, the relationship between science and the state was transformed by World War II. The contours of that refashioned relationship were not preordained, of course, as there were a multitude of choices facing those who sought to use the federal government to influence the nation's scientific enterprise. Daniel Lee Kleinman reassesses the science policy debates of the 1940s, focusing on the competing proposals to establish a federal agency with a mandate to support research whose outcome, in 1950, was the National Science Foundation (NSF).

In setting the stage for his reinterpretation of the postwar struggles to shape research policy making and the patterns of research funding, Kleinman provides overviews of American science from 1850 to 1940 and the organization of science during World War II. As syntheses of the existing literature, these opening chapters make excellent introductions for students new to the topic. The remarkable wartime contributions of scientists and engineers fostered a political climate in the United States accepting of the argument that the advancement of science and technology was critical to the welfare and security of the nation. The political consensus broke down, however, over just how active the federal government should become in stimulating and directing research and development and over how the benefits derived from publicly funded research should be allocated. Kleinman devotes the bulk of his analysis to how these questions were formulated and resolved, drawing our attention not to new evidence but to new perspectives by which to understand the unfolding drama.

For example, Kleinman points to the critical contributions of "boundary elites"—those individuals who

were "able to move and mediate between the elites of two or more spheres of institutional power" (p. 58). At the center of these interactions was a struggle for control, resources, and accountability. On one side, New Deal liberals like Senator Harley M. Kilgore argued that recipients of federal research grants should be accountable to the government. On the other side, boundary elites like Vannevar Bush, head of the wartime Office of Scientific Research and Development, pushed for a research policy based on decision making by scientists. The Bush-led group lobbied for a meritocratic system where researchers would receive federal money but would enjoy the privilege of political autonomy, deciding among themselves what projects and investigators should be funded.

Kleinman traces the implications of these competing philosophies by examining the four bills introduced between 1945 and 1950 to create a national science agency of one sort or another. In the end, the enacted legislation sided with the interests of big business, in that the NSF was to support basic research rather than applied and did not alter the existing patent system. (Alternative proposals sought to give the government rights to all patents stemming from federally sponsored research.) Scientists were given substantial independence through the distribution of research funds via a peer review system. "The real losers," Kleinman maintains, "were those who believed in substantial democratic or popular control over research resources and those who believed that planning and coordination could be extended to the sphere of science policy" (p. 144).

Kleinman closes by pointing to the recent unraveling of America's postwar social contract with science, asserting the relevance of his analysis of the 1945–1950 science policy debates to the nation's current political struggles. While he is undoubtedly correct in pointing to the wisdom of understanding the history of NSF's formation, that is only part of the picture. It is equally important to appreciate the historical developments falling outside the scope of his book—that is, how the NSF actually operated after its establishment and how the vast majority of federal research dollars have been allocated through mission-oriented agencies operating completely separately from the NSF.

JEFFREY K. STINE
Smithsonian Institution

W. HENRY LAMBRIGHT. *Powering Apollo: James E. Webb of NASA*. (New Series in NASA History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 271. \$35.95.

James E. Webb is a "Washington legend" (p. 5), the prototypic bureaucratic politician/manager. He was a success as Harry Truman's Director of the Bureau of the Budget (1946–1949) and pretty much a failure as Dean Acheson's number two at the Department of State (1949–1952). Webb achieved his greatest notori-

ety as Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) from the time that the Apollo lunar landing project was conceived in 1961 until the end of 1968, nine months before Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin became the first humans to step onto another celestial body. W. Henry Lambright's well-written and relatively brief biography chronicles Webb's career in all these positions, with most attention given, understandably, to his NASA years.

Webb was a paradoxical man. Political to the core, he was comfortable moving in the corridors of power in both the Executive Branch and Capitol Hill. He considered himself a theorist of public administration and at times treated NASA and the Apollo program as a large-scale experiment in public management and in the use of government programs to effect social change. Lambright is effective in portraying both sides of Webb's personality, and the book is laced with colorful anecdotes capturing Webb's distinctive personal style. Few who were exposed to Webb's rhetoric and intensity in full flight ever forgot the experience.

The National Academy of Engineering has judged Apollo as the greatest engineering achievement of the twentieth century. It was equally complex organizationally. As Lambright notes, "Webb's legacy is measured by Apollo" (p. 214).

The author's assessment of that legacy is mixed but comes down on the positive side of the ledger. Lambright judges that "Webb deserves a large measure of the credit" for pulling together the multi-faceted enterprise (p. 215). By the time of the Apollo 1 fire in 1967, however, Webb "had lost considerable control" (p. 214) of that part of NASA responsible for the Apollo program; his theories on how best to manage a large-scale organization had at least partially failed in practice. Faced with congressional and public criticism, he abandoned his broader social change objectives and, ultimately, sacrificed his job in order to make sure that Apollo was carried through to at least the initial lunar landing.

James Webb's approach to government has fallen out of fashion today. He was a product of the New Deal, and he believed in the legitimacy of an activist government committed to broad-scale interventions in the quest for a better society. As Lambright comments, "no wonder he is controversial with those who regard government-managed technology as a threat to democracy" (p. 215).

This book tells the story of an individual who found himself perhaps uniquely ready to take on one of the greatest management challenges ever to confront a government official. Reading how he attacked that challenge with zeal almost makes one nostalgic for the time when big government was not a dirty word.

JOHN M. LOGSDON
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EDWIN M. YODER, JR. *Joe Alsop's Cold War: A Study of Journalistic Influence and Intrigue*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 220. \$24.95.

How to measure the influence of prominent newspaper columnists perplexes both historians of the media and the columnists themselves. Edwin Yoder, a Pulitzer-Prize-winning editorial writer for the *Washington Star* and columnist for the *Washington Post*, has explored this question through the life and writings of Joseph Alsop. His intimate and thoughtful book represents a personal quest. As a young journalist, Yoder pored over Alsop's columns. Later they became acquaintances and he experienced first-hand Alsop's argumentative nature, eccentric personality, and enviable social status in Washington. After Alsop's death, curiosity led Yoder to examine the Alsop papers at the Library of Congress, interview his contemporaries, and analyze the selected episodes that comprise this book.

After converting from isolationism to internationalism in the late 1930s, Joe Alsop became an early, outspoken and consistent Cold Warrior. His nationally syndicated column, "Matter of Fact," written in collaboration with his brother Stewart, regularly aroused readers to the menace of international Communism. The Alsops berated American presidents for not pursuing the Cold War vigorously enough, and demanded huge increases in defense spending. Joe Alsop coined the expressions "domino theory" and "missile gap," and lobbied hard for American military intervention to save the French at Dien Bien Phu.

While the even-tempered Stewart Alsop provided some balance, Joe Alsop's passions tended to cloud his judgment. His columns exaggerated the dangers facing the nation and painted such a gloomy view of the world that they may have contributed to the public anxiety and anti-Communist hysteria of the early Cold War. If they helped unleash the demon, the Alsops were appalled by government loyalty programs and congressional witch-hunts. They defended the accused, most notably J. Robert Oppenheimer, and prodded the Eisenhower administration and the Senate into condemning Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Yoder's study concludes with the brothers' dissolution of their partnership in 1958. But Joe Alsop continued writing columns until 1974, years in which he banged the drum loudly for the Vietnam War. An underlying purpose of this book is to rescue Alsop's reputation from the shrill, hawkish image that still lingers from the 1960s. Yoder considers general impressions about Alsop's Southeast Asian stand "false in so many vital respects" (p. 11), and chides David Halberstam, Neil Sheehan and unnamed "revisionist historians" for misreading Alsop's Cold War columns through a Vietnam lens. Yet like Alsop's own memoirs (*I've Seen the Best of It*), Yoder avoids dealing with Alsop's contribution to the Vietnam debacle and the "my-country-right-or-wrong" tone of his later journalism.

Joseph Alsop always insisted that facts rather than

opinion possess influence. Yoder sees less distinction between the two, considering how opinionated Alsop's reporting appears in retrospect. Although he cannot make the case that any of Alsop's columns swayed critical decisions on the Cold War, he concludes that newspaper commentary gradually shapes policy and events by supplying "what the decision-makers take to be facts" (p. 179) and by modifying and reinforcing public opinion.

DONALD A. RITCHIE
U.S. Senate Historical Office

JOYCE HOFFMANN. *Theodore H. White and Journalism as Illusion*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1995. Pp. x, 194. \$27.50.

When an author ends a book's preface by acknowledging that the subject's family has requested a declaration of its disagreement with the interpretation, readers know to expect a somewhat uneven ride. They may anticipate an initial sense of confusion, grounded both in curiosity about what might have been a rocky side of the book's making and in knowledge that a family rarely sees its members in a way matched by the world. But such confusion tends to disappear as the book progresses and readers decide on which side of the fence to position themselves.

In the case of Joyce Hoffmann's book about Theodore H. White, however, confusion lingers, as an appreciation for her carefully documented trajectory of White's career is muted by a discomfort surrounding her ill-chosen frame of explanation. Not only did I find myself asking how the nuanced and often contradictory movements of White's own life had been given what seemed at times to be a unidimensional gloss, but I wondered why he had been taken to task for many of the general deficiencies of U.S. journalism when he was not its most representative practitioner.

On the positive side, the book is masterfully written. Smooth and flowing, the prose fashions a seamless narrative that stitches together details about White as person and journalist. Hoffmann chronologically follows White on his professional journey, starting with his early career as a *Time* correspondent in China, continuing with his emergence as a "consensus journalist" in postwar Europe, tracking his familiar interest in the presidential campaigns that culminated in his books on the making of the president, and concluding with his invocation of the Camelot myth to commemorate the slain John F. Kennedy.

The journey Hoffmann choreographs is compelling and provides vivid anecdotes that bring White to life. We read of a journalist, known for his valorization of politics and his revelations about the backgrounds of the political world, who changed the shape of both U.S. journalism and politics primarily because he continuously pondered his professional sense of self. White oscillated on his support for the Chinese Nationalist government and doubted his proximity to the

U.S. administration, displaying ongoing conflict about his role as a journalist.

But these nuanced transformations in White's professional persona do not figure into Hoffmann's analytical frame. She instead invokes a puzzling model of journalistic "truth," against which she finds him lacking. She rails at White, for instance, for selectively arranging the facts in his accounts and revealing "less than the truth." She complains about his insider status, a status that helped produce what has often been called his best product—his series on the making of the president, and she argues that he was a patriot first and a journalist only second. While such accusations in many views constitute problematic journalism, they are, in fact, only one kind of journalism. And it is unclear why White has been chosen to personify them. Are there not more obvious and contemporary targets for these ills of journalistic practice? As it stands, Hoffmann's frame of explanation offers what seems to be an irrelevant measuring stick for assessing White's performance, leaving one to wonder why she chose him to embody the general gripes against U.S. journalism aired here.

BARBIE ZELIZER
University of Pennsylvania

RANDALL BENNETT WOODS. *Fulbright: A Biography*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 711.

Before President Bill Clinton's arrival in Washington, D.C., Senator J. William Fulbright long held undisputed claim to the title of Arkansas's most distinguished national politician. Fulbright served one term in the House of Representatives before his election to the Senate in 1944. He went on to serve for three decades there and chaired its Foreign Relations Committee for a record fifteen years. In that role he made his most noted contributions, initially as a supporter of liberal internationalism and, later, as the most prominent congressional critic of American involvement in the Vietnam War.

Randall Bennett Woods's excellent biography provides a detailed account of Fulbright's life and political career. Gracefully written and well researched, Woods's study is sympathetic to Fulbright but independent in its judgments. Woods, who teaches at the University of Arkansas where Fulbright was once president, has an especially good appreciation of Arkansas political life and Fulbright's sometimes ambivalent participation in it. With his family's wealth and prestige, his Oxford education, and his personal charisma, Fulbright had obvious advantages in public life. He used them well and quickly established himself as a fixture in Congress. The "paternalistic patrician" (p. 114) dutifully attended to the interests of his Arkansas constituents and maintained his firm support for the principle and practice of racial segregation, but he aimed to be a national politician and chose to make his mark in the foreign policy domain.

In 1943 he co-authored the Fulbright-Connally res-

olution committing the United States to participate in a new international organization. In 1945, his efforts led to the creation of the international educational exchange program that bears his name—in some ways his most tangible achievement. Such actions gained national attention for him and enduring regard from academic and media internationalists, which withstood their dismay even when he attached his signature to the Southern Manifesto in 1956.

As the Cold War developed Fulbright emerged as a committed Atlanticist much influenced by Walter Lippmann. He rejected the extremes of globalism and isolationism and argued that the United States match ends and means. He joined the Foreign Relations Committee in 1948 and from this vantage point engaged the major foreign policy issues and events of the Cold War era. With his assumption of the chairman's gavel he emerged even more prominently, aided by a loyal and talented staff. Fulbright advised JFK on the Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile crisis, but his passionate engagement with the Vietnam War overrode all other issues. After initially supporting LBJ and managing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution on the Senate floor, Fulbright began to dissent from Johnson's actions. His dramatic televised hearings in 1966 made it "respectable to question, if not oppose, the war" (p. 410). In contesting the war, Fulbright repudiated his own liberal internationalism and developed a strong critique of postwar American foreign policy. The "price of empire" (p. 459), he argued, was far too high.

Fulbright dissented from Richard Nixon's continued execution of the war in Southeast Asia, especially the invasion of Cambodia, and he worked to restrict the war-making power of the executive branch. Nonetheless, he appreciated the recognition of limits implicit in the strategy of detente, saw Kissinger's balance of power approach as an improvement over the supposed ideological crusade of the Cold War, and advocated what he termed a more even-handed approach in the Middle East. Such views—especially the latter—confirmed the independence he so prized.

Woods's argument that Fulbright served America well as "a foreign affairs gyroscope dedicated to keeping the ship of state in trim" (p. 698) is largely on target. His major contribution was not directly in the formulation of foreign policy but as a critic of the policies developed by others. He was not effective as a direct challenger of presidential policy in the manner of Henry Cabot Lodge nor did he form a constructive partnership with the executive branch as did Arthur Vandenberg. Yet he raised questions, challenged assumptions, and sought to protect congressional prerogatives against the voracious imperial presidency—not inconsequential accomplishments.

Woods suggests that Fulbright's 1974 senatorial defeat at the hands of Dale Bumpers cast him "into the wilderness" and that after 1975 most Americans simply wanted to forget him. He was too identified with the war he had opposed and was a victim of the national

amnesia that surrounded it. This fine book should assist the essential process of recall.

WILSON D. MISCAMBLE
University of Notre Dame

ROBERT ALAN GOLDBERG. *Barry Goldwater*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 463. \$27.50.

The presidential election of 1964 marked the arrival of the Republican Right in national politics. Dissatisfied with Dwight D. Eisenhower's anodyne "Modern Republicanism" and the lack of actual "rollback" in foreign policy, it found a champion in Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater. He lost, but his campaign sowed the seeds that flowered in the election of President Reagan sixteen years later. As Robert Alan Goldberg shows in this admirable biography, Goldwater personified not only the new conservatism but also the growing clout of the American west.

His father's family were Jewish immigrants who provisioned the gold rush in California and Arizona. "Goldwater's," their Phoenix department store, was thriving by 1909 when Barry was born, and it funded his gilded childhood. An idler in school with little academic aptitude, he dropped out of college during the Depression and joined the family business. Fast-growing Arizona, whose history Goldberg sketches deftly in his early chapters, thrived on mining, irrigated farming, and tourism. The Goldwaters opposed labor unions but took care of their employees like benevolent parents. Brother Robert did most of the everyday work after 1936, leaving restless Barry free to pursue his hobbies, including an early rafting trip down the Colorado River. Audiences all over the state enjoyed his pioneering movie of this journey. The film and lecture tours that Goldwater made across Arizona in the late 1930s set the pattern for his later career as an inexhaustible long-distance stump speaker. He ferried aircraft abroad during World War II, supported right-to-work legislation in the late 1940s, and won his first election in 1950 on a Phoenix city council reform slate.

Two years later, he rode Eisenhower's coattails into the U. S. Senate, where he soon got a reputation as an anti-unionist and a hard-nosed McCarthyite. Bored by Capitol Hill routine, he travelled constantly, speaking to conservative groups, criticizing big government and the Cold War deadlock. But in a time-honored tradition, this militant laissez-faire senator was more than willing to lay hands on heaps of federal treasure when it came to building the Central Arizona Project, a giant irrigation scheme on which his home state's future depended. The "new conservatives" liked Goldwater and overlooked this contradiction. One of them, Brent Bozell, ghostwrote *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), which helped Goldwater rise to the 1964 GOP presidential candidacy.

Moderate and liberal Republicans, led by Nelson Rockefeller and supported by George Romney and William Scranton, hated everything Goldwater stood for and tried to torpedo him, even after he had won the

nomination at a colorful convention in the San Francisco Cow Palace. GOP hero and former president Eisenhower equivocated too. Meanwhile the candidate's zealous loyalists acted as though normal politics had been suspended and ran an abrasively provocative campaign rather than aiming for the middle to soothe voters' anxieties. Lyndon Johnson, wearing the Kennedy mantle and blessed by national prosperity, painted his rival in the worst possible light and won an easy victory. Goldwater had enjoyed good press throughout his career, and he found it hard to take the piercing criticisms pouring in from all sides, many of which fanned flames he had lit by declaring that "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

He was back in the Senate by 1968 and became a permanent fixture of the Washington scene from then on, where he relished the role of conservative Grand Old Man. Goldberg tells his story straightforwardly and well. As a teenager he was hot for Goldwater, but Vietnam changed his mind and moved him off a good way to the Left. The biography is, accordingly, a judicious mix of personal sympathy for Goldwater and critical detachment from the ideas and policies he championed.

PATRICK ALLITT
Emory University

SUSAN E. CAYLEFF. *Babe: The Life and Legend of Babe Didrikson Zaharias*. (Women in American History.) (Sport and Society.) Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 327. \$29.95.

In 1950, the Associated Press named Babe Didrikson Zaharias (1911–1956) "Female Athlete of the Half Century," honoring her achievements in track and field, golf, and several other sports. Renowned for her athletic talent and versatility, Babe is a legendary figure in twentieth-century sports.

For historians, the word "legendary" carries an inherent ambiguity. Which stories about a celebrity's life are accurate or mythical? Which truths about a famous person have been disclosed or hidden from public view? These questions shape Susan E. Cayleff's biography—at once frank and sympathetic—of Babe Didrikson Zaharias. To separate fact from fiction, Cayleff sifts through familiar accounts of Babe (press reports during her life, Babe's autobiography, and a popular film made in 1975) and new material (including archival collections and interviews with family members, friends, and other sportswomen). Among Cayleff's diverse sources, the most intriguing stories about Babe are those that Babe herself crafted in her calculated and life-long effort to secure attention and approval. Examining Babe's private realities and public personae, Cayleff reads the athlete's life "as she lived it, [and] hers as she created it and chose to mythologize it" (p. 5).

Born to a working-class Norwegian family in Texas, Babe was a rowdy, brash, mischievous, yet engaging tomboy whose exploits in school and on the play-

ground stretched the conventions of her native state's "southern, poor-white subculture" (p. 35). To some extent, those qualities served Babe well in the early 1930s when she gained fame as a semi-professional basketball player and amateur track star in national and Olympic competition. Her crude and unpredictable manner, androgynous looks, and unlimited athletic skill intrigued sportswriters and the American public. Many, however, soon found Babe's rough, masculinist persona to be more alienating than fascinating. To restore favor in the mid-1930s, Babe deliberately disavowed her past and adopted the accoutrements of a middle-class, heterosexual sportswoman, including feminine hairdo and clothes, a devoted but dictatorial husband, and a set of golf clubs. Still arrogant and fiercely competitive, Babe was an intimidating champion in both amateur and professional women's golf during the 1940s. In the early 1950s, Babe performed her final roles as a valiant cancer patient and much-admired spokesperson about the dread disease. Carefully hidden from public scrutiny in those last years were Babe's marital discord and her close, presumably lesbian relationship with another golfer.

Why did Babe create those particular personae? How did she decide which features of her identity and life would be revealed, concealed, or redesigned? As Cayleff shows, Babe's choices developed at the intersection between individual psychodynamics and historical context. Babe was an unabashed self-promoter, hungry for public recognition and tangible success; the terms on which she could seek fame and fortune were defined by white, middle-class culture. Equating physicality and sports with manhood, majority ideology in America questioned the femininity and sexual identity of female athletes. Always playing to the crowd, Babe understood which social scripts could be performed and which silences had to be kept in her pursuit of middle-class respectability.

Few female athletes—of Babe's time or the present—were blessed with her talent and chutzpah. Most, however, faced similar quandaries about gender and sexuality when "trespassing" into sports, a domain long regarded as men's "natural" prerogative. Theoretical and empirical analyses of the relationship between gender and sports have multiplied in recent years. Most scholars in sociology, history, and cultural studies have concluded that sports are a strategic site where compulsory femininity and heterosexuality are both constructed and contested. While citing only a small, though important, fraction of that extensive literature, Cayleff supports the emerging critique of sports, gender, and sexuality through her detailed and historically situated case study. The book has clear endnotes (albeit no bibliography) and sixteen pages of photographs.

MARTHA H. VERBRUGGE
Bucknell University

ERIC J. SANDEEN. *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 227. \$35.00.

Ask Americans to name a photographic collection and undoubtedly the most common response would be *The Family of Man*. Assembled by famed photographer Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* exhibit opened at the Museum of Modern Art in 1955 and subsequently toured for seven years worldwide under the sponsorship of the United States Information Agency (USIA). More people viewed the display than any other photographic exhibition before or since, and the book based on the show remains in print to this day. To assemble *The Family of Man*, Steichen and his associates scrutinized more than six million photographs. Their final selections consisted of 503 images, representing the work of 273 photographers and displaying scenes in sixty-eight different countries. In Steichen's words, the exhibit aimed to show "how alike people were in all parts of the world" (p. 50). Family-centered images of courtship, marriage, childbirth, old age, and death universalized the human experience. Near the end of the carefully laid out exhibit, viewers confronted the only color image of the show, a huge transparency of a hydrogen bomb explosion. Significantly omitted in the book version, Steichen's inclusion of the bomb sought to warn audiences of the dangers of nuclear annihilation and to further world peace. Clearly this eclectic collection contained a powerful political message and ran counter to American notions of exceptionalism.

Despite its being a highly publicized and enthusiastically attended 1950s event, recent critics—having viewed only the book—criticize and often dismiss Steichen's collection as overly sentimental and lacking in historical consciousness. Eric J. Sandeen attempts to correct this assessment.

Sandeen sees *The Family of Man* as the product of a unique mid-fifties moment in the aftermath of the Korean War, Stalin, and McCarthy when "the world was briefly tired of warring" (p. 3). Soon after its New York opening, the USIA put the exhibition on worldwide display as propaganda in the cultural diplomacy of the Cold War. Yet while the exhibition received critical acclaim, its message of world peace and the universality of human experience, Sandeen argues, became less relevant to American policymakers in the aftermath of Sputnik. By the time of the 1959 Moscow exhibition, where Nixon and Khrushchev's "kitchen debate" was staged, "competition short of war, not unifying humankind around notions of family ... [thrust] *The Family of Man*, both the exhibit and its message, into the background" (p. 125).

Sandeen's book does a service in reconstructing the historical context of the original Museum of Modern Art show and its subsequent use by the USIA. There is also an interesting concluding chapter contrasting the traditional modernism of Steichen's exhibit with the more idiosyncratic and countercultural modernism of

Robert Frank's collection of 1950s photographs, *The Americans* (1958). As Sandeen confesses, however, his is "a quirky book" (p. 10). He presents his thesis in an opaque manner, is highly selective and arbitrary in his choice of sources, and fails adequately to relate *The Family of Man* to the domestic scene of mid-1950s America.

DOUGLAS T. MILLER
Michigan State University

ANDREW HURLEY. *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945–1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 246. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Andrew Hurley's book makes an important contribution to the emerging field of urban environmental history. Hurley uses the steel city of Gary, Indiana, as a case study to demonstrate the different ways in which environmental pollution affected workers and citizens, depending on their race, class, and residential patterns.

U.S. Steel was Gary's largest industry and its biggest polluter. Hurley begins by outlining U.S. Steel's history of environmental neglect and the persistence of severe air, water, and solid waste pollution problems in the city to 1980. In the postwar era, when the steel industry enjoyed good times, 30,000 steel workers were exposed on the job to clouds of smoke, dust, and gases such as methane, sulfur dioxide, hydrogen sulfide, carbon monoxide, and hydrocarbons. Airborne wastes as well as liquid and solid wastes such as lead, oils, and sulfuric acid endangered the community at large, spoiled nearby wetlands, damaged Lake Michigan beaches and aquatic life, leached into wells, and posed severe public health problems. Pollution seemed the inescapable consequence of pro-growth economic goals of industry, labor leaders, and governing officials; as Hurley notes, "dirty air and water was the price one paid for industrial prosperity" (p. 43).

The book's central chapters demonstrate that the steel company's polluting practices had differential impacts based on race, class, work assignments, and neighborhood patterns. The mostly unskilled black and Mexican steel workers were concentrated in the coke plant and the blast furnaces, which had highest exposure to dangerous pollutants. Airborne pollution created the greatest health hazards in downtown Gary and the more prestigious northern neighborhoods, which in 1945 still housed native-born whites and professionals. Blacks and blue-collar ethnics initially lived in segregated neighborhoods further to the south and thus suffered less air pollution. However, racial changes in housing patterns by the 1950s opened up formerly white areas for black housing. Elite whites who moved to the eastern lakefront community of Miller generally were spared the worst air pollution by prevailing wind currents. Thus, by the 1950s, although blacks and blue-collar ethnics now had better housing, they also lived closer to the mills and were more

exposed to steel company pollution, with consequent health problems.

Until the 1950s, U.S. Steel experienced little pressure to move toward environmental reform. Eventually, various citizen groups began pushing for a cleanup, but even then the community response was divided by race, class, and residential differences. Middle-class women in such groups as the League of Women Voters pushed for pollution controls, but the steel workers union, whose members' health was most immediately threatened, was reluctant to push too hard for fear of job losses. By the early 1960s, blacks were more concerned about civil rights and social justice issues than pollution, while the white elite in Miller worried most about water pollution that spoiled their beaches. When black attorney Richard Hatcher was elected Gary's mayor in 1967, environmental reform was low on his political agenda. At least one working-class reform organization emerged, the Calumet Community Congress, but its radical rhetoric and militant tactics soon scared off potential environmental allies in government, business, and the labor movement. With reform advocates divided by race, class, and tactics, U.S. Steel was able to stave off strong anti-pollution measures for many decades. As late as 1976, the federal Environmental Protection Agency cited U.S. Steel in Gary as the nation's biggest violator of environmental regulations.

Hurley's book is a sophisticated and persuasive piece of environmental history. It is well-written, deeply researched, and strongly argued, making an effective case for the proposition that environmental inequality has been "endemic to urban America" (p. 179).

RAYMOND A. MOHL
University of Alabama, Birmingham

ADAM FAIRCLOUGH. *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1995. Pp. xxix, 610. \$34.95.

"Struggle Without End," the title of the last chapter of Adam Fairclough's important new book, would make an appropriate subtitle, for, as he demonstrates in great detail, the struggle to reconcile race and democracy in Louisiana remains an ongoing one.

Fairclough's work joins a growing number of state and local studies on the civil rights movement that are going farther back in time to find the movement's "origins" while also directing our attention to events generally far removed from the media and, until recently, the historian's lens. His book shares much with the best of these studies. First, by starting in 1915, Fairclough is able to place the events of the "modern" phase of the civil rights movement within a historical continuum that allows us better to appreciate the length and complexity of the struggle and to understand how actions taken earlier precluded certain actions later. An example of this is Fairclough's discussion of the civil rights struggles during the early

years of the Cold War. At this time, activists distanced themselves from the Left, particularly within the labor movement, ultimately affecting the shape of the movement and reflecting the subsequent tendency for legislative demands to center on legal rather than economic rights. Rather than focus on King, Roy Wilkins, and James Farmer, Fairclough introduces us to local activists such as Rev. T. J. Jemison, Dr. C. O. Simpkins and Clarence "Chink" Henry, who were struggling for civil rights before and after the national civil rights campaigns came to Louisiana.

Second, Fairclough demonstrates the value and importance of state and local studies in the area of race relations. Traditionally the civil rights movement has been viewed as a campaign supported by black people and white allies and opposed by other whites. Louisiana not only reflects the myriad divisions within the black community but also complicates our understanding of who was or was not "white." Indeed, the Creole population forces a serious reconsideration of the social construction of "race," the arbitrariness of which was exemplified by Huey Long when he said, "You could feed all the 'pure whites' in Louisiana with a nickel's worth of red beans and a dime's worth of rice" (p. 17).

Third, Fairclough does an excellent job of explicating the role of black colleges, students, and college administrators. For example, after some two hundred Dillard University students demonstrated in 1960 for desegregation in New Orleans, the state board of education pressured presidents and deans at other schools to keep their students in line. Similar actions by the deans at Southern University seemed to inspire even larger demonstrations. The pressure black administrators were under, from both the state board of education and the students and the community, was tremendous. As Fairclough notes, these administrators were generally not one-dimensional. President Felton Clark of Southern University, for example, did follow the state board's directive, but instead of expelling the students, he "suspended [them] indefinitely," hoping to reinstate them when things quieted down.

These are but a few of the ways Fairclough advances our understanding of the events that took place in Louisiana and the nation from 1915 to 1972. The only serious concern this reader has is with Fairclough's lack of attention to the role women played within the civil rights movement. But even with this deficiency, Fairclough still provides us with important insights. His is an important book for anyone who wants to understand this particular "struggle without end."

KENNETH W. GOINGS
University of Memphis

DAVISON M. DOUGLAS. *Reading, Writing, and Race: The Desegregation of the Charlotte Schools*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 357. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.95.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, court-ordered busing to achieve public school desegregation and "racial balance" was an extremely volatile and racially divisive issue. Just as southern Democratic politicians rode a wave of grassroots popularity by calling for "massive resistance" to the implementation of the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision in the 1950s, so Democratic and Republican legislators made great political hay by supporting the unsuccessful constitutional amendment calling for an end to "forced busing" to bring about public school desegregation. Over the last twenty years, book-length studies of the struggles over school desegregation and court-ordered busing in Richmond, St. Louis, Boston, and Detroit have been published, as well as numerous general studies by historians and social scientists who basically concluded that busing resulted in "white flight" from the public schools and failed to desegregate public school systems.

The Supreme Court decision sanctioning busing as a tool to achieve public school desegregation, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), is the subject of Davidson M. Douglas's book. In this well-researched monograph, Douglas presents a year-by-year—and in some cases, week-by-week—account of the background, litigation, and outcomes of the *Swann* decision in Charlotte, North Carolina, a city that previously had considered itself "progressive" on racial issues. Douglas makes it clear that conservative school board members brought on themselves Federal Judge James McMillan's eventual decision to order widespread busing to bring about a "unitary" system. Many persons, black and white, inside and outside Charlotte, vehemently disagreed with Judge McMillan's controversial busing orders, which served to foster school officials' desire to have the Supreme Court rule on the issue. To their dismay, the Court upheld the use of busing to bring about court-ordered school desegregation and left it up to the discretion of federal judges to determine what standards were to be applied to achieve this end.

In telling the story of desegregation and busing in one of the largest public school districts in the country, Douglas emphasizes several important points. North Carolina bused more students to public schools than any other state before the coming of the *Brown* decision. Before the mid-1960s, busing was used to maintain the state's segregated public school systems. Although Charlotte was one of the first southern cities officially to desegregate its public schools through a policy of allowing "voluntary transfers," administrative measures were put in place to ensure that very few black students who requested transfers to white schools received them. Because the school board closed the all-black schools when the desegregation orders were implemented and initially only black students were bused, Charlotte's African-American community was divided over the issue.

Using school board records, the NAACP files, local and national newspapers, interviews, and personal papers, Douglas concludes that public school desegre-

gation through busing was not a failure in Charlotte. It was one of those rare occasions when "political protest and judicial action have been remarkably effective in forging the convergence of white and black interests necessary to secure the full promise of racial equality" (p. 254).

V. P. FRANKLIN
Drexel University

ROBYN WIEGMAN. *American Anatomies: Theorizing Race and Gender*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 267. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$15.95.

Some years ago, at an American Historical Association business meeting, a group of women proposed the establishment of a women's advocacy office within the association. Immediately a male historian rose to suggest that the new office become instead an advocacy office for women and blacks. His request troubled me then, as it troubles me now. The complexities of relations among blacks and women and the white male social diaspora that emerged in that exchange form the subject matter of Robyn Wiegman's book. The book explains much of my discomfort.

The book consists of several treatises, most of which have already appeared in literary or scholarly journals. Taken together, they display a vibrant, perceptive insight into the quest to understand social hierarchies based on race and gender, the crossroads at which they interact, and the degree to which they influence social climates. Wiegman first discusses anatomical origins of such repressive social theories as the inferiority of darker races or the limits of female intelligence. She then places specific precipitations, in particular the lynchings that occurred from Reconstruction to the 1900s, within the intellectual context she has described and concludes that the atrocities became a way to authenticate white supremacy. Wiegman next focuses on the racial and gendered rationale that provides the ambience of successive periods in American experience, attending especially to the 1960s and the 1980s. Among other results, she sees power and danger in male bondings that characterize these decades and in the shifts and linkages that mark their influence. She is interested in and takes as her evidence not only scholarly theories but novels and films of popular currency.

Because Wiegman thinks well, even innovatively and brilliantly, it is unfortunate that her thoughts are expressed in a rarefied style that seems reserved for a very select group. Frequently I had to read sentences several times to feel that I understood them. Often Wiegman uses words that cannot be found in a standard dictionary: "originary," "characterological," "instantiation," "surfacial," "minoritized," "phantasmatic." It would also be desirable to incorporate important comments that appear in her notes in the text itself. If it is true that the deepest chasm is that between any two minds and that the writer's task is to

bridge that chasm, this book makes one regret that the chasm will not be bridged for most readers.

Admittedly the subjects are demanding. Therefore it seems important that Wiegman define certain concepts basic to her thought. What does she mean by "culture"? Where did the very concept originate? "Highly unstable (like everything else about it)," the culture concept invites attention (Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie* [1991], p. 22). And what does Wiegman mean by "civilization"? Clarification of these two ideas would deepen her analyses.

Beyond doubt, Wiegman brings a bright light to bear on many a well-worn platitude. She shatters many comfortable illusions and highlights the political maneuverings that ignore black women and underpin the rhetorics celebrating our differences and look to renew separate but equal philosophies. The book is a contribution to our fragmentary understanding of race and sex and their crucial interactions in our worlds.

FRANCES RICHARDSON KELLER
San Francisco State University

ELAINE TYLER MAY. *Barren in the Promised Land: Childless Americans and the Pursuit of Happiness*. New York: BasicBooks. 1995. Pp. xii, 318. \$24.00.

"Infertility," blazoned the cover of the September 4, 1995 *Newsweek* magazine. The story, which chronicled the odds against assisted conception for infertile couples by following today's high-cost, high-tech treatments, illustrates two of Elaine Tyler May's primary conclusions: that our contemporary reproductive culture emerges from the belief that in private life alone can Americans find happiness and that this belief places overwhelming burdens and expectations on individual procreative behavior. May argues that our civic engagement has eroded with the impoverishment of our public life. Consequently, Americans look to social institutions to achieve private goals while these same institutions rely on the family to solve social problems. In such a culture, parenthood is invested with great significance as a marker of adult status, a locus of social identity, a key to national security and social progress, and a source of personal fulfillment.

With so much riding on parenthood, May asserts, Americans attend less to the needs of children and more to the worthiness of people to parent: "One of the fundamental paradoxes of reproductive culture in late-twentieth-century America is that powerful beliefs about reproductive choice and the right of every individual to make that choice go hand in hand with widely held and institutionalized beliefs about who should and who should not become a parent, and under what circumstances" (p. 7). We have come to assume, she says, that if the right people parent, the children will flourish. However, our public policies about compulsory sterilization, access to birth control, abortion, voluntary sterilization, reproductive technologies, and adoption do not necessarily support either

individual reproductive goals nor the best interests of America's children.

May surveys attitudes toward fertility, reproductive policies, engineering and behaviors, criteria for parental worthiness, and medical and psychiatric interventions and techniques to demonstrate that for centuries, our national identity has been connected to our fertility. In colonial America, demographic survival and economic necessity rested upon the fertility of those who inhabited and those who came to North America. After the Revolution, ideals of national expansion and personal happiness found expression in the fecundity of citizens. May argues that the ideology of Manifest Destiny encouraged a shift in reproductive culture away from having the necessary number toward having the right kind of children. She describes nineteenth-century experiments in reproductive engineering and the successful Victorian efforts to reduce the birthrate in order to shape a better citizenry, contrasting these voluntary measures with more coercive and systematic twentieth-century programs to manipulate reproduction. In a panic over "race suicide" among white American Protestants, eugenics reformers utilized legislation, institutionalized programs of forced sterilization, and stigmatized white, middle-class, childless women.

Not until after World War II did reproduction become a "national obsession" and childlessness a "unique identity". This occurred, according to May, when Americans identified private life as the salvation for self and nation. Faith in scientific progress gave rise to the belief that medicine could shape individual reproduction. A new pronatalism emerged, branding infertility as "tragic" and voluntary childlessness as "subversive". The parental imperative of the 1950s eased with challenges to the political and domestic ideology of the Cold War in the 1960s. However, the therapeutic culture of the 1970s, the personal consumerism of the affluent during the 1980s, and new developments in reproductive medicine fostered a preoccupation with private satisfactions and encouraged Americans to believe that they could control their reproduction. Such developments have contributed to a politics of scrutiny over one another's reproductive behavior and values in the 1990s.

Many details of this first work to bring together the scattered pieces of America's reproductive history are familiar; much is new; some is shocking. Given the centrality of reproductive issues in American culture and the political agendas of the present season, this assessment of past efforts to manipulate them deserves widespread attention.

LEE CHAMBERS-SCHILLER
University of Colorado

BRENT WALTH. *Fire at Eden's Gate: Tom McCall and the Oregon Story*. Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press. 1994. Pp. 564. \$29.95.

Tom McCall was a popular Republican governor of Oregon from 1967 to 1975, best remembered today, perhaps, for the slogan "visit, but don't stay," which derived from a statement he made during a 1971 interview with CBS News reporter Terry Drinkwater: "Come visit us again and again . . . but for heaven's sake, don't come here to live" (p. 314).

McCall was criticized for his remarks. Many in his own party, especially its business wing, accused him of creating an environment hostile to outside investment and growth. But McCall spoke to something that reached the average Oregonian, and his outspoken approach to environmental matters inspired a personal popularity that became the bedrock for genuine accomplishment. "Visit but don't stay" especially struck a chord in this largely white, Protestant state that had for much of its history remained uncrowded, if not entirely unsullied, despite possessing some of the most spectacular natural beauty to be found anywhere.

The beaches along its coastline, for instance, had long been public property, not open to private development. But a flaw in the early twentieth-century law closing the beaches to private ownership defined "beach" as the area between low tide and high tide; after the war, especially, 112 miles of the "dry sands" along the coastline became a "crazy quilt of ownership" (p. 186). In 1967, the legislature, seeking to preserve the remaining coastline, passed an act redefining "beach" as the area between the wet sands and the vegetation line at the edge of the dry sands. Powerful interests mobilized against this change, but McCall, in an early example of the flair that would generally characterize his time in office, mobilized public opinion by a series of dramatic incidents, shook the bill out of committee, and put it on the road to passage.

Generally, Oregon had tried, albeit somewhat vaguely, to control economic development. Local communities had authority to develop "comprehensive plans"—guidelines for zoning—to make possible resistance to development pressures. Some communities actually had such guidelines in place, but they were soon swamped by the great "in migration." Americans had learned to move around during the war and remained migratory afterward. California became McCall's horrible example of where Oregon could be headed. For Oregon had grown also. Its population had doubled between 1940 and 1970, and half that number came from California. Comprehensive planning went out the window. Sprawl was in, especially in Portland and other cities. The beautiful Willamette River became a fetid sewer. This was the chord struck by McCall's "visit, but don't stay" pronouncement.

The clean-up of the Willamette may well stand as McCall's greatest achievement. Concern about the river had probably made him governor: McCall, a Portland television anchor and commentator, had produced and narrated a documentary widely viewed around the state that exposed the river's decline and identified the polluters. As governor, McCall used the

existing Sanitary Authority to crack down on polluters. By the end of his term, the fish had come back. The fall count of fewer than 100 salmon in 1965 had jumped to 22,000 by 1973. This successful transformation of the river, along with passage of the no deposit, no return bottle bill, attacked pollution head on.

McCall was not against development. Indeed, his none-too-cordial invitation to visitors could be interpreted as a plug for the tourism industry. He was not above borrowing heavily from the preservationist rhetoric of John Muir, but in economic matters he was firmly in the camp of Gifford Pinchot and Aldo Leopold. Both would have been comfortable with McCall's doctrine, best expressed in his own words: "We don't have a 'no growth' policy. We have a wise growth policy." He became a crusader for state-wide land use policy. These efforts affected the interests of every property owner in the state and met with resistance that his popularity could not overcome, though he himself remained popular.

This is a fine political biography of a fascinating man, the influence of whose career extended far beyond the boundaries of his beloved home state.

JAMES L. PENICK
University of Alabama,
Birmingham

DAVID MAYERS. *The Ambassadors and America's Soviet Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 335. \$35.00.

David Mayers's admirably balanced chronicle of America's ambassadorial missions to the Soviet Union is a well-conceived contribution to the literature on American diplomacy. It fills in the gaps left by biographers and sheds new light on the role played by diplomats in the formation of U.S. foreign policy. A lucid introductory survey of the pre-revolutionary missions highlights the continuities in Russian and Soviet behavior. With scores of anecdotes and insights, Mayers paints a vivid portrait of the obstacles encountered by two centuries of U.S. representatives in carrying out their responsibilities.

Mayers assumes a realist paradigm sufficiently broad to permit even a brief infusion of morality on one "rare occasion" (p. 106). In assessing the missions of the past, he challenges stereotypes and adopts a judicious middle stance on old debates. Highest marks are given to those ambassadors, amateur or professional, who sought a "mediation of Soviet-U.S. estrangement" through negotiation and realistic compromise (p. 254). The importance of training and the expertise of the career diplomat are fully acknowledged, but Mayers cautions that even the most qualified professional was subject to misjudgments and other human frailties, while some non-professionals—including John Foster, George Meyer, and Averell Harriman—merit praise for their unsentimental diplomacy. Credit is given where due, even to the traditionally discredited (such as the attribution of a balance-of-power realism to

Joseph Davies). Not everyone will agree with Mayers's characterizations: George Kennan, Harriman, and the early postwar ambassadors, for example, are depicted not as advocates of the ideological hard line but as mediators of Soviet-American antagonism.

Using the American experience in Russia as a case study in ambassadorial diplomacy, Mayers marshals cogent evidence to show that the factors ultimately determining a mission's success were beyond the control of even the most well-qualified ambassador. For a diplomat to effect a lowering of tensions, both nations had to forgo ideological politics, an impractical expectation in the atmosphere of the early Cold War and McCarthyism. Drafting perceptive despatches on the Russian scene, a critical task, required access to Soviet officials as well as the serious attention and support of superiors at home. Only when those conditions were present could competent individuals such as Kennan, Harriman, Llewellyn Thompson, and Jack Matlock play effective roles.

The ultimate measure of success is the ambassador's impact on policy, a difficult assessment to make. Mayers carefully analyzes ambassadorial despatches and pinpoints specific communications that offer clear evidence of direct influence, the most striking being that of the "unsung hero" Thompson, whose contacts with Nikita Khrushchev allowed him to provide crucial advice in the Cuban Missile Crisis (p. 209). With characteristic caution, Mayers claims evidence for such levels of influence on few but important occasions. Yet he argues persuasively that the ambassador's ongoing role is vital. The embassy's meticulous study of the host country and the special knowledge that comes from "the patient cultivation of foreign leaders" allow ambassadors to make a unique and sometimes critical contribution to realistic international policies (p. 257). Modern communications have not "obviated the need for the refracting medium of the skillful diplomat's style and philosophy" (p. 162).

ELIZABETH K. MACLEAN
Otterbein College

DENISE ARTAUD. *Les États-Unis et leur arrière-cour: La défense de la troisième frontière*. Hachette. 1995. Pp. 602.

Denise Artaud is director of research at the National Center for Social Research (CNRS) and one of France's most prolific scholars on U.S. foreign relations. This book focuses on U.S. relations with Central America and the Caribbean from the early 1950s to the 1990s. It is crisis-oriented and episodic in that certain crises—the rise of Fidel Castro, Salvador Allende, and wars in Central America in the 1980s—largely determine what background is needed to explain U.S. relations with Latin America generally as well as these specific trouble spots.

Artaud focuses on the balance of power and sheer power. Her presentation is well written, well informed, and valuable because it provides a French scholar's

view of U.S.-Latin American relations during the past forty-five years. Unfortunately, like many U.S. historians, Artaud writes from a U.S. perspective and under the assumption that U.S. sources, views, objectives, or interpretations of events reveal most of the truth. Although a few French materials are listed, there are no Spanish-language items in the bibliography (which is quite extensive, containing over 250 items). Someone writing in English (possibly French) determines what were Cuban or Nicaraguan reactions, policies, goals, and so forth.

Artaud accepts the East-West view commonly advanced by the U.S. government since the overthrow of the Guatemalan government in 1954. In Guatemala, Cuba, or Nicaragua, if things were not in order, the culprits were "international communism," Marxist dictatorships, and suppression of liberty. President Ronald Reagan even proclaimed his support of the freedom-fighting *Contras* because they were like the Maquis (the French, largely communist or socialist, resistance to German forces during World War II). But the viewpoint that the trouble in U.S.-Latin American relations rests in the East-West conflict negates the point of Artaud's caustic observation that "the Americans are prepared to do everything for their southern neighbors, except to read a serious book on the subject" (p. 29). Given Artaud's interpretation, the book needs to be John Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (1982) or Adam Ulam, *The Rivals: America and Russia since World War II* (1971), rather than Pablo González Casanova, *Sociología de la explotación* (1969). She describes Latin America as a "stake" in the U.S.-Soviet Union game; this is a variation of Ronald Reagan's "reds" on the Texas-Mexico border view of U.S.-Latin American relations.

Artaud argues that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States a mission to protect the liberty of the young Latin American republics. From whom? From European political and military threats? From internal subjugation of their liberty? Or from U.S. invasion, occupation, or subversion? She insists that "peace, security, and stability in the region" are the chief goals for the United States and Latin America. The many landless and underemployed peasants and unemployed urban laborers who earned a few hundred dollars a year possibly had different priorities.

Artaud concludes that the United States will use force when it must to defend the Monroe Doctrine or its "national interests" and "security" in "its backyard." Let me be clear. Artaud is a serious, knowledgeable scholar. But rather than presenting a detached view of U.S.-Latin American relations, she presents a conservative defense of U.S. policy as seen through the eyes of a French scholar who has absorbed mostly U.S. official or conservative perspectives. That specific filtering still leaves this a useful book, if less useful than one might have hoped.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER
University of Southwestern Louisiana

ANNE E. BLAIR. *Lodge in Vietnam: A Patriot Abroad*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 200. \$25.00.

Those readers dedicated to reducing our consumption of paper and those who believe that too much material of questionable quality is being published should be equally pleased by this book. It is, indeed, reassuring to see that it is still possible to write an important and penetrating book about American involvement in Vietnam that runs less than two hundred pages.

Drawing on the collected papers of Henry Cabot Lodge II, including a fascinating unpublished memoir, Anne E. Blair focuses her attention on the situation Lodge faced during his first stint as U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam during the critical period from August 1963 to June 1964. Her careful analysis of Lodge's personal role (tantamount to "old fashioned" biography) not only does not hinder but actually facilitates her ability to address perceptively such larger questions as the extent of U.S. culpability in the overthrow and assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem and the extent to which that act committed the U.S. to remaining in South Vietnam and assuming responsibility for that country's fate. Talk about "mission creep" and the incremental assumption of new responsibilities! Two months before the actual coup against Diem, the National Security Council authorized the American embassy to finance programs in the provinces without reference to the government of South Vietnam (p. 58). And while Washington was still trying to gauge the chances for and consequences of a successful coup, Lodge sought to end such speculation by replying: "We are launched on a course from which there is no respectable turning back: the overthrow of the Diem government. There is no turning back in part because U.S. prestige is already publicly committed to this end" (p. 45).

If there is an overriding theme to the book it is surely that American policy making for Vietnam during the Kennedy administration was both *ad hoc* and highly political. Kennedy was "without a firm idea of what he wanted to do in Vietnam" (p. 55) and tended to see Vietnam as primarily a public relations issue, giving Lodge the specific charge of personally taking over and improving the embassy's press relations (pp. 14-16). Lodge was deliberately chosen for the Saigon mission so as to provide a Republican hostage to Democratic policies in Vietnam (p. 46). And though the deteriorating situation clearly mandated a major policy review, the administration was preoccupied with putting out fires (merely reacting to events) and dispatching multiple fact-finding missions in an effort to avoid the difficult decisions involved (pp. 56, 60).

As for Lodge, Blair extolls his dedication to national service but finds him a poor choice (no administrative experience) to coordinate the manifold activities of the U.S. mission to Saigon (p. 18). Taking her cue from the criticism of Kennedy and Johnson intimates, she claims that "he (Lodge) did not understand . . . the

managerial skills necessary to a modern ambassador in charge of a large overseas team." She also takes him to task for his lagging interest in South Vietnamese internal affairs in the arguably crucial post-coup period (p. 78). In the end, it may well be that she asks too much of one man placed in a highly uncomfortable position and subject to being used to serve purposes other than his own. Moreover, while it is true that administrative chaos reigned in the American embassy in Saigon and that the heads of the various agencies (civilian and military) acted as veritable "barons" (p. 122), this state of affairs was not confined to Saigon, was in fact replete throughout the American foreign policy apparatus, and was by the 1960s so ingrained that its correction could not have been accomplished at the local level but only by a thoroughgoing overhaul of the whole jerry-built system in Washington.

WILLIAM C. WIDENOR
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STEVE DRYDEN. *Trade Warriors: USTR and the American Crusade for Free Trade*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 452. \$30.00.

It is hard to imagine trade policy today without the United States Trade Representative (USTR). But the institution is barely three decades old. Steve Dryden, a journalist who has spent most of his career covering trade, explores the creation and evolution of what has become one of the most politicized jobs in government.

Dryden begins his account with the end of World War II. A newly preeminent America attempted to reduce trade barriers in a world that had been successively ravaged by depression and war. But protectionist interests at home and abroad thwarted Washington's effort to create an International Trade Organization to follow the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Nevertheless, over the years Washington did convince a number of countries to move to freer trade. When President John F. Kennedy requested authority to negotiate widespread tariff reductions, however, he had to accede to a proposal by House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Wilbur Mills to create a "special representative for trade negotiations" (p. 54). Mills's intention was simple: to reduce the role of the State Department in trade matters. In late 1962, Kennedy appointed Christian Herter, a Republican, as the first USTR. Herter was immediately thrust into the talks leading toward the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Alas, those negotiations generated formidable opposition.

Dryden's fine—if at times excruciatingly detailed—narrative leaves no doubt that protectionists were powerful in Washington as well as the capitals of most other nations. To lower the tariff on watches, for instance, President Lyndon Johnson had to ignore opposition from former General Omar Bradley, the chairman of Bulova, who claimed that without a strong

domestic industry the U.S. would be unable to construct timing devices for nuclear weapons. And at the conclusion of the Kennedy round of GATT talks (which outlasted the president after whom it was named), reports Dryden, "bills were introduced in Congress to put quotas on oil, meat, dairy products, lead, footwear, and other disparate items" (p. 117).

Displeasure from business, particularly textile interests, over the Kennedy round caused newly inaugurated President Richard Nixon to downgrade the USTR. The office barely survived a hostile takeover by the Commerce Department and then lost influence to Henry Kissinger's National Security Council. Persistent "turmoil within the Nixon administration over trade" led to the creation of yet another body, the Council on International Economic Policy (p. 146). Eventually, the USTR regained some of its old clout when the Nixon administration decided that it needed someone to implement a tougher trade strategy with other nations.

The administration launched the new Tokyo round of GATT largely to pressure Japan on trade. But trade is more than an abstract policy issue: it involves billions of individual purchases. As Dryden notes: "It was unrealistic, of course, to expect Japan to buy things it didn't want or need" (p. 169). As a result, although the Tokyo round finished under Robert Strauss, President Jimmy Carter's USTR, trade controversies with Japan continue to this day. Dryden covers them all: agriculture, cars, machine tools, semiconductor chips, and more. He also captures the very different personalities who have served as USTR from its inception into the 1990s. Some could not be more different; compare, for example, Reubin Askew, a modest, principled former governor, and Carla Hills, a tough, prickly attorney.

Dryden has produced the definitive history of the USTR. He generally avoids taking policy sides but feels less constrained when it comes to the USTR itself. The agency sometimes acts "a lot like a mouthpiece for powerful corporate interests," he admits, but it nevertheless plays a positive role (p. 393). "Over the longer term," he contends, "USTR's permanence and power will be an asset to the country as it struggles in the global economy" (p. 394).

DOUG BADOW
Cato Institute

CANADA

CHARLES D. MAHAFFIE, JR. *A Land of Discord Always: Acadia from Its Beginning to the Expulsion of Its People 1604-1755*. Camden, Maine: Down East. 1995. Pp. 319. \$24.95.

Charles D. Mahaffie's interest in the Acadians is that of a gifted amateur historian, and this work has both the virtues and flaws of such scholars. It is very well written and has a clear narrative line that traces, as the subtitle suggests, Acadian history from 1604 to 1755.

Mahaffie's fascination with his subject is apparent, and his research is an investigation of both primary and secondary published sources. There is no evidence of major archival work and little trace of broad reading about the general questions of the age that provide the context for the particular events being retold.

As a result, the book has serious faults. Mahaffie's knowledge of present scholarly discourse concerning Canadian and European history is inadequate. Neither the work of Andrew Hill Clark (*Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia* [1968]) nor that of John Reid (*Acadia, Maine and New Scotland: Marginal Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* [1981]) has been consulted. There is no reflection of the work of French scholars such as Fernand Braudel and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie nor of that of their English counterparts, Peter Laslett and Lawrence Stone. The body of work on French migration to North America has, apparently, been overlooked completely. Mahaffie presents a well-argued interpretation of the European political scene and of the motives behind European migration, but it is one that has not been generally accepted for the last thirty years. The complex fragmentation of authority that is now considered to be the background to European and American affairs in the seventeenth century does not appear in this narrative.

The book's strength is its depiction of the Acadians as people dominated by a strong desire to build their own society in the New World. Genevieve Massignon's work on the origins of the Acadians, *Les parlers français d'Acadie* (1962), has not been considered, however, and thus the richness of Acadian heritage, which melded English, French, and Micmac cultures, has been overlooked. The Acadian community is represented as a collective and tragic oddity rather than as a society that has much in common with the people of Maine and those of Quebec.

The preface states that "[in] today's Nova Scotia and New Brunswick . . . little recalls Acadia save archeological finds, roadside historical markets, and a namesake national park" (p. 10). Considering that those of Acadian ancestry make up thirty-five percent of New Brunswick's population and that Acadian cultural life is a major force behind writers such as Antonine Maillet, filmmakers such as Hermengilde Chiasson, and artists such as Claude Picard, this judgement needs clarification. Mahaffie presents a great many facts about Acadia but rather less about its broader context(s).

N. E. S. GRIFFITHS
Carleton University

PATRICIA JASEN. *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. x, 194. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Patricia Jasen's book makes a significant contribution to the growing field of the history of tourism. Its focus is on Ontario, but it is rich with potential for compar-

ison and will be of interest to historians of the United States and Europe as well as to historians of Canada.

Jasen argues that nineteenth-century tourists in Ontario were preoccupied with the "tension and interplay between notions of civilization and wildness." This interplay took different forms at different times, from the worship of the sublime at Niagara Falls in the 1820s to the hunting vacations of enervated Toronto businessmen a century later. Jasen places these vacations in the Euro-American context of the rise of romanticism, defined not only as an aesthetic movement but also as a key part of the movement to commodify both land and scenery, a transformation that fostered the rise of romantic tourism in Europe as well as in America. In a manner more common to British historians than to American historians, Jasen highlights the integral connection between the tourist industry and the triumph of market capitalism. Even more central to her own region's story, she explores the close links between tourism and the process of conquest.

Jasen is at her best analyzing the connections between the exploitation of the Canadian interior and the tourist industries that accompanied colonization. Canadian nationalists and promoters encouraged tourists to view the interior of their country as uniquely wild, peopled by primitive tribes who embodied the unique natural features of the Canadian continent but whose existence did not stand in the way of expansion, because they were a "dying race."

Jasen's greatest contribution lies in her effort to give voice to members of that "dying race" by reconstructing the world of the Ojibway tour guides who bore the brunt of most tourist incursions into upper Ontario. Historians have usually found it easier to recount the experiences of tourists than to reveal the stories of "the toured," whether Polynesians in Hawaii, Yankee farmers in New England, or the indigenous peoples of Ontario. Jasen has uncovered a mine of sources that turn upside down the traditional relationship between Euro-American tourists and the usually silent (and silenced) Native American guides who made the tours possible. Jasen's work is a model for future researchers in the history of tourism.

Jasen sometimes gives the impression that the relationship of Euro-American tourists to "nature" remained more or less constant between 1790 and World War I. She may overstate the persistence of the romantic tradition. Early twentieth-century understandings of wilderness were the products of a world—and a world view—much removed from the aesthetic that had shaped Niagara Falls and its tourist trade. There is little in this book to suggest the profound cultural shifts that made a tour of Niagara in 1825 a very different experience from a lake vacation in the 1890s. Indeed, the nature and scale of the work that Jasen undertook did not allow for much digging into the depths of individual experience—or for much of the ambiguity and complexity that generally accompany such an analysis. But that is a fault common to

the field of tourism history, where a rich array of primary sources, along with the sheer number of untold stories, often tempt a writer to skim. On the whole, Jasen offers a stimulating and sophisticated analysis of the tourist industry—and a good read for anyone interested in the politics of culture.

DONA BROWN

University of Vermont

JAN NOEL. *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. vi, 310. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Jan Noel's study of pre-Confederation Canadian temperance provides obvious points of comparison with studies of similar movements in other Anglophone countries, particularly the work of Ian Tyrrell and W. J. Rorabaugh in the United States and Brian Harrison in Great Britain. Like the antebellum United States, nineteenth-century Canada was a country in the process of expansion across a continent, one presenting stark social contrasts between long-settled rural areas in the East, immigrant-filled cities, and a rowdy western frontier. In this comparison, Montreal was peer to Boston or London, Toronto to Chicago or Manchester, and the Red River Colony (Manitoba) to the trans-Mississippi West or, perhaps, Australia. Anglophone comparisons fail in at least one important respect, however: Canada East also contained a large French-speaking rural population—indigenous at least in comparison with its English inhabitants. The development of support for temperance among this predominantly peasant Catholic population presents Noel with one of her most interesting subjects and a point of contrast with the urban Irish Catholic populations of Britain and the United States that were influenced by Father Theobald Mathew.

Quite possibly, Noel glosses the perennial historians' debate over reform motivation too easily. She diplomatically straddles the interpretive dichotomy between idealism and economic motives by suggesting an evolution from religious zeal to increasingly worldly concerns. Her own approach is narrative and regional rather than analytical and national. As a result, she largely relegates to the background the familiar story of the evolution of the movement's program from moral suasion and moderate consumption of alcohol (at most) to total abstinence and legal prohibition. At the risk of some repetition and chronological back-and-forth, she opts to move from East to West, beginning on the Atlantic coast and ending on the northwestern plains.

The regional successes and failures of the Canadian temperance movement present distinctive features usually scanted in studies of the movement in the United States, which concentrate on the Northeast, particularly New England. The first Canadian societies in the Atlantic provinces presented similar characteristics to what might be called the "classic" movement in neighboring New England: broadly middle-class

leadership by clerics and other professionals and by entrepreneurs who gathered substantial support among artisans and small farmers. The economically progressive city of Montreal was its center, and evangelical Protestant influence predominated. In 1856, New Brunswick became the only province before Confederation to adopt a prohibition law, like the neighboring state of Maine.

The spread of temperance to Canada West, like the parallel shift from New England to the American Midwest, accompanied the radicalization of the movement and the call for legal prohibition. And, like the Midwest, Toronto and its Anglophone rural hinterland became the eventual heartland of Canadian temperance. The movement was much less successful on the wild western frontier of the Red River Colony, where the initial efforts of the paternalistic Hudson's Bay Company to ban liquor in the racially mixed settlements were eventually undermined by the triumph of free trade and open immigration.

The successes of temperance in rural French Canada during the 1840s, underwritten by the Catholic clergy, break more familiar explanatory molds, suggesting how an ultramontane, reactionary Catholicism that condemned "passions désordonnées pour les plaisirs, les joies et le-bien-être terrestre" (p. 176) could accommodate itself to moral strategies that implicitly allied it with economic progress, not to say Calvinists and low-church Anglicans. In this part of Noel's story, the striking personalities of Father Charles Chiniquy and Bishop Ignace Bourget assume their places—with both their strengths and frailties—beside those other apostles of temperance, Father Mathew and John Gough. So, too, does the memorable image of once rowdy, now temperate French Canadian lumberjacks praying and singing hymns as they poled their logs down the St. Lawrence River to Quebec. Noel's book illuminates these and other aspects of Canadian temperance and offers a welcome addition to the growing comparative literature on this important social movement.

JOEL BERNARD
Portland, Oregon

SHARON ANNE COOK. *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874–1930.* (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 19.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 281. \$39.95.

This book is a contribution to the literature addressing the centrality of religion to the experience of Canadian women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a theme now receiving long overdue attention. Sharon Anne Cook's objective is a comprehensive understanding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's (WCTU) evangelical origins and its role in the formation of a middle-class female culture in Ontario. She suggests that the WCTU's history needs to be

regionally focused to expose important variations on the characteristics of the national organization. National leadership belonged to an urban elite that, by the 1890s, was moving away from its evangelical origins. By contrast, the Ontario WCTU was composed of many small-town and rural women, still categorized as middle class but further down the social and economic scale than the national executives.

Cook argues that the Ontario WCTU developed and retained a strong evangelical feminist agenda of social and political activism designed to protect the family and to preserve middle-class values from the social and economic threats associated with industrialization, immigration, and urbanization. The Ontario WCTU was also more active in asserting women's moral authority and in rescuing victims of male abuse. By the 1920s, however, the evangelicalism that had empowered and energized Protestant women was being eroded by a conservative fundamentalism that sought to limit women's role to the domestic sphere. Many Ontario WCTU members accepted this confining redefinition of women's proper sphere. The WCTU and its aging members continued to promote the sanctity of the family, but, especially after the provincial prohibition legislation enacted during the war was revoked in 1927, the organization all but disappeared from small-town and rural Ontario.

The American WCTU is synonymous with Frances Willard, who inspired fierce loyalty and encouraged a sisterhood based on a shared sense of purpose. Her influence on the Ontario WCTU was transmitted through Letitia Youmans, an evangelical temperance worker. Youmans served as Ontario and Dominion president, and she knew Willard, who admired her public-speaking skills. Under Youmans's leadership, the Ontario WCTU became more decentralized, more evangelical, and less politicized than the American WCTU. Whether Youmans was a Canadian Willard, as Cook asserts, is debatable. Cook contends that Youmans's zeal inspired fear in those she attacked; however, Cook's treatment of Youmans is superficial, offering little evidence that the grassroots membership looked to her for inspiration. Youmans's successor as Ontario president, Addie Chisholm, a divorcee (an unusual circumstance for a Canadian woman in the 1880s and intriguing because her ex-husband had been mayor of Hamilton) is relegated to a footnote, even though in her memoirs Willard praised Chisholm's ability and courage. Rather than exploring the impact of personalities on the nature of the WCTU in Ontario, Cook examines its institutional structures, relationships with other women's organizations, and reformist agenda. Her analysis rightly takes into account the WCTU's shortcomings and failures, notably its class-based inability to recognize that not all women could aspire to the image of the ideal wife and mother that the WCTU represented. The alcoholic mother, an object of the WCTU's greatest scorn, was invariably portrayed as a working-class woman.

The book is not without problems. Cook's explana-

tion of the grassroots death of the WCTU seems too simplistic, ignoring the movement, even in rural Ontario, of single and married middle-class women into the work force and the competition from other organizations and recreational and sporting activities, now accessible to the younger women the WCTU needed to recruit. More seriously, Cook mistakes another leading Canadian temperance advocate and political reformer, Dr. Amelia Yeomans, for a daughter of Letitia Yeomans. This does Yeomans, the second female physician in Manitoba (her daughter Lillian was first), a grave disservice and distorts Cook's analysis of the disagreement between the Canadian WCTU and the World WCTU over the social purity debate. This error aside, Cook's study offers new insights about a misunderstood organization in which many Ontario women found friendship, intellectual stimulation, and an outlet for their social feminism.

ROSEMARY GAGAN
Simon Fraser University

GALE WILLS. *A Marriage of Convenience: Business and Social Work in Toronto, 1918-1957*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 187. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

Canadian historiography is replete with considerations of the multifarious reformist movements of the early twentieth century. Organized around one or another of the myriad "problems" that appeared to threaten a society in the throes of sociocultural transformation and often inspired by the Christian activism of the Social Gospel, these movements typically followed a common trajectory. They were initiated by voluntarist groups, with women playing an increasingly public role; operated under philanthropic auspices, with local businesses as important sources of funding; saw the growing involvement of "experts" from the expanding professions, particularly medicine, the social sciences (especially sociology and psychology), and social work; and eventually called for and received state assistance in varying degrees. During the process of becoming more "scientific," "efficient," and public, these social movements very often sidelined their original women participants and played down, or even rejected, their original commitment to social change. It is within this context that Gale Wills examines community work as it developed in Toronto—in effect, the nation's sociological laboratory—between 1918 and 1957.

Wills's perspective as both social work practitioner and academician permits a clear-eyed historical account of the often conflicted relationship between business and the emergent profession of social work. Her argument is neatly captured in her title. Neither Toronto social work agencies nor the businesses that underfunded and attempted to control them were particularly enamored of their partners. While recognizing a certain mutuality of needs and interests, neither turned a blind eye to their obvious differences, which did, at times, erupt into discord. It is in this

respect that Wills's study is a necessary corrective to the "cooptation" theory sketched above. It is often assumed that professionalization, the rise of a culture of "expertise," and the remarkable influence of the "scientific management" paradigm far beyond the walls of commerce and industry removed social welfare from the realm of reform (with its implications for moral order, activism, and the restructuring of capitalist class and gender relations) and placed it squarely into that of business and the state, often in agreement on the priority of cost-effectiveness. Despite its initial idealism and moral fervor, social work became, in short, another job. As Wills carefully demonstrates, alternatives to the corporate model of community work persisted, as did some increasingly marginalized alternate visions for socioeconomic organization with their concomitant "radical" notions of class and gender relations, family forms, and state involvement. Often, she argues, it was women social workers who were most "resistant" to business hegemony in areas of social concern.

This study effectively disentangles the complex interrelations of business and various community agencies in a city that was the urban prototype for modern industrial Canada. It provides a useful chronology of the evolution of these agencies and their various transmutations on the path from Social Gospel reformism to corporate efficiency, culminating in the organization of the Toronto Welfare Council in 1938. Wills sketches in the necessary comparative framework, showing how Canadian social workers drew from both American and British community work methods at the turn of the century while fitting their practices to the Canadian setting with its particular history of relations between capital, the state, and social welfare provision and policy.

This is very much a study of structures, bringing to light the modernization of urban institutions through its focus on business, social agencies, and municipal government. On actual practices and practitioners of social work, however, the book is less revealing. The "history of resistance to mainstream values," and, especially, the history of women's particular resistance, is more reiterated than demonstrated. It is evident that business and social work, and men and women within and between both groups, occasionally differed with respect to means and ends. What is less apparent is how these occasional differences really amounted to opposition to the status quo. It is not clear what alternative visions were held, much less presented, especially on the part of women. In the end, the impression is that ideological hegemony was very much the order of things—not surprisingly, given that most businessmen and social workers of either gender had more in common with each other than they did with those they were trying to help.

CYNTHIA R. COMACCHIO
Wilfrid Laurier University

JOAN SANGSTER. *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920–1960*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. x, 333. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Set in Peterborough, a small manufacturing city in Ontario, this insightful book examines change and continuity in the lives of wage-earning women between 1920 and 1960. Joan Sangster deploys archival research but also makes extensive and effective use of interviews with seventy-five women who worked in four Peterborough factories in these years. Focusing on Dominion Woolens and Westclox, both of which had a large female workforce, and Quaker Oats and General Electric, which were dominated by male workers, Sangster analyzes the social construction of women's identity as wage earners, their experiences of occupational segregation and work culture, and their accommodation and resistance to wage work.

Shifting between public and private spheres, Sangster challenges those who link patriarchy with the family and capitalism with the workplace. She also disputes dichotomous and essentialist views of women as home-oriented and men as job-conscious. Sangster argues instead for home and work as mutually reinforcing arenas in which women make their lives and their lives are made. To explain the tenacity of a gendered division of labor in all four worksites and why it appeared to women to be a natural and common sense reality of life, Sangster emphasizes not only employers' power to define a group of lower-waged jobs for women but also an ideology of sex difference that men and women assimilated and utilized at home, in public, and on the job. Women accepted and rationalized the sexual division of labor because it made sense to them. It was consonant with their own experience of female work (which was considered temporary, unskilled, and inferior to men's and denied them economic independence or mobility) and their own participation in an ideology of sexual difference and female domesticity.

Sangster refuses to characterize women as passive or as victims of false consciousness. To create a livable workplace, women produced their own distinctive work culture that could provide a basis for resistance but did not have to, as it was itself shaped and circumscribed by the structure of the work process, the power of employers to define discipline, and conservative ideals of femininity. Sangster advances and engenders a prominent strand of labor history by compelling consideration of working-class women as seekers of "respectability," a class-specific goal that meant hard work, moral uprightness, and acceptance of proper gender roles and familial obligations and that could provoke resistance even as it facilitated accommodation and consent. Women's quest for respectability meant that employers who provided welfare and paternalist measures received consent to their prerogatives (including economic inequality and a

gendered hierarchy at work). But there was a *quid pro quo*: "A distinct notion of the dignity owed to women and of the respectability of women's aspirations and lives," contends Sangster, "was promoted and defended by the workers" (p. 159). If employers reneged, women protested. Sangster offers an excellent chapter on women's experience of resistance and unionization, focusing on their role in a 1937 textile strike and their later involvement in the United Electrical Workers at General Electric.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature on women and work, in part because it examines overlooked towns and small cities and the still-understudied middle third of this century. The static quality of the sexual division of labor in all four Peterborough workplaces between 1920 and 1960 confirms the view that World War II wrought only temporary changes in the distribution of jobs in industry. But Sangster emphasizes change as well as continuity, noting that women who entered the labor force after 1945 were more likely to be married and mothers. This demographic shift, along with the greater extent of unionization and higher standards of living, challenged the entrenched notion of the family wage and prompted women to begin at least to question gender inequality.

There are a few problems. Sangster makes a compelling case for the uniqueness of working-class women's experience. But it is not clear how distinctive working-class views were since she does not address middle-class women's experience. The existence or definition of the Peterborough working class also is assumed rather than demonstrated. Methodologically, there are some problems with Sangster's reliance on oral history to document women's perspective on the gender division of labor at the time they began working. Although she is well aware of the problem of memory and the extent to which people revise their past in light of later events, some may dispute her use of these sources.

Despite these reservations, Sangster provides a nuanced, subtle analysis of central questions in women's and labor history. Richly detailed and enlivened by women's own words, her book is an original and important contribution.

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LARRY HANNANT. *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada's Citizens*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 330. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$17.95.

There is a substantial and ever-growing body of literature on Canada's national security and intelligence apparatus, and Larry Hannant's book is a worthy addition to the list. What he has done—most effectively—is to destroy the argument (advanced by this reviewer among others) that security screening of public servants began in Canada only after the defection of Igor Gouzenko in September 1945. Instead, as

Hannant demonstrates irrefutably, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) began "vetting" as early as 1931, gradually increasing its net and its fingerprinting activities until by the end of the war it had some two million sets of prints on record, including those of bureaucrats and munitions plant workers. Hannant also effectively demonstrates how, by war's end, the RCMP had hitched its star to the FBI and turned away from its early British tutors. All this is most valuable, the more so for Hannant's book being both well researched and well written.

Nonetheless, there is a touch of naiveté about this work. Hannant gloats a bit too much about his discoveries and the RCMP's efficiency, but he really cannot explain how it was, if the RCMP was so vigilant and omnipresent, that the spy rings Gouzenko uncovered had come to exist unmolested in the civil service and military. He speaks sharply about the criticisms from the Prime Minister's Office staff and the Department of External Affairs (two organs of government that refused, Hannant says, to permit security screening of their employees) of the bumbling incompetence of the RCMP and attributes them to the upper-class origins of these bureaucrats. In the first place, the bureaucrats were largely well educated but not well off or well born, and, secondly, they had ample reason to complain about the Mounties, who were so fixated on Reds that in 1939–1940 they knew next to nothing about domestic and foreign fascists and Nazis. Moreover, who could be impressed by a security service that, as Hannant shows, did not want to cooperate with other agencies of government and had almost no experience in security work, most of its officers having spent their careers dealing with crime? The RCMP was also the organization that, in September 1939, knew so little about diplomatic norms that it astonishingly proposed to seize the offices and records of the Italian consuls in Toronto and Montreal, although Italy was still neutral. Curiously for such a diligent researcher, Hannant misses a well-known document by J. W. Pickersgill setting out the complaints of the Prime Minister's Office against the RCMP in the fall of 1939.

This is a very good book, then, but not one without flaws. Hannant has added to what we know about Canadian counter-intelligence, and there is much here for students of British and American security too.

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ALAN RUDOLPH MARCUS. *Relocating Eden: The Image and Politics of Inuit Exile in the Canadian Arctic*. (Arctic Visions.) Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1995. Pp. xvi, 272. \$19.95.

Government policy toward aboriginal peoples has become the subject of heated public debate in Canada in recent years, following several highly publicized incidents like the violent confrontation at Oka, Quebec, in 1990. Shortly after the events at Oka, the press began to cover complaints from a group of Inuit (Eskimo)

who had been moved in 1953–1955 from what was then called Port Harrison, Quebec, to the high arctic hamlets of Grise Fiord and Resolute. The Inuit argued that they were the victims of a brutal experiment, the purpose of which was to reinforce Canadian sovereignty claims to the arctic, and that promises had been made to return them if they wished but not fulfilled until 1988. Those complaints have now become the subject of a number of official investigative reports, several essays, and three books.

The human and emotional dimensions of the relocation policy have been emphasized in the press, but the issue is also a fascinating exercise in historical interpretation. First, there is conflicting evidence between the oral testimony of the Inuit and the documentary collection of government archives. Second, several of the analysts have used the same documentary evidence and come to very different conclusions about its meaning.

This book is an attempt to put the high arctic relocation into the context of other relocations of the Inuit dating from the mid-1930s. Alan Rudolph Marcus is also interested in the role of the media (notably the work of popular author Farley Mowat) in shaping both the public perception of policy and the development of policy itself. The main emphasis of the book, however, is on reconstructing the events of two case studies: the relocation of the Inukjuarmiut to Grise Fiord and Resolute and several relocations of the Ahlarmiut in the central Arctic. It is a sober and thoughtful consideration of a highly emotional debate. Although Marcus concludes that the issue is more complex than many have recognized, his sympathies clearly lie with the Inuit.

The study is based on comprehensive research that included official records and oral testimony from both Inuit and government administrators. The presentation, however, will leave some historians slightly uncomfortable. Theoretical observations from philosophers like Michel Foucault or management theorists are sometimes used as evidence for important conclusions. The citation method does not clearly identify archival materials, so the reader cannot assess whether something is drawn from a confidential memorandum or a press release. Curiously, there is very little sense of how the Inuit responded to the relocations or why they agreed to move, so that the story is very much a throwback to 1970s historiography in which aboriginal peoples were depicted as the passive victims of colonial forces. Current interest in native resistance or agency is not reflected at all in the approach.

Nevertheless, the study is a helpful introduction to the topic. It should be read in conjunction with Frank Tester's and Peter Kulchyski's *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63* (1994). For a very different perspective, see George Kenny's *Arctic Smoke and Mirrors* (1994).

KERRY ABEL
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LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

LAIRD W. BERGAD, FE IGLESIAS GARCÍA, and MARÍA DEL CARMEN BARCIA. *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790–1880*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 79.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 245.

Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia supervised an inventory of Archivo Nacional de Cuba records by a team of twenty-five students, which created a database of over 23,000 slave sales transacted during Cuba's nineteenth-century sugar boom. Bergad organized the presentation of this data—the most extensive such compilation in slavery historiography—and shared responsibilities with Iglesias García and Barcia for the analysis.

Using records from three of the island's largest slave markets—Havana, Santiago, and Cienfuegos—the authors posit long-term price stability despite short-term fluctuations precipitated by various political and economic developments, particularly abolitionist activities against the transatlantic slave traffic. Steady slave prices during both Cuba's early nineteenth-century sugar expansion and the post-1850 escalation in world sugar prices confirm the slave trade's ability to satisfy increased demands while indicating slave labor's continued profitability. Colonial or international abolitionism, however, saw planters seeking self-sustaining slave cohorts by paying more for younger slaves and women of child-bearing age. Bergad, Iglesias García, and Barcia supplement these central theses with close analyses of how gender, ethnicity, occupation, age, and region affected prices and of the frequency with which slaves freed themselves through self-purchase (*coartación*). They conclude with comparisons between Cuba's slave market and those of Brazil and the United States, the other major nineteenth-century slave-holding regions, that also suggest close correlations between slave price profiles and dependence on the vulnerable transatlantic slave trade.

Over one hundred figures and tables that supplement the text reveal the intricacies of Cuba's traffic in slaves; the richness of the database must surely encourage like projects elsewhere in the Americas. But this book also illustrates the need for caution and care. Town markets sold relatively few field hands, and correlating urban and domestic slave price trends with fluctuations in the sugar economy may be more precarious than the authors allow. Similarly, the chapter on *coartación*, an overwhelmingly urban phenomenon, seems rather out of place. The emphasis on reproductive potential to explain higher female slave prices during threats against the transatlantic trade requires qualification. The authors must account for this price trend's persistence in the 1870s despite a law freeing all children born to slave women after 1868 (Figure 4.8, which correlates male and female slave prices, misses this trend by terminating in 1871) as well as examine why planters would adopt a reproductive strategy for a cohort that exhibited negative rates of reproduction.

Occasional tabulation errors mar the statistical presentations. Figure 4.4 mistakenly charts slave price declines from 1870–1875, for example, while the 1852 prime age slave price of 468 pesos (p. 59) is subsequently given as 478 pesos (p. 169). These problems, the absence of maps, and the skimpy index are just minor annoyances. They little diminish the work's stature, whose principal strength is the complex quantification that its large database permits, and whose subtle and suggestive interpretations will engage future scholarship.

RODERICK A. McDONALD
Rider University

JOAN DAYAN. *Haiti, History, and the Gods*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 339. \$35.00.

Mythology and history are frequently entwined. Think of Greek values and experiences as the Greek dramatists expressed them in religious festivals. Think, too, of the Jewish history that finds expression in the Hebrew Bible. Haitian *vodou* is no different. It is the argument of Joan Dayan that both the colonial period of Saint-Domingue and the slave's experience there gave *vodou* much of its definition.

Dayan presents the interesting case of the zombi. The zombi had its origins in Jean Zombi, a mulatto who carried out Jean-Jacques Dessalines's orders to destroy whites in Haiti with special zeal. The zombi came to symbolize the dehumanized slave, while his fierce acts symbolized the rebel slave. Moreover, in *vodou* lore when *lwa* (spirits) depart from human form, they leave their skins. Those who want to prevent their return rub the skin with salt, red peppers, and lemon juice. Dayan maintains that this *vodou* belief is founded on the master's medication of his slave after a lashing and upon the urge of the *gens de couleur* (people of color) to leave their skins to become white. Then there is the case of Ezili, one of the powerful and arbitrary *lwas* of *vodou*. She is both loving and cruel, embodying the dualism of master and slave, and Dayan believes that her origins are purely from colonial Saint-Domingue.

In developing the cosmology of Haitian *vodou*, Dayan pays close attention to the feminine influence. According to *vodou* legend, Sister Rose was the founder of the Haitian people. Raped by her white master, she gave birth to mulatto twins, Jean and Pierre. Pierre longs to be white, a curse that many *gens de couleur* bear.

Dayan's estimate of women in the shaping of Haitian history extends beyond *vodou*: "Women's bodies, violated in colonial Saint-Domingue, would become the land mistreated . . . in independent Haiti" (p. 130). This cryptic statement is clarified as Dayan demonstrates that Haitian women cannot simply be dismissed as sex objects. She warns that Western liberal standards simply do not apply in Haiti. The garden-woman is her best example. Here a peasant woman may give

sexual favors for economic considerations. The power of sex, from the Haitian view, is a woman's "land" or property for bargaining.

One of the most powerful feminine legends to grow out of the colonial-independence period of Haiti was that of Défilée, whose real name was Dédée Bazile. Défilée had lost two sons and three brothers in the fight against the French, followed Dessalines and cheered his troops. When Dessalines fell to the death blows of once-loyal subjects, it was the tiny, ninety-five-pound Défilée who gathered his body parts for proper burial. She played Mary Magdalen's role with the hero of Haitian independence, a man soon to be a *lwa* associated with Ogou, the warrior spirit in *vodou*.

Women were prominent in cultural shaping that took place during the colonial and independence periods. White women sometimes adopted the dress style of mulatto females, using madras handkerchiefs in their coiffures. Even Pauline Leclerc borrowed this practice, which had begun in Haiti with slave women.

In her chapter on "Gothic Americans," Dayan explores the dehumanization of the slave. Here she makes particular use of the *Code Noir* (1685) to demonstrate how the slave became a legal nonperson. Under French law, mulattoes, even though they owned one-third of all land property in Saint-Domingue, could never hope to gain white status. Whites who married mulattoes fell from their class. This segregation based on color was an extension of and justification for slavery.

Any criticism of Dayan's book must rest on whether or not she clearly expresses the Haitian psyche in a historical context. I believe that she does. Even though I might quibble about her weak treatment of causes for the Leclerc expedition and argue that she strains some of her points, the fact is that Dayan's book is a brilliant breakthrough in Haitian historiography. She has done for the understanding of the Haitian mind what Perry Miller did for the understanding of the Puritans in his *New England Mind* (1939).

THOMAS O. OTT
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MICHEL BAUD. *Peasants and Tobacco in the Dominican Republic, 1870-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1995. Pp. x, 326. \$35.00.

Tobacco has fascinated westerners since their arrival in the Caribbean, when they first encountered aborigines smoking it. Ironically, historians have not retained the astonishment shown by Europeans in the late fifteenth century, although decades ago Fernando Ortiz pointed out tobacco's significance in the making of Caribbean societies. It has been a crop of Old World origins, sugar cane, that has mostly attracted the attention of historians; there are few studies dealing with other crops, especially with the so-called "peasant crops." Lately, coffee has received due attention. Cacao still awaits its turn, and tobacco is beginning to make headway in Caribbean historiography. Recent

studies by Jean Stubbs and Juan José Baldrich on Cuba and Puerto Rico, respectively, heralded this coming of age.

Building on studies from the 1970s (such as those of Patrick Bryan, Kenneth Sharpe, Fernando Ferrán, and Antonio Lluberes) as well as on more recent works on the agrarian history of the Cibao Valley, Michiel Baud shows the intricacies of small-scale tobacco production and marketing in the Dominican Republic. Contrary to the studies of sugar plantations, Baud's book belongs to a new breed of works that regard the peasantry as the matrix of the country's economic and social evolution. Among the latter are Orlando Inoa's *Estado y campesinos al inicio de la Era de Trujillo* (1994), and my own *Los campesinos del Cibao: Economía de mercado y transformación agraria en la República Dominicana, 1880-1960* (1996). The common threads of these studies are the contradictory consequences of market and state forces for the peasantry and peasant adaptations to the social and economic transformations undergone by the Dominican Republic from the late nineteenth century on. The picture presented by Baud is that of a peasantry doing its best to resist the most pernicious aspects of the market while, at the same time, making use of all the opportunities it afforded them to retain as much economic autonomy as possible.

Baud puts his findings in a wider historiographical context that connects the micro aspects of his study with the macro dimensions of the tobacco economy. Villa González, a traditional tobacco community and Baud's main study site, is placed in a web of regional, national, and international networks. In this respect, too, Baud follows the most recent studies on Dominican peasant society, which have broken with the limited focus of most of the earliest "community studies." Thus, in addition to its contribution to the history of tobacco and peasantries, this work demonstrates the possibilities of microhistory in the Dominican Republic. By combining local sources, including oral testimonies, with national ones, Baud is able to suggest significant connections between the strictly local and the more general dimensions of tobacco's socio-economic complex. The arrangement of chapters reflects this concern with both the micro and macro levels of his research. While chapters 4-6 delve into the community of Villa González, seeking to show the centrality of the tobacco economy in defining its social life, chapters 7-9 focus on the consequences of the "ideology of progress" espoused by the state and imposed upon the tobacco cultivators. For all these reasons, Baud's book is a welcome addition to studies of the agrarian history of the Dominican Republic.

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SUSAN KELLOGG. *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xxxiii, 285. \$34.50.

Susan Kellogg's work focuses on how the Spanish legal system affected the Nahuas of Mexico City during the early and mature colonial periods. The book is divided into two parts. The first examines sources in which Indian men and women appear as *dramatis personae* in legal disputes; the second is social history. In part one, which deals with sources, Kellogg also focuses on what she sees as social dramas: their narratives, representations, and symbols. In reconstructing the pre-Hispanic period, she has relied on standard texts, while individual lawsuits—generally involving Indian property and argued before Spanish courts—are her main colonial source. The second part, on social history, focuses on Nahua women's changing roles, shifts in property and inheritance, and changes in family structure. Kellogg argues that these changes, taken together, resulted in a transformation of Nahua culture from the preconquest period. She sees the transformation as the creation of a distinct colonial Nahua culture that adapted to Spanish cultural concepts, including in particular the Spanish legal system and its conceptual underpinnings.

Through close reading on lawsuits, Kellogg finds differences among the participants in lawsuits over time, shifts in how arguments were framed, and changes in key areas of Nahua culture. Parallelism of gender roles, women's independence as actors within and outside the family, and women's equal standing in bilateral, extended kin networks shifted to an elevation of male gender roles, women's dependence on males and patriarchal authority, and an apparently narrowed conception of kin networks that de-emphasized female and non-lineal linkages. Nahua colonial culture increasingly resembled Spanish culture, while overall Indian status and economic power declined.

Kellogg finds early colonial lawsuits argued and won—even against Spaniards—based on traditional Nahua concepts of ownership and inheritance and bolstered by Nahuatl documentation such as genealogies and wills. In the later period, this form of argumentation shifted for Indian males, who increasingly utilized Spanish concepts and legal precedents, while Nahua women continued to use traditional concepts to bolster their cases in the seemingly declining number of suits they initiated on their own. These shifts coincided with the growth in size and strength of the Spanish population and the colonial social system, which reinforced racial divisions and increasingly denigrated all Indians' status, particularly that of women.

Kellogg sees as another indicator of Nahua women's declining status the greater frequency of their having feminized masculine names, tying this to the greater hold of Christian values and a male-centered culture. I disagree with the linkage to male-centered culture. Pre-Hispanic and early colonial women's names were generally birth-order designations: Tiacapan "oldest sister," Tlaco "middle child," Xoco "youngest," while men's names were much more varied. These differences persisted in the early colonial period, with women having a very few Christian saints' names,

while Nahua men had a large inventory. In the early colonial period, large households could contain several women named Maria Tiacapan or Ana Xoco, with only elite Nahua women having varied names. The increasing number of Christian women's names need not lead to the conclusion that these were tied to "patriarchal authority" or a decline in status. Rather, the larger inventory of names may be evidence of a shift in the concept of women as unique individuals, as indicated by individual names, rather than stereotyped ones, and that the varied names of elite women were now within the reach of commoners.

The book raises a number of questions. Given the small number of extant legal cases with Indian participants in Mexico City, I would have been more cautious in drawing conclusions, for it is not evident how typical these cases were. Casting a wider net beyond the capital itself could potentially have provided answers. Why 1700 was chosen as a cut-off date for the study is not discussed. Were there further changes along the same lines or a sharp break after 1700? Certainly independence brought a major change in Indians' relation to the legal system. Special courts for Indians were dissolved, caste designations were abolished, and there was a complete cessation of record-keeping in Nahuatl and other indigenous languages.

Kellogg's work provides an excellent starting point for further investigation of the impact of the Spanish legal system on Indian culture. In sum, this book is a careful work of scholarship with much value. Its prose is generally lucid and jargon-free, so that even when one disagrees with the analysis, the lines of argumentation are clear and the citations of evidence available.

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TORCUATO S. DI TELLA. *National Popular Politics in Early Independent Mexico, 1820–1847*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1996. Pp. ix, 383. \$55.00.

Torcuato S. Di Tella, one of Argentina's leading sociologists, here makes his first book-length entry into Mexican history. His object is to provide a political sociological interpretation for the cycles of Mexican politics up to 1847. Although the period is complex (and the narrative is as well), his presentation is nuanced and contextualized. His argument is that Mexican elites attempted to mobilize the masses (both terms are carefully discussed) in their ongoing struggle for hegemony, but no political faction was strong enough to win a decisive victory. Hence, the period was characterized by "a surprisingly non-hegemonic polity" (p. 247), and neither a powerful dictatorship nor a solid civilian regime could emerge.

Although Di Tella's interpretive focus is on attempts of all political persuasions to mobilize popular elements, most of the book is a traditional narrative. Reflecting the lack of historical agreement on this

period, even many details of the narrative are subject to individual interpretation, and on some points my interpretation differs from Di Tella's. I would question, however, his ready association of early Jalisco federalism with Iturbidism.

Among Di Tella's strengths, however, are his consciousness of the effect of mass popular mobilization on political structures and his willingness to make comparisons with Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. Both of these are welcome themes that have not often appeared in studies of the early Mexican republic. What Di Tella has to do is to establish the existence of "popular politics" and then show why it failed to bring revolution. The key to the stalemate he sketches is the counterbalance of objectives among elites, downwardly mobile parts of the middle class, and aspiring elements of the lower class.

The work includes a massive bibliography and a useful chronological outline. Pamphlets and newspapers are extensively used; it was a period of extraordinary press activity. Many of the pamphlets are written in doublespeak, requiring that they be put fully in context. In addition, Di Tella cites the nineteenth and twentieth-century published sources and employs several archival depositories, including those at Quai d'Orsay.

Di Tella focuses on coalitions (conservative and liberal, clerical and anticlerical), and cycles (free trade versus protectionism, the popular menace as seen by the upper classes, the political role of the lower clergy). He argues that, after independence, politics was the continuation of civil war by other means. For elites, the dangerous classes were not just the poor but the middle classes as well—foremen, artisans, white-collar employees, friars and parish priests, miners and small merchants—because they could (and did) mobilize the masses. But for the middle classes, such power was a double-edged sword because they could never entirely control the masses.

Integral to Di Tella's approach are issues of trade and development. He argues that it was the complex relationship among upper, middle, and lower classes, and the extent to which they were too equally matched for any one of them to be the determining factor in the direction of the state, that constituted the uniqueness of Mexico among early nineteenth-century Latin American countries. Although I wish Di Tella had given more weight to the federalist periphery (and to federalist ideas in general) and more attention to the Hispanic liberal tradition, there is much to stimulate thought in this book. His presentation of the charismatic *caudillo* is useful, as is his presentation of the dichotomy between corporatism and liberalism in liberal economics. He demonstrates that the nineteenth-century liberal drive was also vertical or interclass, a popular-conservative coalition opposed by more traditional but possibly more logical conservative self-interest.

The Iturbide phase, often seen in the old historiography as a mere interlude, was, Di Tella argues, based

on the most successful attempt at popular mobilization during the period, and it had a fundamental effect on what came later. He presents the most elusive of Mexican historical figures, Antonio López de Santa Anna, as the spokesman for developmentalist liberalism in his early years. But, by the time Santa Anna came to the presidency in 1833, Di Tella, like most other historians, seems to lose a precise fix on his motives and objectives.

By incorporating the masses into the dynamics of early republican Mexico, Di Tella has made a significant contribution. The story gets no simpler, but he shows that it is possible to discuss the period without the simple dichotomies (evil rural *caudillos* versus good urban liberals; progressives versus retrogressives) that once dominated the literature. Di Tella adds considerable weight to the school that sees the early Mexican republic as characterized by stalemate.

TIMOTHY E. ANNA
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RODERIC AI CAMP. *Political Recruitment across Two Centuries: Mexico, 1884–1991*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 289. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

Roderic Ai Camp's new book is yet another in his outstanding series of studies of political leadership in Mexico. The title is somewhat misleading, as the charts actually encompass material going back to the 1820s, adding even more substance to the volume. In fact, Camp's work brings together concepts and theory from political science and a time frame and methodology that are solidly historical. He provides the reader with a clear picture of the ways in which the Mexican political elite has been and continues to be created and to recreate itself. The work is even more significant in its inclusion of the latter part of the Porfirian dictatorship along with the Mexican Revolution and the post-revolutionary period almost to the present. A useful final chapter analyzes the first three years of the Salinas presidency.

A strong first chapter sets up Camp's theoretical and conceptual approaches, reviewing the comparative literature carefully and showing how he will develop his own model of political recruitment. Correctly stating that North American and European models frequently do not fit the Mexican case, Camp lays out the four components he finds appropriate and useful: processes that "screen and channel" possible recruits; opportunity variables that encompass those characteristics making it more likely that an individual will be subject to recruitment; "recruitment gatekeepers" or those persons, institutions (formal and informal), and processes and procedures involved in selection; and "promotion variables," which are conditions affecting a particular individual's rise (p. 7).

Among the historical insights that Camp discloses is the importance, during the period 1884 to 1934, of experience in warfare. In both the Porfiriato and the

immediate post-revolutionary period, large numbers of political leaders had been involved in combat. Shared battlefield experiences were a major factor in continuing political alliances. A fascinating statistic indicates that two-thirds of the politicians of Porfirio Díaz's own generation (born 1820–1839) fought against the North American invasion of 1845–1848 as enlisted personnel or young officers. This revelation is carefully placed in a generational context, as Camp points out that only fourteen percent of all leaders during the Porfiriato were involved in that conflict—a factor of age and also region, as the U.S.-Mexican War affected only a portion of the country.

Leaders in the immediate post-revolutionary period also included a large component with combat experience who recruited allies and supporters with whom they had fought. Camp finds that fifty-eight percent of Mexico's national leaders during the 1920–1935 period had been involved in military operations between 1910 and 1920. Through careful examination of the data, he shows that three times as many combat veterans were political leaders in the post-revolutionary as compared to the pre-revolutionary period. The political generation born between 1880 and 1889 was forged by revolutionary battlefield experience. Other variables, such as education, became far less important. A number of civilian leaders who had not chosen to participate were still able to become significant members of post-revolutionary leaderships. These leaders, however, shared significant attitudes and values forged during the struggle with those who had actually fought. It is interesting that one of these attitudes, perhaps the most strongly held, was a predilection for peace. This concern, as Camp himself has pointed out elsewhere, has continued as a major value in Mexican political culture.

Given the richness of this study, a review can only sample a few of Camp's important points. A particularly interesting discussion is his comparison of political cliques—*camarillas*—in Mexico and elsewhere. Another extremely significant chapter includes a discussion of gender, comparing female politicians with their male counterparts in terms of education, fields in which degrees are held, types of political office, and kinship ties (the latter, interestingly enough, less significant for women than for men). This outstanding book provides solid analysis along with fascinating examples. It will be required reading for the specialist but also usable in the classroom and of great interest for the general reader.

LINDA B. HALL
University of New Mexico

LANE SIMONIAN. *Defending the Land of the Jaguar: A History of Conservation in Mexico*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 326. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

This book is a fine introduction to the history of conservation in Mexico. Its main focus is the develop-

ment of an environmental movement in Mexico during the twentieth century. Lane Simonian skillfully weaves the life stories of noted Mexican environmentalists, presidential statements concerning the use and conservation of the natural resources of the republic, and the often conflicting policies of presidential administrations from Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911) to Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988–1994) into a most interesting and informative narrative. At the same time, he provides sufficient information about the changing political economy of Mexico to enable the reader easily to follow his analysis of the development of the environmental movement and to understand the reasons for its particular formation. Simonian successfully demonstrates the tension between local, national, and international events; indeed, his analysis of the pressures brought to bear on local communities, environmental organizations, the successive administrations, and Mexican environments by increasing economic and political globalization is one of the strongest features of the book.

Simonian makes it clear that conservation did not begin in the twentieth century, opening the study with three preliminary chapters that deal with conservation in the pre-Hispanic era (up to 1521), the colonial era (1521–1810), and the nineteenth century (1810–1910). In this preliminary discussion, he attempts to sidestep the debate over the relative merits of Europeans and Native Americans as conservationists by treating the indigenous populations in as straightforward a manner as possible. He provides a balanced analysis of pre-Hispanic approaches to nature but is less successful in his discussion of the colonial era. Evidence of abundant resources in the early colonial era and their subsequent loss and/or degradation causes him difficulties because it suggests that the indigenous peoples were better at managing the land than the Spaniards. Simonian qualifies this evidence, claiming that the abundance was only apparent (p. 40–41), a distinction he does not clarify. If he had fully developed the idea of transformation contained in his statement that "the Spanish altered the environment of Mexico on a grand scale" (p. 27), he could have avoided this rather awkward construction and demonstrated the difficulties faced by both Spaniards and Indians as they attempted to apply their policies in a world that was undergoing (often rapid) change. As it is, however, the indigenous peoples appear as victims of Spanish exploitation, and the native environments are curiously static and unchanging: Mexico was a rich indigenous world that the Spaniards "felt that they could exploit . . . unceasingly" (p. 41). The polemic disappears as the indigenous peoples are transformed into peasants in a modernizing state, when there is less need to draw comparisons between indigene and invader.

Simonian has provided us with a history of conservation in Mexico that will be a standard text for some time to come. It is concise and well-written and, because it makes a complex topic easily accessible, it

will be widely used by teachers as well as specialists and activists.

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SAMUEL BRUNK. *Emiliano Zapata: Revolution and Betrayal in Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 360. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$24.95.

Emiliano Zapata has been the subject of much myth-making in modern Mexico, and earlier scholarly studies by Jesús Sotelo Inclán (1943), John Womack (1968), and Arturo Warman (1976) helped increase our reverence for the man and his movement by presenting us with prototypes of agrarian heroism. Recent trends in Mexican politics, however, have raised questions about the malleability of Zapata's image even as they have demonstrated the continuing power of *zapatismo*'s demands. While ex-president Carlos Salinas de Gortari wrapped himself in the mantle of Emiliano Zapata as he dismantled the agrarian reform, indigenous rebels rose up in Chiapas against neoliberalism, poverty, and discrimination. Not only did they use Zapata as their symbol, but they also resuscitated the demands for agrarian justice, social equality, and political autonomy that inspired *zapatistas* nearly ninety years ago.

The time seems ripe, then, for scholarly revision: will the real Emiliano Zapata please stand up? This is the question that Samuel Brunk sets out to answer in his new biography. Basing himself on additional archival and oral historical sources—dozens of oral history interviews carried out in the 1970s with ex-*zapatistas*, recently organized papers of several main *zapatista* leaders now housed at the national archive—Brunk proposes to disentangle the man from the myth and to help us understand the human limitations of both the leader and his movement.

Brunk partially meets his goal. There is a great deal more in this book about divisions within village society; wartime abuses by *zapatista* leaders and their men; Zapata's own ambivalences regarding confrontation and the disciplining of his *jefes*; relations of patronage and clientele; and political negotiations with other revolutionary leaders. We get a more clear-headed analysis of Zapata's possible complicity in the murders of several important *zapatista* leaders. Brunk also addresses the difficult dynamic between political and military centralization on the one hand, and ongoing village democracy and accountability on the other. He analyzes in detail Zapata's intricate and contradictory reliance on urban intellectuals, most notably Manuel Palafox.

There are occasional glimmers as well of a more broad-ranging revisionist project. At Zapata's 1909 election to represent Anenecuilco, Womack first reported, someone had yelled that the villagers wanted "a man with pants (*pantalones*) on" to defend them. Brunk points out that this could very well have meant,

in addition to a "man of action," a man with the status to wear *pantalones* rather than the more indigenous peasant garb of white *calzones* (pp. 19–20). This, of course, suggests a more complex ethnic and class dynamic within the movement than has been examined or conceded by earlier works. And Brunk takes up this theme of internal complexity in his conclusions.

If, in the first rash of revolutionary studies, *zapatismo* emerged as the prototype of agrarian revolution, he argues, during the revisionist 1970s *zapatismo*'s seamless agrarian heroism was preserved by pronouncing it the exceptional case. Brunk will have none of either model. Though he does believe that *zapatismo* can continue to serve as the model of agrarian popular revolution within the Mexican conflict of 1910–1920, it must do so as a "more conflicted and heterogeneous model than it was before" (p. 238).

Brunk's revisionism allows us to focus on new questions. If Zapata and *zapatismo* can still be the models of heroism and the struggle for justice they were before, only now with a few human warts and foibles, then how does that heroism get constructed out of imperfect human material? Especially after Alvaro Obregón's 1920 victory, Brunk suggests, the complicity of urban intellectuals helped expropriate the image of Zapata and use it in the interests of a centralizing post-revolutionary political system. But what happened before 1920? *Zapatismo*'s greatest heroism may indeed have been that people made great sacrifices for the cause and its principles and chose to support and follow Zapata despite his imperfections. If this heroism can no longer be explained through a false invocation of *zapatismo*'s seamlessness, then where is the answer? Brunk does not provide it. Until someone does, we will still be unable to understand how, ninety years after it first came to be, *zapatismo* continues to exert such a powerful hold on the Mexican popular imagination.

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DONALD C. HODGES. *Mexican Anarchism after the Revolution*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 251. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

This book seemingly has two intentions. The first is to outline the evolution of post-1920 anarchist-inspired radicalism in Mexico. The second purpose is to polemize the direct-action strategies and tactics proposed and followed by radical activists in Mexico. Indeed, the book's argument is integrated into the narrative of events and personalities. Donald C. Hodges's message is that anarchist principles have influenced nearly all significant movements seeking to confront the Mexican state from the 1920s to the 1990s.

Hodges's main sources are neither diverse nor numerous. These include interviews with a dozen or so veteran partisans, their letters and organizational doc-

uments, and printed reports and critiques found in left-wing publications. To ground the polemic there are the published writings of major radical left strategists and tacticians from the nineteenth century to the present.

Both the Mexican mainstream and the left draw Hodges's criticisms. Most students of twentieth-century Mexican political history agree that a minority anarchist ideological tradition has existed in the country and that some university youth activists since the sixties have a respectful familiarity with it. Indeed, the study of this cultural phenomenon, its ironies, and its diffusions will surely draw further academic scrutiny. Hodges writes about very specific, allegedly linked political conspiratorial continuities. In his view, Mexican anarchists were major players in an important drama and thus worth watching. This book is a compelling read with a unique interpretive slant.

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GILBERT G. GONZÁLEZ. *Labor and Community: Mexican Citrus Worker Villages in a Southern California County, 1900–1950*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 252. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

Gilbert G. González's examination of Mexican citrus-worker communities in Orange County, California, presents a wealth of detailed information about labor and social relations in the state's citrus industry in the first half of this century. Oral interviews form the cornerstone of his study and provide us with a unique glimpse into the everyday lives of Mexican farm workers during these years. González introduces the village as the organizing model for his study. He argues that citrus-worker communities were closer in structure to villages than to labor camps or barrios.

The strength of González's study of community formation lies in the use of descriptive narrative, although poor editing often obscures his story. He lays the foundation for his examination of worker communities by tracing the economic history of the citrus industry in southern California. González then gives us a richly nuanced account of daily life in farm-worker colonies. In these *colonias*, he tells us, Mexican citrus workers formed baseball and boxing clubs, organized patriotic and religious celebrations, and founded summer schools for farm-worker children to counter substandard education in both public and grower-sponsored schools. González skillfully uses oral interviews and newspaper accounts to weave together his story of vibrant, cohesive Mexican working-class communities in the 1920–1950 period.

The story of the decline of these communities forms the second half of the book. Building on George Sanchez's pathbreaking study of Americanization programs ("Go After the Women: Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915–1929") that

targeted Mexican women in the 1920s, González examines the impact of these programs in Mexican citrus communities. He argues that attacks on Mexican workers' cultural practices contributed to the decline of the village structure in citrus communities. Labor conflict in the 1930s, employment opportunities during World War II, and a government-sponsored foreign worker program (the Bracero Program) spelled the end of citrus villages, González tells us, as migrant workers replaced the stable village population in the 1940s. A non-migrating populace seems to be the key to the village construct. When immigrants replaced the earlier stable work force or intermarried with "villagers," rural villages became urbanized barrios.

González's citrus villages are autonomous, stable, rural enclaves that allowed Mexican workers to maintain cultural integrity in a foreign land, and in this sense they seem similar to the northern New Mexican villages analyzed by Sarah Deutsch (*No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880–1940* [1987]). But by González's own account, most of these "villages" were labor camps, owned and operated by citrus growers (p. 9). Only a minority of workers lived in communities in which they constructed their own homes on land they rented or purchased. Both of these types of communities were, in fact, colonies of the citrus farms, and most were company towns. Thus, the decline of these camps and the rise of barrios could represent a move toward, not away from, greater autonomy for ethnic Mexican farm workers and their families.

And citrus farm camps did not disappear, as González himself points out. Some of the Mexican workers recruited through the Bracero Program moved into these camps. Others lived in camps built with federal funds. Ethnic Mexican working-class communities were much more dynamic than González would have us believe. Farm workers in other industries succeeded in building stable communities despite their reliance on migration, multiple employers, and family labor. Despite the weakness of González's conceptual framework and the failure of editors to clear the brush from the book's narrative path, this study makes an important contribution to our knowledge of ethnic Mexican working-class people in the United States.

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FRANCISCO E. BALDERRAMA and RAYMOND RODRÍGUEZ. *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 283. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

This book asserts with considerable validity that it provides the first comprehensive treatment of the repatriation of Mexicans during the Great Depression. While other historians such as Abraham Huffman and Zaragosa Vargas have treated aspects of the American

campaign that sent as many as a million Mexican immigrants back to their homeland during the 1930s, Francisco E. Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez plow rich, new ground in their wide-ranging study. Based on interviews with individuals who experienced the trauma of repatriation as well as extensive research in the United States National Archives and the Archivo de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico City, this volume explores the factors motivating the repatriation movement, the role the Mexican government played in attempting to cope with the returnees, and the often tragic impact of the repatriation experience on the men, women, and children who were expelled from the United States.

During the initial three decades of the twentieth century, the labor needs of the United States came to serve as an economic and political safety valve for its southern neighbor. Plentiful work opportunities (enhanced by the restriction of Asian and European immigration) in the fields of the Southwest, on the railroads, and in the factories of both the Southwest and Midwest drew Mexican workers north of the border in large numbers. Between 1900 and 1930, about a million and a half Mexicans—approximately ten percent of Mexico's population—migrated to the United States. For most Mexican workers, the sojourn north of the border was to be a pragmatic trip of temporary duration. As time passed, however, the opportunities presented by relatively high American wages, coupled with continued economic and political turmoil in Mexico, encouraged many Mexican immigrants to sink roots into their adopted homeland.

The embryonic development of permanent Mexican communities in American cities and towns throughout the Southwest and Midwest, however, was suddenly cut short by the effects of the Great Depression. As unemployment skyrocketed in the early 1930s, American workers and politicians were quick to focus upon the most vulnerable recent arrivals from Mexico as convenient scapegoats. With little or no regard for human rights or due process, both local and national officials targeted Mexicans, whether immigrants or U.S. born, for deportation. Balderrama and Rodríguez charge that William N. Doak, Secretary of Labor in the Herbert Hoover administration, "instigated a personal vendetta to get rid of the Mexicans" (p. 58). Attempting to curry favor with the American Federation of Labor, Doak's goal was to deport 400,000 Mexicans with dispatch. The Immigration and Naturalization Service initiated raids in Mexican communities throughout the Southwest that were aimed at deporting illegal immigrants and inducing legal Mexican residents to undertake "voluntary repatriation."

To encourage voluntary departures by Mexicans, local welfare officials often denied Mexicans legitimate access to help, restricted aid to citizens, and failed to provide support to the native-born children of Mexican immigrants. Similar discrimination often characterized federal relief programs. For example, in 1937 all aliens were declared ineligible for employment on the New

Deal's Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects. Rather than dispense relief, local communities often paid the cost of transportation back to Mexico for immigrants who were pressured into returning. The city of Los Angeles repatriated as much as one-third of its Mexican population, some 50,000 people in less than six months in 1931. Sixty percent of the Mexicans repatriated from the United States were children who were born in and citizens of this country.

This study's most valuable contribution is its treatment of the hardships experienced by repatriates once they returned to their homeland. Despite the somewhat limited efforts of the Mexican government to promote agricultural colonization, most returnees faced poverty and desolate living conditions in Mexico, just as they had in the depression period in the United States. This attractively packaged volume, which includes a number of excellent photographs as well as primary source documentary material at the end of each chapter, should prove to be a valuable text for ethnic and Chicano history classes.

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VIVIENNE BENNETT. *The Politics of Water: Urban Protest, Gender, and Power in Monterrey, Mexico*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 232. \$49.95.

If you think that water is a neutral substance, Vivienne Bennett's new book will dispel that myth. Bennett documents the emergence of a serious water crisis in Monterrey, Mexico, and the political responses to that crisis.

Bennett first describes the buildup of the water crisis. The water shortage increased as the city became more populated and industrialized. By 1970, about thirty percent of the populace was unconnected to the municipal water system.

Bennett is less interested in the shortage of water per se, however, than in the response of civil society and the state to that shortage. In particular, she focuses on the increase in protests over water shortages, the sequencing of strategies of protest (from less to more militant), and the shifting of protest from the private to the public domain. She also focuses on the different class strategies of protest and the feminization of defiance for water. The more well-to-do the protester, the more individualistic the defiance. Because upper-class and upper-middle-class citizens have greater personal clout and better political connections, they had less need to turn to the public arena to get their concerns addressed. The feminization of protest, Bennett argues, is rooted in the gendered division of labor: water is central to women's role in the maintenance of the household.

Bennett proceeds to argue that government responses to the water crisis are shaped by the disruptive tactics of poor women. They also are shaped, in her

view, by peculiarities of the Mexican political system, namely by the centralization of resources, the power of the presidency, political cycles (program implementation peaking in the middle years of the six year presidential term), and a nonconflictual relation between business and the state.

To her credit, Bennett grounds her analysis in the broader literature on Latin American protests and social movements. Yet shortcomings in the logic of her analysis and in data ultimately leave her argument unconvincing even to me, despite my own work on Latin American social movements in general and the Mexican urban poor in particular. For example, Bennett describes three important state water projects: the Hydraulic Plan of 1980, Water for All in 1984, and the Potable Water and Sewage Project of 1990. Yet her analysis of protest stops in 1985, so that the relationship between protest and state provisioning in 1990 remains unexplained.

Moreover, while the water protests undoubtedly contributed to a general climate of disorder that the government sought to rein in through greater provisioning, the specific relationship between protest and provisioning remains unclear. Her data (reported newspaper incidences of protest) show no direct correlation between instances of protest and state responses. And contrary to her argument about the empowerment of women, the main water projects were implemented around years of low female participation in protests.

Bennett's thesis about the policy effects of protest does not adequately account for important differences in the policies implemented in 1980 and 1990, on the one hand, and 1984 on the other. From the "popular" sector vantage point, the 1984 program is the most consequential and the most unique in the history of Latin America. It called for the provisioning of individual home water service for all lower-class neighborhoods at one time. Accordingly, Monterrey obtained the best water service in Latin America. The 1980 and especially the 1990 project appear to have more directly benefited the business community, the so-called Monterrey Group. Although Bennett addresses the growing economic power and political clout of the Monterrey group, she does not systematically analyze the relative weight of business and the "popular" sector in shaping state policy. "Popular" protest obviously is a necessary but not sufficient factor in explaining state policy.

In essence, Bennett addresses an interesting and important issue and correctly highlights the political nature of a seemingly technical problem. However, her theoretical explanation of the politics of water remains somewhat wanting.

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DAVID E. WHISNANT. *Rascally Signs in Sacred Places: The Politics of Culture in Nicaragua*. (H. Eugene and Lillian Youngs Lehman Series.) Chapel Hill: Univer-

sity of North Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 569. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

This book's central objective is to analyze the cultural dimensions of political dominance, conflict, and transformation through the course of Nicaraguan history. Early on, David E. Whisnant inoculates himself against the prickly critic who might otherwise press for a rigorous and consistent use of his operative phrase, "cultural politics." Since culture has a "nearly limitless array of definitions," Whisnant draws from them at will as the "focus of analysis changes from historical period to historical period" (p. 3). This leads him to work with at least two starkly divergent understandings of cultural politics: the political consequences of struggles over cultural meanings, and the study of politics among sectors specifically marked as "cultural." The latter clearly guides Whisnant's choice of the book's case material (indigenous peoples, women, art), while the former comes (in an excellent chapter on modernist poet Rubén Darío) and goes (in much of the rest). This eclecticism also engenders prose liberally seasoned with the word "culture" without any clear analytical referent: for example, a process "both culturally determined and culturally revealing" (p. 361); a meaning "both double and clearly cultural" (p. 374).

The first six chapters provide a comprehensive account of Nicaraguan history from early colonial times through the Sandinista years (1979–1990). While historians will be nettled by the near-complete absence of original research in these pages, I was especially troubled by the absence of critical synthesis. Whisnant seemed merely to adopt the interpretive stance of the secondary sources in question, yielding a competent yet predictable and unreflective summary of what others have written. Chapters 7 through 10 contain much more original scholarship. Here Whisnant analyzes four cultural political topics—the removal of antiquities in the nineteenth century, Darío and Augusto C. Sandino as contested symbols of national identity, and gender inequity under Sandinista rule—in largely self-contained essays. Chapter 8, for example, provides a fascinating account of how sharply divergent interpretations of Darío's poetry—anti-imperialist font of Nicaraguan national culture versus advocate for the radical autonomy of art from politics—have served diverse political ends. Whisnant wisely does not seek a fixed, authoritative interpretation but rather acknowledges "Darío's multiple and sometimes contradictory identities" (p. 343) and traces the connections of each to processes of empowerment and dominance. Yet the reader who expects fresh synthetic analysis that integrates these four case studies—not to mention the preceding history—will almost surely be disappointed.

The book's conclusion is thin—a mere fifteen pages—and unconvincing. Since early colonial days, Whisnant suggests, Nicaragua always has been a "cultural bridge" between distinct peoples, societies, or political forces in contention with one another (p. 435). Con-

sequently, Nicaraguan history has been burdened with "perennial ideological and value conflicts" frequently involving "intense arguments about what culture is and ought to be" (p. 443). All this complexity, heterogeneity, and conflict leads Whisnant to argue that Nicaragua should be considered a "protocultural system" rather than a "cultural system in the usual sense," a society "perennially at war with itself" (pp. 443–44). Even the Sandinista revolutionary state, which had a coherent and unified cultural project, could not overcome these centrifugal forces in regard to indigenous peoples, women, or organized artists and musicians. The phrase "protocultural system" signals a major problem. Inspired by the Sandinistas' emphasis on cultural work as a means to achieve mass support for revolutionary change, Whisnant reads back into history to understand why such policies met with conflict at every turn. While his inquiry demonstrates that this conflict has deep historical roots, the prefix "proto" gives the argument an evolutionary tone that is theoretically indefensible (how exactly might this cultural deficit be conceptualized?) and analytically sterile. We ultimately learn only that Nicaraguan society has always been diverse and contentious, and that at any given moment (unsurprisingly) "not all 'Nicaraguan eyes' saw culture in the same way" (p. 235).

The enterprising reader might push further than Whisnant did, using the prodigious material he provides to answer this book's compelling analytical question: why did Sandinista cultural policies confront so much resistance, even before the revolutionary process in general ran aground? The Sandinista leadership sought, and arguably achieved, a distinctive blend: promoting quasi-autonomous cultural production on the one hand while directing this production toward predetermined political ends on the other. This blend may well have been a principal source of conflict. As long as verticality prevailed in the political system, cultural production would inevitably express heterogeneity and political dissent beyond "acceptable" bounds, leading the state to intervene and restrict the very pluralism that previously it had promoted. Most evident in the case of Sandinista relations with indigenous and black inhabitants of the Atlantic Coast, the pattern might also be found in the case of women, artistic and literary production, and other topics covered in this book.

What if Sandinista leaders had affirmed the radical democratic potential in cultural heterogeneity, rather than suppressed it in the name of a pre-emptive political unity? We cannot know where an alternative cultural policy of this sort might have led, whether centrifugal forces would have further democratized the political system and enlivened civil society, or torn them apart. We do know that the path taken—simultaneously promoting and attempting to harness cultural production—led to serious contradiction and conflict. It is unfortunate that Whisnant's study does so little to advance our understanding of these issues.

They involve urgent problems that, in Nicaragua and elsewhere, show no signs of going away.

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MARGARITA SUÁREZ. *Comercio y fraude en el Perú colonial: Las estrategias mercantiles de un banquero*. (Estudios Históricos, number 17.) Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos and Banco Central de Reserva del Perú Fondo Editorial. 1995. Pp. 137.

This slim and smart volume attests to two features of recent Peruvian historiography. First, there is the country's sheer enthusiasm and need for serious history, which commonly drives B.A. theses (such as this revised one) to approach the originality and sophistication of our publishable doctoral works. Secondly, there is growing interest in a final (archival) frontier of Peru's seventeenth century: a severely neglected age still depicted as Latin America's depressed, darkened, or docile colonial "interregnum." On the contrary, assert revisionists like Margarita Suárez: this was an especially creative period of autonomous colonial development when the colonized managed to infiltrate or overwhelm a weakened Iberian metropole. While recovering the early commercial history of the *peruleros*, a clan of worldly and world-renowned traders based in Lima, Suárez boldly attempts to show their challenges to a Spanish "mercantilist" system perilously controlled from Seville.

Readers actually get three stories rolled into one and a lot of solid new information along the way. First, there are the nicely drawn global and local contexts that provoked the business of the *peruleros*: the cross-Atlantic trade story (following recent European findings) and the institutional adaptations and commercial strategies of *limeño* merchant elites, hemmed in by Spanish designs such as monopolistic trade fairs. Second, there is the case-study saga of the risky times of Juan de la Cueva, a modest Spanish immigrant to Lima, who over a thirty-year span (1607–1635) managed to erect an American-based commercial empire without precedent or rival—including the sizable merchant bank whose dramatic bankruptcy in 1635 spelled the end of this Peruvian epoch. Third, there is the provocative thesis of the *perulero* struggle to overcome the strictures of Spanish economic domination. This is posed as a sort of cross-Atlantic commercial war fought out in terms of revenue fraud, evasion of peninsular intermediaries, creeping American market conquests, and some mighty unfriendly competition. Suárez has this Peruvianized diaspora carving out a major space along one of the most crucial—Potosí silver-driven—axes of Europe's early modern "world system" (for want of still better concepts).

Superb research and writing aside, I was not entirely convinced. These three layers of analysis, laudable all, sometimes remain at odds. For example, it is unclear why Suárez considers the *peruleros'* impact so lasting or

positive when, presumably, so much went down with Juan de la Cueva's shattering collapse in 1635, an event strangely left out of the tale (along with the Inquisition's timely persecutions of crypto-Jews among their ranks). The sensational issue of "fraud," while making its way into the book's title, gets less than two pages between its covers and would hardly seem the secret to *perulero* successes. Others might question zero-sum metaphors of commercial war and resistance, considering how entangled these traders were (with the imperial state itself) and their myriad of far-flung interests.

Clearly, an essay like this one can only suggest the richness of the untrampled field and the artfulness of the explorer. But the seventeenth century beckons the fine work of intrepid historians like Suárez, who as they venture on will surely draw out a surprising new portrait of colonialism and the colonial.

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CHRISTINE HÜNEFELDT. *Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labor among Lima's Slaves 1800–1854*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 269. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$16.00.

This book is a welcome addition to the scattered literature on Peruvian slavery for which Frederick P. Bowser and Peter Blanchard have done pioneer work. Christine Hünefeldt focuses on urban slavery in Lima and on the strategies adopted by slaves to gain their freedom and that of their loved ones during the period leading to emancipation in 1854. According to her, urban slavery developed in Lima because of its profits for both the owners, who could keep profitability high despite rural decay, and the slaves, who could reinforce their family and social ties. Refuting the thesis that slavery and family were incompatible institutions, Hünefeldt argues that, in the urban setting of Lima, family and marriage were important realities and the fundamental units through which individual slaves could attain freedom.

The product of extensive archival work in Peru, this study uses mostly legal proceedings involving slaves and masters, marriage proceedings, civil and criminal records, and parish registers to reconstruct slaves' struggles to improve their lives. The book begins with the story of a fictive slave family that places the diversity of family situations and strategies within their general historical context. It continues with a description of rural slavery in the haciendas near Lima and the fluid relations existing between the rural hinterland and Peru's capital. The third chapter focuses on urban slavery; it examines manumission and wage slavery and how they affected men and women in different ways. The next chapter discusses slaves' use of the moral contradictions between slavery and Catholic mores, with special reference to marriage. As much as these contradictions helped the slaves to

question the legitimacy of their owners' positions, they also worked against them, because slaves' sexual and family relations were distorted by the masters' power over their lives. The fifth and last chapter examines the interdependence between slaves and their owners in the pursuit of their respective and antagonistic goals: freedom and the protection of property.

Hünefeldt convincingly analyzes gender relations and the role of women in slaves' family strategies. Her discussion of the choice slave parents living separately from their masters and receiving daily wages faced regarding the maintenance of their children is particularly poignant: they could either leave them with the owner, who would then assume such costs, or fight to live with them and pay their maintenance, using money that could buy their freedom in the long term (pp. 117–127). Also fascinating is Hünefeldt's examination of Catholic marriage as a means for urban slaves to gain more control over their lives as well as an institution that reinforced gender inequalities (pp. 149–166). The book's emphasis on slaves' sense of profitability when making decisions sometimes overshadows other, less rational, motivations. Also, by focusing on the role slaves played in the process of their emancipation, the author tends to underplay the fact that slaves were benefiting from—and utilizing—a global decline of slavery that forced owners to turn to other forms of labor.

The potential of the book is limited by Hünefeldt's reluctance to highlight several of her findings for Lima's slavery and to discuss them systematically in a comparative way. When comparing, Hünefeldt simply corroborates or contrasts cases in Lima with cases elsewhere in the Americas. A much more stimulating approach would have been to systematize and contextualize these comparisons in order to situate Peruvian slavery within the Western Hemisphere and to make some general hypotheses about the causes of the similarities and differences she found. For example, this study questions previous assumptions that slaves and Afro-Latin Americans in general were guided by an ideal of whitening. The analysis of hierarchies in the *cofradías* (pp. 100–105) and of slaves' marital strategies (pp. 144–148) shows that status (free versus slave) and ethnicity (*criollo* versus *bozal*) rather than color mattered in the choice of community leaders and sexual partners. Without building on this finding, Hünefeldt acknowledges the ideal of whitening elsewhere in the book. Similarly, she does not use her finding that family strategies attest to a strong existence of Western family structures among Lima's slaves to challenge the findings of other works on the slave family in Latin America and the Caribbean. Her discussion of maroons and bandits would have been more enlightening if she had drawn more conclusions and attempted to link them to the ongoing debate on Latin American banditry.

Finally, the book is not without editorial problems. The translation of a Spanish manuscript by Alexandra Stern generally reads well but sometimes contains

repetitions and sentences that are difficult to follow. Some definitions, such as "mulato" to classify a person of mixed African and indigenous descent (p. 18), if correct, should have been explained. The listing of all slaves as black, when many were of mixed ancestry, is confusing, especially in a discussion of marriage strategy (p. 154).

These criticisms, however, demonstrate that Hünefeldt is making an innovative contribution to the history of slavery but is probably too modest to recognize it fully.

ALINE HELG
University of Texas,
Austin

LINDA J. SELIGMANN. *Between Reform and Revolution: Political Struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969–1991*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 268. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$15.95.

In 1969, less than a year after left-wing *golpistas* from the armed forces deposed Peru's sitting president, the revolutionary government announced one of the most sweeping agricultural reform programs in the history of Latin America. With the stroke of a pen, General Juan Velasco Alvarado attempted to end peasant unrest and bring Peru's semifeudal agricultural sector into the modern era by providing a mechanism for the distribution of hacienda lands to small landholders and members of government-sponsored cooperatives. As is so often the case in human affairs, however, things did not turn out as planned.

Linda Seligmann's study provides an engaging ethnographic and historical account of the impact of the agrarian reform of 1969 on the Quechua Indian peasants of Huanquite, an isolated community approximately 65 kilometers from the city of Cusco in southern Peru. Tacking between interviews with individual farmers and analyses of regional and national trends in the decades after the reform, Seligmann assesses the peasants' contradictory responses to government initiatives supposedly undertaken on their behalf. Her central aim is to explain why the redistribution of agricultural lands in Huanquite simultaneously led to greater peasant autonomy and higher levels of dissatisfaction and conflict, the latter manifesting itself most dramatically in local sympathy for the goals of the Shining Path, which launched a rural insurgency campaign in the early 1980s.

Seligmann demonstrates that, although agrarian reform opened a political space for the farmers of Huanquite, it also exacerbated underlying tensions in the community and fostered the growth of new forms of association that contributed to local strife. Nevertheless, some canny farmers were able to draw on their intercultural skills and hard work to prosper amid the ensuing turbulence. Seligmann's sharply drawn portraits of several of these entrepreneurial peasants are among the most memorable sections of the book. Her multidimensional analysis of changing social relations

in Huanquite encompasses religion (including the conversion of a significant number of villagers to evangelical Christianity), education, political institutions, land tenure, and economic strategies.

Occasionally, one wishes that Seligmann were less inclined to appeal to reified notions of "the state" and more attentive to the often contradictory ways that the Peruvian government and its local representatives affected the world of Huanquiteños. For instance, she observes that village schoolteachers, themselves state employees, often espoused radical ideas more in tune with the ideology of the revolutionary left than with official state policy. When Seligmann moves from abstract discussions of the state to fine-grained analysis of real social actors and their strategies for survival, however, the book comes alive with insight. It is such deft movement between broad political analysis and close study of subaltern creativity that makes this work essential reading for scholars interested in land reform, economic development, peasant societies, and the rise of the Shining Path, one of the most enigmatic revolutionary movements of the twentieth century.

MICHAEL F. BROWN
Williams College

ANN ZULAWSKI. *They Eat from Their Labor: Work and Social Change in Colonial Bolivia*. (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 283. \$55.00.

This book challenges the notion of indigenous Latin American peasants as passive creatures, merely surviving in the shadow of their elite masters. Instead, peasants appear as resourceful and clever, using the system to survive and, in some cases, to survive well.

Ann Zulawski studies the colonial labor force in Bolivia, which used to be called Upper Peru. She focuses on Oruro during a period that has until recently been relatively overlooked. Chapters one through three set the stage for the main part of the study. Pre-Hispanic Andean society, colonial labor, silver production, food supply, and population shifts are all summarily examined. One is tempted to say that they provide filler for the "real" book that starts with chapter four. Not true! The first three chapters provide the essential foundation for understanding what happened in Oruro in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

An important contribution is Zulawski's depiction of exactly how Indian laborers in Oruro acted as both industrial proletarians and rural farmers. Although wage earners, they were tillers of the soil as well, and more. The *corpa* or metals the miners took out of the mines—both legally and illegally—for their own benefit provided them with an entirely separate source of wealth. It is interesting to speculate about whether local clerics considered this to be "occult compensation," as later moralists would call it. Certainly the Spanish mine owners did not. Another important contribution is Zulawski's emphasis on the massive

migrations that must have occurred in order to supply Oruro with laborers. Workers came from widespread regions of the Andes. What forces drove them to Oruro?

Thankfully, Zulawski avoids the sterile debate about forms of capitalism in colonial Bolivia. Instead, she focuses on what was important in the world of the colonial mine laborer, how males and females coped and fared in a brutal and brutish part of the Spanish colonial empire.

NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER
Empire State College (SUNY)

JEFFREY LESSER. *Welcoming the Undesirables: Brazil and the Jewish Question*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 280. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$18.00.

The immigration of several tens of thousands of mostly Eastern European Jews, their settlement and economic activities in the main urban centers of Brazil—Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre—and their communal organization created, during the 1920s, a visible ethnic minority that differed in language and general appearance from the rest of Brazilian society. This, according to Jeffrey Lesser, led inevitably to the marked animosity on the part of intellectuals and political forces that came to the fore in Brazil after the 1930 revolution. "Nationalism, Nativism and Restriction" is the title of his second chapter, in which the major events of the early 1930s in Brazil and their impact on attitudes toward Jewish immigration are discussed. Brazil's policies regarding Jewish refugees during the later 1930s and the beginning of World War II are the focus of two further chapters. Thus, although the obvious purpose of this work is to study Brazil's contribution to the survival of the Jews during the Nazi era, it also provides the English reader with basic notions of the history of Brazilian Jewry during three decades. This is one of its great merits.

Lesser leaves no doubt in our mind as to the profound anti-Semitism that imbued Brazil's official policies regarding Jewish immigration. Using a plethora of documents from a large variety of sources, he describes in detail the deceiving manner in which Brazil turned down, in 1935, the request of the High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany to receive 125 families monthly for two years (pp. 68–77); the denial, in 1936, of entry permits to 137 farmer families, for whom the Jewish Colonization Association, in compliance with Brazilian laws, had prepared a colony at Rezende, near Rio de Janeiro (pp. 85–88); the comprehensive but secret prohibition of visas to Jews ordered in June 1937 (pp. 92–100); and, above all these and other hostile dispositions, the cynical refusal to honor Getulio Vargas's promise to the Pope to receive 3,000 baptized Jews who were persecuted in Germany and for whom the Church felt responsibility. Fewer than one third that

number of entry permits were allotted, and even fewer of the beneficiaries actually managed to arrive in Brazil (pp. 146–168).

Nevertheless, according to the data that Lesser collected from various sources, no less than 23,582 Jews immigrated to Brazil during the years 1933–1945 (pp. 52, 183), and the Jews living there were not persecuted or harassed either by the authorities or by the populace! In order to explain these contradictions, Lesser produces a theory about "some influential Brazilian policymakers" who at a certain moment began to interpret the anti-Semitic negative stereotypes about the Jews in a positive way: supposed Jewish affluence was seen "as crucial to Brazil's economic development." Chief among these policymakers was Oswaldo Aranha himself, ex-Ambassador to the United States and, from 1937 to the end of the war, Brazil's foreign minister. But such repetitious assertions, essential to sustain the title Lesser has chosen for his otherwise well-documented book (100 pages of notes and bibliography), are made without any real documentary support.

A much better explanation of the contradiction regarding the number of immigrants could be the author's indication (p. 68) that "Brazil has always been a country of exceptions, especially when it comes to policy enforcement." This, together with the corruption that prevailed in the administration, helped to rescue many Jews. The lack of persecution of Jews in Brazil indicate less anti-Semitism among the common Brazilians, as compared with the vehement hatred in official and intellectual circles so well described and documented by Lesser.

In spite of this weakness (and several lamentable factual mistakes that will have to be corrected in future editions) Lesser's work is undeniably a most important contribution to the history of Jews and other religious and ethnic groups in Latin America.

HAIM AVNI
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

ELLEN B. BASSO. *The Last Cannibals: A South American Oral History*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 319. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

This book is a significant addition to Ellen B. Basso's already important contributions to our understanding of the oral tradition of the Kalapalo people of the Upper Xingu region in the Brazilian Amazon. By providing a masterly study of the Kalapalo's historical consciousness through their own discourse, Basso demonstrates that lowland Amerindians cannot be characterized as having only a form of mythic consciousness that responds to a logic alien to Western thought. In this sense, her book makes a fine contribution to the relatively recent body of Amazonian and Andean scholarship that explores the interrelationships between myth and history as complementary forms of indigenous social consciousness.

Basso's interpretations of the Kalapalo past develop

around nine stories told to her by Kalapalo storytellers at various times between 1967 and 1982. Her discourse-centered analysis gives performance and audience the center stage. It shows, in complex linguistic and psychological details, how Kalapalo men and women construct a sense of history centered primarily not around particular events but around how those events were lived by named individuals in emotional relationships with one another and with Indian and non-Indian strangers in the outside world. Basso demonstrates, more explicitly in some stories than in others, how the storytellers make use of ideas and experiences about the past to shed light on and give meaning to the present and to explore their concerns about the future.

By focusing on Kalapalo personal narratives, Basso challenges the accepted view that biography is an exclusively Western literary genre. She carefully examines the cultural specificity of these biographies as dialogic performative processes. Through them the storytellers construct a sense of "shared" past: shared in the sense that it is arrived at through a social process of conflict and negotiation created in the very structure of the narrative performance. It is here where the strategies used by the storytellers, such as "quoted speech" or "testimonials," allow for the creative agency of individual authorship to be embedded in "collective memory," represented as a negotiated system of social relationships.

Basso's analysis successfully departs from a theoretical position that considers history as a mere totalizing context enveloping, and obscuring, the processes of individual indigenous lives. On the contrary, her analysis endeavors to show how we can learn about the historical processes of colonial situations, as experienced by the Kalapalo, through the "ideas about personal development, emotional events, subjective speech, and individual agency that are developed through narrative" (p. xi).

This approach to exploring indigenous ways of making and interpreting their own history is best exemplified in Basso's analysis of the warrior stories. They show how the actions, moral choices, and ideological decisions of the past Kalapalo powerful warriors led to the end of warfare and to a more peaceful social order. In this process, identities of self and other were redefined to construct a new moral community. In analyzing this situation, Basso does not fall into an easy romanticizing of this recently achieved social order but exposes its many ambiguities and contradictions. For instance, although past violence against outsiders has often been redirected inward, new contacts have brought about an increasing consciousness among the Kalapalo of the problems they share with other indigenous Brazilians.

Basso explicitly acknowledges that she needs further analysis of Kalapalo women's stories, but the few she presents manage to raise some fascinating questions about Amazonian indigenous women's own forms of historical consciousness, a topic until now

neglected in the ethnographic literature. This book is exemplary in bringing to light those and other indigenous memories hidden in the silences of Amazonian historiography.

BLANCA MURATORIO
University of British Columbia

JOHN CHARLES CHASTEEN. *Heroes on Horseback: A Life and Times of the Last Gaucho Caudillos*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. x, 241. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

This book is an engagingly written analysis of the historical reality and political mythology associated with some of the last frontier *caudillos*, rebellious rural strongmen of South America. Through the lives of Gumerindo and Aparicio Saravia, John Charles Chasteen offers a telling glimpse of the demise of traditional gaucho life and *caudillismo* during the late nineteenth century. He paints a revealing sociopolitical portrait of the end of autonomy in the Uruguayan-Brazilian borderland frontier.

Gauchos (in Portuguese, *gaúchos*) and their *caudillo* leaders have fascinated and repulsed travelers, writers, and politicians in South America for centuries. These rugged horsemen rose repeatedly against centralizing powers and fought to uphold localism and their own gaucho culture. In the process, they became highly charged political icons in the histories of Argentina, Uruguay, and Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.

Chasteen's work recognizes, indeed emphasizes, the close nexus between myth and historical events, an important contribution. Some historians have confused and conflated the literary, symbolic, and historical gaucho and *caudillo*. Chasteen skillfully shows how one facet relates to another. Scholars inclined to take folk tales about social bandits or other rural figures at face value would do well to consider Chasteen's examination of the creation and perpetuation of *caudillo* mythology: "Borderlanders collected, refashioned, or even invented outright the memorable words of their political protagonists . . . Borderland Federalists constructed an image of the hero they wanted" (p. 118).

A broad, varied range of primary sources underpins Chasteen's interpretation. He draws on local press accounts, government reports, tax records, judicial proceedings, census data, and published gauchesque writings from both Uruguay and Rio Grande do Sul. Given the richness of the sources, it is unfortunate that Chasteen so rarely quotes from them directly. We seldom hear the distinctive voices of the borderlanders. Except for one rather odd reference to Freud and group psychology (p. 164), Chasteen avoids bizarre flights into theoretical netherworlds.

Chasteen uses an unusual organizational technique for this book. Every other chapter narrates the military and political exploits of the Saravias from 1893 through 1904. Alternating interpretive chapters "describe basic characteristics of borderlands society, explore the political impact of the border itself, and trace

the gradual onset of hard times toward the end of the nineteenth century" (p. 6). I enjoyed the book's organization, but I fear that most students will find it confusing.

Happily, Chasteen does not constrain himself to the often feeble framework of national history. He shows how events actually unfolded in a porous region with attributes of and connections to both Brazilian and Uruguayan society and politics. He reveals the intricate social construction of identities in a frontier region and the manipulation of frontier imagery by urban political powers. Unfortunately, the book includes few comparative comments of interest to scholars working outside Uruguay and southern Brazil. Specialists on Argentina may see parallels between Aparicio Saravia and Juan Manuel de Rosas. The Colombian-Venezuelan *llanos* offers a logical region for comparison. Despite this lack of a wider context, however, Chasteen's book sensitively illuminates a relatively unknown frontier region of South America.

RICHARD W. SLATTA
North Carolina State University

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN. *Women, Feminism, and Social Change in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay, 1890-1940*. (Engendering Latin America, number 3.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. x, 480. \$60.00.

Asunción Lavrin's long-awaited study of the intellectual, social, and political history of feminism in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay is an extraordinary accomplishment. This carefully researched and well-organized book is a vast and absorbing chronicle of the origins and development of feminist ideology and the activities of the various and disparate factions of the women's movements of South America's Southern Cone from the late nineteenth century to the early 1940s.

Lavrin begins with a chapter in which she defines the meaning of feminism in the Latin American context and explains the goals feminists hoped to achieve. Throughout the book, she describes the ways feminist consciousness transformed the lives of female educators, social workers, medical doctors, and philanthropists.

Feminist leaders in the Southern Cone were mostly European immigrants or first-generation, middle-class professionals. The few creole leaders in the movement were usually from elite families whose involvement resulted from their participation in traditional philanthropic organizations. The majority of the feminist vanguard were allied with progressive and/or Socialist political parties and social movements that emphasized equal participation, if not always total equality, in the formidable task of nation-building after the decades of political chaos that followed independence. Lavrin skillfully interweaves the history of feminism with the political events and prevailing social thought of the time. European and, to a lesser extent, North American feminist ideas were key to shaping the

ideology and activist strategies of the feminists in the Southern Cone.

The main characters in this imaginatively written historical drama were women with a mission. They were social and moral reformers who fought with a passionate intensity, a kind of missionary zeal. More than anything, they wanted to overcome the prejudice and ignorance that upheld societal resistance to the realization of full equality for women. Among the reforms they proposed were expanded educational opportunities for women, protective labor legislation for women and children, sex education in the public schools, public health initiatives, the elevation through government programs of the role of motherhood to that of a public function, and full civil rights for married and unmarried women. Numerous campaigns for women's political rights were organized and defeated; suffrage was finally achieved in all three countries at different times and under different circumstances. Divorce was a controversial and divisive issue for Latin American women, and only a small number of feminists openly advocated it.

Lavrin's research serves as an important reminder of the immense courage it took to enter the struggle for women's rights in Latin America. The period her book covers was a time when women who spoke out in public were subjected to humiliating ridicule and social isolation. Women like the prominent and accomplished medical doctors Alicia Moreau de Justo and Paulina Luisi were regularly insulted and chased from podiums when they spoke on behalf of women who needed childcare and protection from violent husbands.

Feminist leaders were few in number; for the most part, they headed organizations with a few dozen members. Only by adopting an attitude of certainty of purpose and downright stubborn optimism were they able to compensate for their lack of supporters and the fact that they usually lost the battles they fought. To add to their problems, the determination and tenacity they demonstrated on the few occasions when they were heard in a public forum alienated many of their potential supporters. Persistent demands for the vote or for equal parental rights shocked and repelled the majority, who were not ready to accept women on an equal footing in any aspect of life. For decades, feminists tried to counteract objections to the justness of their cause by tempering their demands. They claimed that full citizenship for women was the only way their countries could enter the community of civilized nations.

In one of the most interesting sections of Lavrin's book, she demonstrates the way feminists manipulated the idealized, virtuous image of the traditional female to suit their own purposes. In many cases feminist strategists presented themselves as social redeemers, cloaking themselves in culturally safe images such as that of the morally superior mother. Feminists carved out a political niche for themselves by showing how necessary women were to clean up the corruption in

government. They believed that they could prove that women were fit to vote because they were morally superior and that, if women appeared less threatening, reasonable people would accept their participation in politics. Feminists were convinced that women had an essential civilizing role to play in government and that women could also reform the bad aspects of male character, such as excessive virility. This idea now seems comical and a bit pontifically puritanical, but feminists truly believed it was their job to end the glorification of male virility as a positive value.

Lavrin's chapters on sex education and moral reform are important because her detailed examination of how women viewed men's character and personality is enlightening. I would add that between the lines of many feminist tracts of the period one can see the deep longing for closeness with men in every way. The problem feminists posed for themselves was how to satisfy their hunger for intimacy and at the same time experience the respect they deserved as full human beings. Does this dilemma sound familiar?

Critics of Lavrin's book will probably say that it is too long. In my opinion it needs to be as long as it is, but the cost is prohibitive. The University of Nebraska Press should publish a paperback edition as soon as possible so that Lavrin's work can be used as a classroom text.

MARIFRAN CARLSON
Chicago, Illinois

MARÍA JOSÉ MOYANO. *Argentina's Lost Patrol: Armed Struggle 1969-1979*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 226. \$24.00.

This is indisputably the best English-language study of the Argentine guerrilla movement and its ten-year cycle, from inception through spectacular growth to thorough demise. The book is short, terse, and clear. It combines a quantitative approach, which I find especially lucid, with qualitative analysis that, by contrast, seems a bit thin. It relies on primary data culled from press reports and field interviews. The book is therefore an original contribution to the understanding of armed struggle in Argentina and to a theory of comparative political violence as well.

María José Moyano's study follows a simple plan. The book starts with an abridged political history of Argentina following the overthrow of Juan Perón in 1955. It supplies a short description of the origins and development of different guerrilla groups. The study then divides into two parts. Part one presents patterns of violence in Argentina between 1969 and 1979. It examines guerrilla actions, collective violent protest, and paramilitary counterinsurgency. Collective protest is discussed in order to determine what relationship it bears to guerrilla insurgency. Right-wing counterviolence is studied in order to gauge its impact on guerrilla cohesion and motivation and test the "revolutionary spiral" hypothesis, according to which repressive reaction to provocation leads to mass insur-

rection. Moyano finds that whereas right-wing violence reinforced the cohesion and motivation of guerrillas, the "revolutionary spiral" proved fatal to them. They were, in fact, led from warlike confrontation with the armed forces to social isolation and, finally, decimation.

Moyano argues that guerrilla armed struggle and collective violent protest grew side by side in Argentina from the late sixties through the early seventies. Their relationship was more coincidental than synergistic. Quite early on, guerrillas evinced a stark propensity to go it alone—a form of ideological self-intoxication that Moyano calls "militarism." They devalued politics and overvalued war, developed a friend-foe attitude toward outsiders, and mimicked the command structure of the armed forces. They went down in flames, overwhelmed by enemy forces that they sought to imitate, their backs turned on society and politics. Time and again, they missed and dismissed opportunities to score political gains.

For Moyano, internal rather than external factors were responsible for the militaristic self-intoxication of the Argentine guerrillas. She groups the former into three categories: re-socialization, the development of a friend-foe ideology, and bureaucratization. Part two gleams these internal processes from interviews conducted by Moyano, in the late eighties, with a large number of surviving guerrillas. The interviews show how the original political objectives of the guerrillas were sacrificed to purely military considerations. In the end, the guerrillas became caricatures of their nemesis, the armed forces.

The book stops at the very threshold of the most important question: why did Argentine society—especially middle-class society—spawn these violent groups and, in rapid succession, applaud them, distance itself from them, call for their elimination, and, finally, exculpate itself from the whole process, pretending that terrorism and state terror were two demons that took hold of an innocent community that today has returned to its old democratic ways?

JUAN E. CORRADI
New York University

JUAN GABRIEL VALDÉS. *Pinochet's Economists: The Chicago School in Chile*. (Historical Perspectives on Modern Economics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 334. \$49.95.

The "Chicago boys" who acquired power over Chile's economy in the wake of the military coup of 1973 shared a profound commitment to free markets; the authoritarian regime of Augusto Pinochet provided them with the arena to turn their vision into practice. This much about the link between a group of like-minded economists and Chile's seventeen-year authoritarian experience is common knowledge. Juan Gabriel Valdés expands this knowledge by exploring how an international transfer of ideas about the workings of

the market became a deeply held ideology that infused Chilean politics and public policies.

In the 1950s, the International Cooperation Administration, the forerunner of the U.S. Agency for International Development, supported a cooperative training program between the economics department of the University of Chicago and Chile's Catholic University. Chilean students were sent to Chicago for training in economics, and professors from Chicago took on teaching and advising responsibilities in Chile. Between 1957 and 1970, the University of Chicago, already known for its commitment to the free-market economics associated with Milton Friedman, Arnold Harberger, Frederick von Hayek, Henry Simons, Frank Knight, and others, trained about a hundred Chileans. Returning to Chile, these students helped resuscitate the economics faculty at the Catholic University and trained a generation of students in the principles of price theory and the workings of the market.

This book lays out the process through which ideas became an ideology and students became the standard-bearers of the philosophy and techniques they had learned in Chicago. Developing a framework for exploring the international transfer of ideas, Valdés provides an in-depth history of the role played by prominent Chicagoans such as Friedman and Harberger and by their Chilean disciples. Furthermore, he shows the development of a relationship between the members of the economics faculty in Chile and conservative business elements in the 1960s that became more overtly political during the polarizing years of the Unidad Popular government of Salvador Allende. Valdés argues that the professors-turned-technocrats under the Pinochet regime implemented their vision of a market economy with less speed and success than might have been expected and, after an economic crisis in 1982, became less orthodox in their policy recommendations. He nevertheless argues that their influence was profound in altering the dimensions of

economic discourse in Chile and in creating new wealth for some and increased economic hardships for many.

This book focuses less on the policies pursued by the Chicago boys between the mid-1970s and the late 1980s than on the development of economic ideas, the transfer of economic doctrine, and the individual and organizational networks that resulted from a technical assistance program linking two universities. Although Valdés explicitly resists the notion of a broad conspiracy linking Chicago, its students, the U.S. government, and the course of Chilean politics, his history demonstrates a consciousness of mission that lay behind the educational exchange program. This mission was no less than a commitment to alter the way in which Chileans—and Chile's governments—thought about economics. The book demonstrates that, in highly charged political environments, ideas play a critical role in building political alliances and in providing the philosophical and technical basis for making public policy.

Valdés, who is deeply critical of the Chicago School for its lack of social content and its influence in Chilean public life, has written an important history of an elite group of economists and their allies among Chile's conservative business elite. His research is based on a large collection of documents related to the technical assistance program, the scholarly and popular writings of the academics at the University of Chicago and in Chile, and extensive interviews with protagonists who were the vehicles of ideological transfer and policy transformation. Whatever the outcome of the liberalization of the Chilean economy that was set in motion by Pinochet's technocrats, Valdés holds them to account for the easy way in which they accepted the authoritarian moment, and its brutal political and social repression, so that they could implement their vision.

MERILEE S. GRINDLE
Harvard University

Film Reviews

MICHAEL COLLINS. Produced by Stephen Woolley, Redmond Morris (co-producer); written and directed by Neil Jordan. 1996; color; 138 minutes. Distributor: Warner Brothers/Geffen Pictures.

In the various controversies that swirl around Irish history, a few historical figures serve as ideological touchstones. One's opinions about them reveal much about how one views the nature of Irish politics and questions about Irish identity. Along with Patrick Pearse and Eamonn De Valera, perhaps no person serves this role so well as Michael Collins, arguably the founder of the Irish Republican Army and the soldier who won an independent Irish state at the cost of partition, civil war, and his own life.

Michael Collins is Neil Jordan's attempt to tell the tale of Collins from his participation as a minor player in the Easter Rising of 1916 through his major role in the Irish war of independence and the Irish civil war until his death at the hands of former comrades. The film is, however, less a historical biography than a cinemagraphic portrait of the myth of Michael Collins as well as a statement about the nature of things in Ireland since 1922.

Film is a wholly different thing from history. It must compress events, can make interpretive assumptions, and is not constrained by rules of evidence. Nonetheless, in many ways, *Michael Collins* is faithful to the past. The film's portrayal of period Dublin is masterful and has perhaps no rival in film history. While there are occasional errors in detail, the verisimilitude here is admirable despite the film's penchant for the now *de rigueur* use of gray and blue in period films. Crowd scenes in particular have been shot with an eye to the original photographs and films of many of these events and are done well.

Of course, there are the usual sins of commission and omission. The film dwells too much on Kitty Kiernan, who, in her role as the female personification of Ireland, is won over by Collins's willingness to endorse violence, but who also serves as the focal point of homoerotic tension between Collins and his friend Harry Boland. Some choices, such as Collins's seeming chastity, are of little consequence, while others, such as the execution of Ned Broy or the manner of Boland's death, are significant. Broy, only one of the intelli-

gence contacts supplying information to Collins, accompanied him on his fateful trip to London, rejected the treaty that ended the war of independence at the cost of partition, eventually served as head of the Irish police, and died an old man. Boland, by contrast, was killed rather ignominiously when Free State soldiers found him half-dressed in a hotel room in Skerries. In both cases, the truth and its implications are far more interesting than what is presented in the film.

The film also presents its hero rather simplistically. Despite brilliant acting from Liam Neeson, Collins was a far more complex and interesting character than one finds here. He came by his patriotism as an teenage expatriate living and working in London, where he was swayed by the idea of an "Irish Ireland," and he came to the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) through Gaelic games. He then learned the Irish language, and when Collins returned to Ireland in early 1916, he had come to believe, as many exiles do, with absolute certainty in the purity of a cause.

While imprisoned in Wales in 1916, Collins moved to establish his authority among his fellow prisoners. He then cultivated it through careful manipulation of his public image as a nattily dressed gunman with the mind of a banker and the tenderness of a serious Catholic. From 1917 onward, he worked tirelessly not only to gain Irish independence but to win leadership of the movement, holding key positions in both the IRB and the Irish Volunteers and alienating more than a few people in the process. His careful selection of IRB men to run in the 1918 general election was as much a tactic to secure control of the revolutionaries as it was an attempt to win a democratic mandate. If in democratic politics he could be manipulative, in matters military he was ruthless. The film actually goes easy on the British, where the Black and Tans deserved much of what they got. But Collins's "squad," which dispatched the Cairo Gang, a British counterintelligence unit, also dispatched many an Irish civilian who had different notions of what it meant to be Irish, setting the stage for the ongoing conflict we have today.

The most glaring omission in this film, from both a historical and a dramatic perspective, is that of the peace negotiations in London. De Valera, as the film implies, sent Collins on the mission doomed to failure.

But it was while he was in London that Collins, courted by English society, made his, and ultimately Ireland's, fateful compromise; without this, the story of his seizure of the middle ground is inexplicable.

In the end, the film casts Collins as a martyr for that middle ground. De Valera and his followers made the mistake of taking seriously the vision of Ireland for which Collins had so successfully fought, and it is not really clear in this film how they ended up on opposite sides. Nevertheless, *Michael Collins* is a superior film that presents a legitimate interpretation of Collins's life and times. Many critics in England and Ireland have been discomforted by the heroic portrayal presented here, and perhaps they should be. But almost any portrayal of Collins would bring to life that unresolved thing that is Ireland. The film suggests that the middle way, then and now, might not be what it seems to be.

SEÁN FARRELL MORAN
Oakland University

WAR STORIES OUR MOTHERS NEVER TOLD US. Produced by Gaylene Preston and Robin Laing; directed by Gaylene Preston; interviews conducted by Judith Fyfe. 1995; color; 95 minutes. Distributor: First Run/Icarus Films.

Gaylene Preston's film is a feature-length, oral history documentary about the experiences of New Zealand women during World War II. Rendered in an unpretentious but highly polished style that foregrounds the cultural and social specificity of these women's lives, *War Stories* was named best film at the 1995 New Zealand Film Awards, and—unlike Preston's previous work—it has even found a committed American distributor.

This greater international visibility is well deserved and somewhat long in coming for Preston, who has built a solid career in New Zealand with a series of entertaining, well-crafted, left-leaning films. Coming from a small-town, working-class background, Preston entered the developing New Zealand film industry in the late 1970s, when it was, in her words, a "male culture that was bouncy and funny, quite abrasive, and blokey and matey and sexist." Since 1985, she has provided an alternative to this male culture in fictional feature films (*Mr. Wrong* [1985] and *Ruby and Rata* [1990]) and television projects, including *Bread and Roses* (1993), a mini-series biography of political activist Sonia Davies that offers a detailed view of the transformations in New Zealand during and after World War II. *War Stories* thus caps a decade of socially conscious filmmaking, all of it informed by Preston's belief that there are progressive positions worth championing, female voices worth attending to, and a large general audience worth addressing and inspiring.

Seven interviews—seven mothers, Maori and Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent), working and middle-class—form the heart of Preston's revisionist

take on the social history of World War II New Zealand. In structure and rhetorical orientation, *War Stories* follows the tradition of earnest American documentaries like *Union Maids* (1976) and *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* (1980), which rely on (without really problematizing) what Bill Nichols calls a "witness-centered voice of testimony" (*Representing Reality* [Bloomington, Ind., 1991], 48). Unlike the activists in *Union Maids*, however, the witnesses in *War Stories* speak less of proletarian politics than of social mores and daily prejudices. But what these ordinary, articulate, lively women most completely testify to is the power of memory and of personal resilience, humor, and love in the face of wartime's ration of separation, grief, and sudden loss.

From their testimony, we know these women lived in a class society, isolated and provincial yet linked irrevocably to England, the United States, and the North African and European theaters of war. This is no major revisionist thesis, but then *War Stories* does not claim to be an investigative exposé. Grand, startling revelations would in fact run counter to Preston's overall sense of precisely where social history is to be rediscovered: in the everyday and the anecdotal, if not solely the domestic, then surely the intimate. What "our mothers never told us" are their stories of attempted rape and painfully tense homecomings and, more generally, their deeply felt realization that romance, sexual activity, and marriage did not necessarily go hand in hand in wartime New Zealand.

War Stories exists only because of these particular women, although it is Preston who provides the forum and the occasion for their storytelling and who situates the women cinematically and discursively. Until a snapshot of the women appears on screen after the final credits, the mothers are presented individually: each separate story is introduced by a title card that identifies the speaker by first name, and each mother is seated by herself against a pitch-black backdrop, carefully illuminated by three-point lighting. The camera is stationary, varying somewhat in distance from shot to shot but never drawing nearer than a medium close-up. There is no question, in other words, that these are staged interviews, recollections/performances of the past that somehow necessitate the effacing of all visible traces of present-day New Zealand, except for the presence of the women themselves, who seem remarkably forthright and comfortable telling their stories. Absent also from the interviews is any sense of personalized domestic space; yet, significantly, the women on Preston's stage are fully individualized through dress, posture, dialect, and physical features.

In contrast to the seven witnesses, Judith Fyfe, the interviewer, always remains offscreen, positioned as a listener rather than a supplicant or interrogator. Thus the real dialogue or dialogic text of *War Stories* involves the speaking women and what might be called the "archival" material that Preston incorporates. Certain visual evidence comes from the women themselves: letters, documents, photographs. Preston knows

full well the mysterious beauty and poignancy of family photographs, which do not so much corroborate the women's testimony as deepen and make tangible their existence in and over time. This photographic material also serves to conjure up a familiar wartime New Zealand and so underscores the need for getting at our mothers' *untold* stories. If the family photo record were adequate for history's sake or were somehow self-sufficient, then there would be little excuse to film *War Stories* at all except as an exercise in nostalgia.

The most "public" version of New Zealand's experience of World War II remains the government-authorized National Film Unit's *Weekly Review*, a ten-minute newsreel screened throughout the country during the war. Preston includes the black-and-white, crisply clear *Weekly Review* footage (complete with male voiceover narration and on-screen speeches by male dignitaries) for illustrative and sometimes ironic purposes. She leaves no doubt that the real informational and emotional weight of *War Stories* is borne by the present-day interviews.

Most important, the excerpts from the *Weekly Review* provide Preston with examples of an all-too-familiar male perspective that blends jingoistic gusto with dignified solemnity. This confident voice (of the wartime father, we might say) had no hesitation whatsoever about speaking with the omniscient authority of a supposed national consensus, of speaking for New Zealand. The women interviewed in *War Stories* do not explicitly challenge the newsreel version of World War II; they do not have much to say at all about the way the war and the home front were represented. But by their testimony, New Zealand's mothers respond to the *Weekly Review*'s strident, professional, fatherly voice. And that is a good story for all daughters and sons to hear.

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ONCE UPON A TIME . . . WHEN WE WERE COLORED. Produced and directed by Tim Reid; screenplay by Paul W. Cooper. 1995; color; 115 minutes. Distributor: Republic Pictures.

DEVIL IN A BLUE DRESS. Produced by Jesse Beaton and Gary Goetzman; written and directed by Carl Franklin. 1995; color; 102 minutes. Distributor: TriStar.

In recent years, we have seen an accelerating production of literature and film about the post-World War II era. The voice and tone of these works have been curious meldings of nostalgia and analysis, a sensibility also expressed in a rash of conferences on the subject. One conference in Frostburg State University in Maryland, for example, featured scholar/memoirists as speakers. Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington's biographer, spoke on his coming of age in the navy; Paul Fussell, author of a wry rebuttal to the idea of World War II as "the good war," spoke in a similar vein; and Dr. Benjamin Spock took up not the sub-

stance of his famous book on childrearing but its sweeping reception in the marketplace and its subsequent impact on his own life.

The two movies at hand ring with a similar duality in which nostalgia and social criticism share the screen. Both offer a comforting image of the racially segregated 1940s rooted in the richness and density of African-American life "within the veil," yet both hold open the promise of a new life to come. It is this density of black culture, however stylized and exaggerated for visual and dramatic effect, that makes these movies work for a history-minded audience. In the manner of a joke that depends for its humor on the shock of recognition, calls forth a knowing laugh, and perhaps evokes a whispered "amen" or "ain't it the truth," these two movies speak to their viewers. Amid the visual props that dress every scene are the black newspaper *California Eagle* that characters read, the separate "colored" entrances, the darkened jukejoints, the (too) shiny vintage cars, the sampling of conked heads, the ubiquitous signs of people "making do," the occasional toothpick nestled in a cheek, all so well used as to sound only an occasional false note.

Carl Franklin and Tim Reid, the two filmmakers of *Devil in a Blue Dress* and *Once upon a Time . . . When We Were Colored*, respectively, also draw from their actors a shrewdly effective portrait of the racial etiquette of the day: it both chafed against dignity and allowed for subtle black resistance to insult. In one sequence in *Blue Dress*, the hero tries to cling to his job that his Italian boss is taking from him. He bends a bit, keeps his cool, speaks in an unthreatening falsetto, but stiffens when Giacomo calls him "fella." It is the line not to be crossed. Voice tautened, he says, "My name's not fella." He also owns a house—"just like you people," someone says—and within it defines his own etiquette to black and white intruder alike. In *When We Were Colored*, a grandfather chooses to teach his own grandson about segregated drinking fountains rather than leave it to a flippant gas station attendant. And when a field boss admonishes a group of women cottonpickers, they mock him in language and cadence that he cannot decode.

Franklin and Reid are both black and old enough to have heard tales of segregation and to have lived through the civil rights movement. Thus the two films recapitulate their lives, taking the form of the *Bildungsroman*, or "coming of age" tale, in which the hero matures from naïf to man of action. Yet each movie is also cast in terms of a formulaic genre of Hollywood moviemaking—*Blue Dress* a black version of a *film noir*, *When We Were Colored* a sort of "biopic." The generic traits of these two forms strain the credibility of both movies. Whatever its fidelity to black life, *Blue Dress* also pays homage to its genre. Its maze of a plot reads like William Faulkner's infamous script of Howard Hawks's *The Big Sleep* (1946), so much so that its busyness takes the viewer away from the anatomy of black life that forms the core of the movie. *When We Were Colored*, as a coming-of-age movie, suffers from a

different generic trait. Such films follow a long, flat course not unlike a hurdles race, a form that precludes a strongly dramatic arc of incidents. Whether in Gordon Parks's sweetly nostalgic *The Learning Tree* (1969) or Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* (1992), the cadence of biography drags against the pace of the drama, already slowed by the film's need for expository dialogue or voiceover.

Structurally, the movies are similar. *When We Were Colored* begins in Glen Allen, Mississippi, in 1946, *Devil in a Blue Dress* in Los Angeles in December 1948. The former is introduced by a montage on an idyllic, almost claustrophobic black life that is occasionally rattled by a Ku Klux Klan threat or a tossed-off white insult. The latter opens on a long truckshot that carries the viewer across busy Central Avenue teeming with black dealing, jiving, and making the scene, then cranes upward to Joppy's bar, where "Easy" Rawlins sips a whiskey while checking the (white) *Los Angeles Times* for work. In both movies, voiceovers carry the action and provide exposition.

For each hero, coming of age consists of a sequence of decisions that prod him into acting against the racial status quo. In *When We Were Colored*, these defining moments come when the hero as child learns about colored drinking fountains, learns to read the classics when a white librarian brings him books from the segregated library, and finally leaves Mississippi (and the cocoon of family) for a less straitened, more open life in the North. In *Blue Dress*, too, the moments come in stages. We know at the top that Easy owns a house, has come to Los Angeles for wartime work, has learned a trade with his "GI Bill," and is "always trying to improve himself." By way of contrast, every encounter with white people—sadistic hitmen, vile LAPD harness bulls, a feckless liberal mayoral candidate and another who is a pederast—confirms in the viewer and in Easy what all *film noir* conveys: that the city out there is corrupt and that the lonely, good man must struggle to live by his honest private code. Only this good man is black, and he learns in the last reel that life in Watts is sweeter than it is up on the (white) heights of the Los Angeles basin. The historian/viewer in search of black life of fifty years ago could do much worse than these two movies.

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DREAM GIRLS. Produced by Kim Longinotto; directed by Kim Longinotto and Jano Williams. 1994; color; 50 minutes. Distributor: Women Make Movies, 462 Broadway, Suite 500E, New York, NY 10013.

RIPPLES OF CHANGE. Produced and directed by Nanako Kurihara. 1993; color; 57 minutes. Distributor: Women Make Movies.

Aside from a concern for the predicaments facing women in contemporary Japan, these two films have little in common. *Dream Girls* offers a fascinating

introduction to the hugely popular, all-female Takarazuka Revue; *Ripples of Change* chronicles one woman's journey back to Japan to reconnect with the remnants of the women's liberation movement there of the early 1970s.

Takarazuka is the brainchild of the railroad tycoon Kobayashi Ichizo, who in 1913 founded the Takarazuka Revue to revive the flagging fortunes of a rail line. Four years later, he created the Takarazuka Academy to train young women for the revue but also to prepare them to become "good wives and wise mothers." The revue has since gone on to become one of the most popular forms of mass entertainment in Japan. Today at huge theaters in Tokyo and Takarazuka, four companies of Takarashiennes entertain adoring crowds of mostly female fans with a mixture of Japanese and Western-style musical theater. The academy, likewise, is swamped with applicants. This odd intersection of pedagogy and entertainment—the peculiarity of a school that prepares young women for life as wives and mothers by training them in flamboyant gender-bending (the women who play male roles are particularly esteemed as wives)—is the subject of *Dream Girls*.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty facing the maker of a film about Takarazuka is how to make the spectacle engaging, to convey to viewers not already familiar with the revue precisely what about these campy musicals audiences find so captivating. *Dream Girls* handles this problem deftly. The filmmakers wisely avoid clumsy voiceovers and heavy-handed expert commentary. Rather than telling viewers what Takarazuka is about, they assemble a portrait of the theater by mixing, in about equal proportion, scenes from the musicals, interviews with fans and performers, and glimpses of the daily regimen at the academy. The result is an open-ended film that admirably captures the ambiguities of the Takarazuka phenomenon.

If it becomes clear in the course of *Dream Girls* that Takarazuka is about performing and interpreting gender, the film is subtle enough to suggest that these processes are complicated. Thus, while the announced aim of the academy, with its emphasis on "old-fashioned" female virtues (self-sacrifice, patience, etc.) instilled through military-like discipline, is to produce proper, manageable young women, fans and performers alike clearly do not consider themselves bound by that reading of their gender. One Takarazuka star, for example, asked whether she would ever marry, responds that she cannot imagine that happening; her experience in the theater has made her "too selfish and too assertive." Two young fans see the Takarazuka male-role specialists (*otokoyaku*) as "ideal men, without any of the coarseness of real men." And two housewives who like to sneak away to the theater without telling their husbands describe Takarazuka as a special place to indulge in fantasies of a romance-filled world without husbands, children, or other responsibilities; they speak of the "thrill" they feel in the presence of the "male" stars—a thrill their husbands

can't possibly deliver. Some will want to insist that Takarazuka is simply a realm of licensed transgression—that ultimately it does not question but reinforces normative gender roles. The Takarazuka Academy certainly describes its mission in those terms. *Dream Girls* argues against such an interpretation; the film demonstrates that there is ample room in what the fans and Takarasiennes say about themselves and their relation to the theater to provide for alternative and ambiguous constructions of gender.

Ambiguity is not to the taste of the narrator of *Ripples of Change*. Nanako Kurihara presents herself as a rebel who fled the oppressive conformity of Japan for the freedom of New York City. In New York, however, she missed the closeness of Japanese society—until befriended by another Japanese woman, Fumiko, who in effect became her mentor. The film is occasioned by the death of that mentor, and in fact it chronicles nothing other than Kurihara's search for a replacement. Because Fumiko had some connection with the "Lib" (*ribu*) movement in the early 1970s, Kurihara decides to start there. Along the way, we meet some important figures, notably Tanaka Mitsu, a thinker/activist whose handbills and essays are among the most incisive analyses to emerge from the movement. But since the film is really about Kurihara, we learn very little about women's liberation or feminism in Japan.

The faux naïveté of the narrator is especially cloying. Her stock questions for former activists are of the variety, "What was it like to be alive when there was still a feminist movement?" and "Why didn't you change the world?" or "Don't you feel awful that the movement failed?" To such queries, the usual response is incredulity and an insistence that feminism is more complicated than that. Occasionally, her technique elicits refreshing answers. Annoyed by the accusation that because she no longer seeks the limelight she has abandoned feminism, one former leader of the movement chides Kurihara for adhering to a cult of personality and delivers a mini-lecture on the role that economic and political structures—such as employment legislation that kept women out of management-track jobs because it limited the amount of overtime they could perform—play in restricting possibilities for women.

This response points to a glaring weakness of the film. Since Kurihara's is a personal quest, it seems preordained that she will arrive at the conclusion that feminism is primarily about personal transformation. Not only does this lead to the depressing conclusion that women are at fault for their continuing oppression (because they have not transformed themselves sufficiently or worked hard enough to see the ideas of the transformed few trickle down to the rest of society), it also leads Kurihara to ignore entirely some of the most important avenues for changing women's status in Japan. The legislative and legal battles (the sex-bias and sexual-harassment suits) that are beginning to win for women significant rights in employment, for exam-

ple, receive no mention. As a result, the film paints an overly pessimistic portrait of the women's movement in Japan: it leaves the impression that the movement nearly died out in the 1970s and lingers on today only in a few beleaguered communities—a conclusion that seems to me considerably at odds with current realities.

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ONCE UPON A TIME IN BEIRUT [*Kanya Ya Ma Kan, Beyrouth*]. Directed by Jocelyn Saab; screenplay by Phillippe Paringaux, Roland-Pierre Paringaux, and Jocelyn Saab. 1994; color; 104 minutes. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution, 4022 Stone Way North, Seattle, WA 98103 (206) 547-4687.

A SUSPENDED LIFE [*Gazl En Banat*]. Directed by Jocelyn Saab; screenplay by Gerard Brach. 1984; color; 100 minutes. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution.

THE TORNADO [*El-Aasar*]. Produced, written, and directed by Samir Habchi. 1992; color; 90 minutes. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution.

TIME HAS COME [*Ana El Awan*]. Produced and directed by Jean-Claude Cods; screenplay by Jean-Claude Cods and Talal Haidar. 1994; color; 85 minutes. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution.

Four films made by three talented Arab filmmakers over the past decade or so have dealt with the war that devastated Lebanon between 1975 and 1990. Three concern the war itself at different stages: *The Tornado* is set in 1976; *Time Has Come* has an opening scene set in 1975 but quickly shifts to 1988; *A Suspended Life* is set ten years into the war. *Once upon a Time in Beirut*, set in 1994, deals with the postwar situation, although it also refers back to the war itself.

The films all portray the randomness, cruelty, and waste of a civil war. Those who live through it are victims: even when they seem to take the initiative and make choices, those choices are limited and mainly out of their control. In *The Tornado*, the main figure, Akram, is a young Lebanese art student in the Soviet Union. He finds out from a news broadcast that a bomb has exploded in Beirut and several people have died. He flies back home to Beirut, where he begins by criticizing the violence and ends up by taking part in it. When Akram first arrives home, he does not understand why a friend of his carries a gun, but he is soon drawn into the conflict and ends up killing someone in a murderous scuffle over a car blocking a neighborhood street. Akram knows well that it is not the neighborhood bully he killed nor the bully's victim he avenges but the intensity of civil war itself that deprives him of the possibility of remaining neutral: every observer becomes a participant.

In Saab's film *A Suspended Life*, Karim, a painter, against the advice of his parents, chooses to continue

living in his apartment in war-torn West Beirut, confident that he is safe in his familiar neighborhood. But he is shot dead by a sniper. Samar, a young woman infatuated with him, runs to the spot where he lies and willfully waits for the sniper to shoot her, too. But her time has not come. The neighborhood children take her hand and lead her off to play on the beach not far from where Karim had fallen.

Around the central figures in these films are others representing victims of all the problems generated by war, from the inconveniences, such as cuts in the supply of electricity and water, to major disruptions or life-threatening situations like dislocation, exile, kidnapping, shooting, car bombs, snipers, and heavy shelling, to self-destructive behavior, depression, despair, and violence against others. One character in *Time Has Come* kills himself; another in *Once upon a Time in Beirut* tries to get killed; others are fighters, snipers, and car-bomb makers, and they take part in a violence that sooner or later ends in their own death.

What makes these movies affecting is their ability to condemn the horrors of civil war in a subtle context where, in the midst of horror, there are moments of satisfaction, happiness, or pleasure. Samar, the young woman at the center of *A Suspended Life*, tells Karim that war is good because without it, she would never have met him. Personal attachments are even more central to *Time Has Come*, in which Camille, a young Lebanese singer in Paris, has sunk into depression and lost the will to succeed. He returns to Lebanon and on the boat from Larnaca to Beirut meets Rayya, a woman who left Lebanon ten years earlier. With her, he discovers love and the energy and hope he had lost. Even in *The Tornado*, the film that is the most uncompromising in its despair, family ties never weaken and old friendships survive the dislocations of war. There is a new depth in the intensity of feelings among those who live through war; on some level, no emotion in peacetime seems able to compete.

War also succeeds in breaking down some of the class barriers of pre-war Lebanon and, in that at least, improves on pre-war society. Samar would never have met Karim without the war because he is a painter from the middle class of Beirut, whereas she is the daughter of a fisherman from the south of Lebanon turned tilemaker, now living with his family as squatters in an abandoned mansion in the neighborhood of Karim's apartment. Samar decides that since her father makes tiles and Karim makes paintings, they are equally artists. In *Time Has Come*, Rayya is met at the airport by a chauffeur-driven limousine that delivers her to her villa; Camille is met by friends who drive an ancient car, and he lives in a plain apartment. Perhaps

without a war, he, too, would never have mixed with the likes of Rayya. In *The Tornado* and *Time Has Come*, the militias are at the same time separate and part of the larger society. The social mix they generate, such as sharing a shelter in various buildings and quarters of the city, demonstrates a new level of democratization markedly different from the traditionally layered and hierarchical society of old Beirut.

The chaos of war also frees our heroes from social taboos. Samar has loved a man, or more than one, and she has lost her virginity—to the distress of her mother, who tries to find a midwife to repair the hymen so that her daughter can find a husband. One can easily imagine that the sexual freedom of wartime Beirut will give Samar other opportunities to make love again, indifferent to the trouble her mother has taken to secure her much-cherished virginity. Society may not have changed its attitude, but the circumstances of war have loosened its control. These films remind us that this war also restricted freedom in other ways by making the smallest chore a burden and by confining people to the quarter, where life is once again centered, just as it used to be before the advent of modern transportation expanded their horizon.

People survive partly through routine. There is something touching about retaining small habits in times of chaos. People go on visiting relatives and friends and sitting in coffee shops. But all the films are very good at showing how maintaining the pretense of normality should not make us forget that normality itself is nowhere around. In a scene in *A Suspended Life*, Saab's young heroine opens the refrigerator to find that the electricity is cut and the refrigerator dark inside. But the refrigerator is also stuffed with guns.

Habits are hard to break, and that very resilience may be the key to survival. Lebanese continue to speak the mix of English, French, and Arabic of the well-to-do. Traditions, including the celebration of birth, marriage, and death, continue after the war; people pick up the pieces and find joy in living. Jocelyn Saab's *Once upon a Time in Beirut* projects with subtlety both the shallowness and beauty of pre-war Lebanon, but it also has a note of optimism missing from *A Suspended Life*, filmed during the war. "If peace comes to your country, buy it," says one of the two young women around whom the film develops. Peace has come, but these movies are a portrait of a civil war from which much can be learned. For their depth of emotion and their call for nonviolence, they deserve attention and praise.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

HARVEY L. DYCK, editor. *The Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honour of Peter Brock*. (Proceedings of the International Conference on the Pacifist Impulse in Historical Perspective, 1991.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 444. \$70.00.

HARVEY L. DYCK, Peter Brock as a Historian of World-wide Pacifism: An Appreciation. MARTIN CEADEL, Ten Distinctions for Peace Historians. CHARLES CHATFIELD, Thinking about Peace in History. PETER VAN DEN DUNGEN, Jacob ter Meulen and Bart de Ligt as Pioneers of Peace History. LUISE SCHOTTROFF, Non-violence and Women's Resistance in Early Christianity. JOHN H. YODER, War as a Moral Problem in the Early Church: The Historian's Hermeneutical Assumptions. JAMES M. STAYER, Anabaptists and the Sword Revisited: The Trend from Radicalism to Apoliticism. DONALD F. DURNBAUGH, The Brethren and Non-resistance. HUGH BARBOUR, The "Lamb's War" and the Origins of the Quaker Peace Testimony. JACK D. MARIETTA, "The Things That Make for Peace": The Context of Pacifism in Quaker Pennsylvania. THOMAS C. KENNEDY, Quaker Women and the Pacifist Impulse in Britain, 1900-1920. IRWIN ABRAMS, The Quaker Peace Testimony and the Nobel Peace Prize. KLAUS K. KLOSTERMAIER, Himsā and Ahimsā Traditions in Hinduism. ROY C. AMORE, Peace and Non-violence in Buddhism. JAMES D. HUNT, Gandhi, Tolstoy, and the Tolstoyans. STEPHEN HAY, Gandhi's Non-violence: Metaphysical, Moral, Political and International Aspects. SANDI E. COOPER, The Reinvention of the "Just War" among European Pacifists before the First World War. MICHAEL A. LUTZKER, Themes and Contradictions in the American Peace Movement, 1895-1917. RICHARD A. REMPEL, Pacifism and Revolution: Bertrand Russell and Russia, 1914-1918. JO VELLACOTT, "Transnationalism" in the Early Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Y. ALEKSANDRA BENNETT, A Question of Respectability and Tactics: Vera Brittain and Food Relief for Occupied Europe, 1941-1944. NORMAN INGRAM, Ambivalence in the Post-Second World War French Peace Movement, 1946-1952. THOMAS P. SOCKNAT, The Dilemma of Canadian Pacifists during the Early Cold War Years.

ALEXANDRE POPOVIC and GILLES VEINSTEIN, editors. *Les voies d'Allah: Les ordres mystique dans l'islam des origines à aujourd'hui*. Paris: Fayard. 1996. Pp. 711.

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Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

The brief reference to George Stubbs in Liana Vardi's "Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe" [AHR 101 (December 1996): 1357–97] consists largely of errors.

"George," the correct name, is replaced with "Thomas" in both picture caption (Figure 27) and text—inexplicably, since there was no artist named Thomas Stubbs with whom to confuse George Stubbs.

Footnote 95 refers to "a picture of haymakers"—actually, *Haymakers* (1785), Tate Gallery—as the subject of a recent description . . . rather astonishing" in a "Review of the Tate exhibition" cited by John Barrell. This is wrong on almost every count. The quoted description refers to *Reapers* as well as *Haymakers*, and is neither recent nor from a review. As Barrell makes clear, the quotation is from a 1977 Tate press release appealing for funds to buy the paintings; in such a context, the description is hardly "astonishing."

One other point: the painting reproduced in Figure 27 is known as *Reapers*, as in the text, not *The Reapers*, as in the caption.

MERRITT ABRASH
EMERITUS
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

LIANA VARDI REPLIES:

The switch from George to Thomas Stubbs in the final version is rather puzzling and appears to be a case of slippage, perhaps from Thomas Gainsborough, that I failed to catch.

As for the reference to the 1977 Tate catalogue: in

The Dark Side of the Landscape (1980), a magnificent and inspiring work, John Barrell quarrels with both the Tate Gallery and *The Financial Times* for their sentimental reading of Stubbs's paintings as serious and noble representations of the English countryside. My purpose in citing this passage was a minor one (which is why it was relegated to a footnote): the misrepresentation of the tools in question. There are simply no scythes in either painting. I doubt that Merritt Abrash wishes to suggest that the appeal of the pictures to the British public and their support for the Tate purchase rested on showing "scythes." In any case, compared to sixteenth-century artists, I saw Stubbs as hiding rather than displaying the sickles (for sickles they were). Since that depiction of tools is central to my argument, I find it significant that modern viewers would see absent tools. That is the point I was trying to make.

LIANA VARDI
State University of New York,
Buffalo

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the June 1996 issue, Bertram M. Gordon's review concluded that my book is "a study of foods from antiquity through the early modern period, supported by a variety of unsubstantiated claims and an indiscriminate use of sources with little historical context" (p. 835). Gordon distorted the intent and content of *Acquired Taste: The French Origins of Modern Food*; the book's preface sets out explicitly that my intention was to solve the problem of why the French in the seventeenth century radically revised the style of eating from the one that Renaissance Italy had built by amalgamating motifs drawn from a wide range of sources in antiquity with existing medieval food characterized by the heavy use of sugar, saffron, and spices. The Italians' use of motifs such as the artichoke and asparagus was directly analogous to contemporary architects' borrowing motifs from Vitruvius. Contrary to Gordon's bald statement that I have not substantiated the existence of a Renaissance table, I have given

much primary source material from the humanist compendia on food and matched it with copious examples from the cookbooks of the period. Contrasting these sources with the previous medieval cookbooks, the Renaissance table becomes strikingly apparent. Gordon further displays his ignorance of the field when he suggests that there are not adequate numbers of menus from which to generalize. On the contrary, there are a multitude of menus and lists of dignitaries who attended banquets in the sixteenth century.

The French did not simply build their food on the Italian Renaissance table as Gordon suggests—the old line that it was Catherine de Médicis who taught the French to cook. Sources from all Europe including Italy credited the French with changing the taste in food. Gordon cannot insist that François Pierre de La Varenne's seminal text of 1651 is based on fifteenth-century predecessors, when La Varenne tells us pointedly that he learned to cook in the new fashion in the establishment of his employer, the marquis d'Uxelles. The recipes in La Varenne's 1651 *Cuisinier françois* prove his point. They differ markedly from those of the Italians. The French of the mid-seventeenth century give the palm to salt. The whole meal up to the dessert becomes engulfed in the concept of the salt-acid salad, which the ancients and the Italians had used only as an intermittent dish in their banquets, which were laden with heavily sweetened food throughout the meal. The modern penchant for salty foods and derision of sweet main courses is a direct outcome of the French design.

A major part of the French turn from the Italian Renaissance table was the desire to stamp out the heavy use of spices and golden hues because of their connection with the magic Neoplatonist universe. Marsilio Ficino's book on health and its connections with astral medicine, cordials, and alchemy is but one of the many sources I analyze to show why spiced (or perfumed) dishes of yellow or golden color had such a hold on Europe. The teachings on divine medicine of the magi, particularly alchemy, infiltrated the religious sects that played a major part in the political turbulence of seventeenth-century England. The English mayhem was not lost on the French court facing its own civil and religious unrest. This is the context for the change in French food.

Space does not allow a rejoinder to all the ludicrous assertions by Gordon. But I point out that I should not be faulted because some of my main French sources are in Latin, or are written by Frenchmen outside of France, or are by foreign travelers to France. Gordon even criticizes my title. Had he bothered to give the book and its ample notes a considered reading, he would have found that the title connects to Aristotle's use of the same phrase, "acquired taste," which of course would not have been lost on the educated seventeenth-century French, who knew, unlike the reviewer, the words of the extant Greek and Roman writing like the back of their own hand. It is ironic that in his meager "Why We Choose the Foods We Do," in

Nutrition Today (1983), Gordon, either for lack of being able or for being unwilling to attack the copious primary source material, leans instead on such secondary sources as Reay Tannahill's *Food in History* (1973, 1989), which I never use but to which he compares my book in disdainful fashion. Had Gordon flitted less through time-worn platitudes and reflected on major change in cultural history, he might actually have contributed something to the problem of why we eat the way we do.

Food is an integral part of cultural history, with tastes in foods connected to tastes in music, architecture, and philosophy. I have shown the connection between dining, humanist scholarship, philosophy, still-life painting, and the political setting, none of which was touched on in Gordon's simplistic review.

TOBY SARAH PETERSON
Princeton, New Jersey

BERTRAM GORDON REPLIES:

Rereading *Acquired Taste* in response to T. Sarah Peterson's letter critiquing my assessment of the book, I agree with Josef Konvitz, who reviewed it in *Petits propos culinaires* and wrote: "Peterson does not explain how the new cooking style was diffused, nor does she illuminate the process by which it may have been adopted in the kitchen. Furthermore, she does not discuss how the foodstuffs for the new French style were raised or marketed, nor who could have afforded them" (no. 53, 1996, p. 46).

Indeed, if we go into the details, a few examples will illustrate the various problems of this book. At the outset, Peterson argues, "To us the recipes in *Le Cuisinier françois* do not on the whole seem strange, but to contemporaries, who had been accustomed to dining on sweetly fragrant dishes, the salt-acid taste characteristic of most of these new dishes must have come as a shock" (p. xiii). No citations are offered to support this statement, for which no evidence is given.

To write "Succumbing to the ancients' passion for pig, Renaissance Europe reveled with Pliny's compatriots in the parts of the animal proscribed by the sumptuary laws of antiquity" (pp. 100–01) shows a failure to grasp the concept of pork in Western European history. This argument implies that the Renaissance rediscovered pork, which was not the case, as the Rohan Hours illustrations show.

On page 46, Peterson contends, "To counter the culture of the Arabic world, the revival of antiquity was carried forth on many fronts. In an attempt to appropriate the world of the ancients, Renaissance men embraced a wide spectrum of thought and participated in a broad range of activities that they associated with Greece and Rome." The claim that there was a specific attack on Arabic cuisine, however, is an exaggeration without foundation and comes several lines after a reference to the effect that "the Arab medical tradition

would continue in full force through the sixteenth century."

Peterson writes (p. 120), "Although the cauliflower was not known to the ancients and in fact originated in the Middle East, its appearance in the sixteenth century garden is a striking instance of the general pattern of ancient revivals we have been witnessing. The cauliflower is in fact a form of cabbage, and the ancients loved their cabbage." If, in fact, cauliflower was not known to the ancients, how could its use in the Renaissance, even if it is related to the cabbage, be considered an "instance of ancient revivals"?

On page 201, she states, "Rose water is almost nonexistent in *Le Cuisinier françois*, and though it appears more often in *Le Patissier françois*, it loses ground steadily in both French and English kitchens until it all but disappears." This statement shows no sense of the larger concept of socio-historic process in which rosewater was being supplanted by the introduction of chocolate, sugar, coffee, and tea.

As a last example, there is an aside on page 168: "Ideas of social justice developed rapidly in the spirit of liberalism that prevailed in England in the 1640s. Samuel Hartlib was one of many Europeans who crossed the Channel in the hope of helping to create

an alchemical revolution and a new society. His ideas, however, would seem tame by the next decade, for he aimed merely to establish an institution such as Renaudot's, which would redress social ills and cure disease. In the course of two English civil wars of the 1640s, the regicide of 1649, and the eleven year interregnum that followed, Protestant politics moved far to the Left." A "spirit of liberalism" and Protestant politics moving "far to the Left" hardly squares with the reality of Oliver Cromwell, the Puritan Revolution, and the Protectorate he led. It is also not clear how all this relates to culinary history.

The problem for culinary history, however, is larger than this book. It goes directly to the lack of an effective academic program similar to the history of painting, music, or even literature. Apart from those sponsored by Radcliffe and the University of Pennsylvania folklore department, or researchers clustered around Jean-Louis Flandrin in Paris, programs in culinary studies are rare and chairs in food history are virtually nonexistent. This absence has left the writing of texts to those of good intention but little actual savoir.

BERTRAM M. GORDON
Mills College

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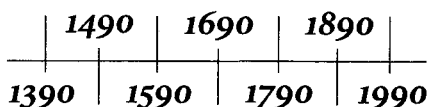
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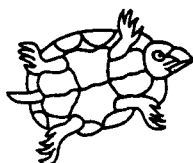
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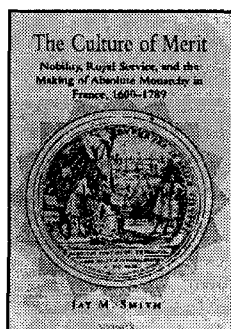
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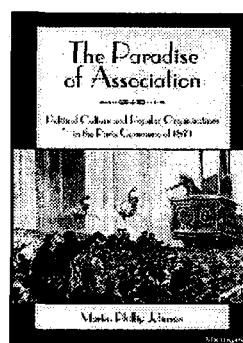
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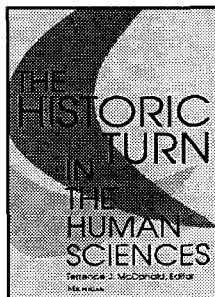
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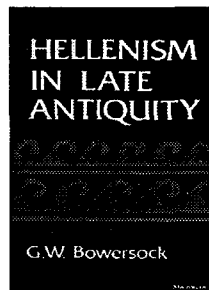
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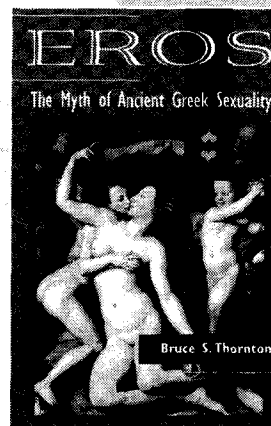
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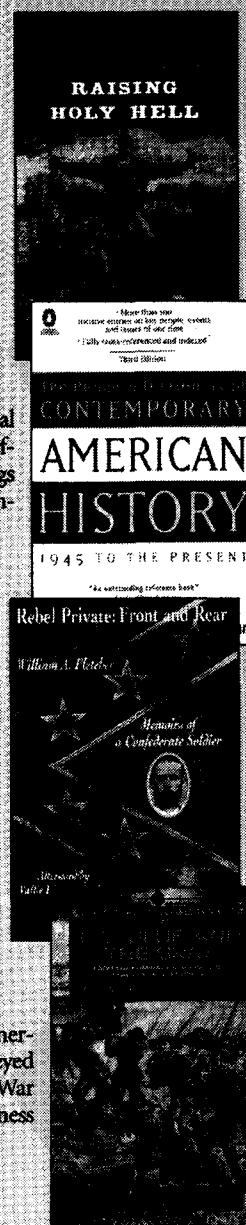
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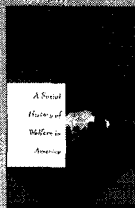
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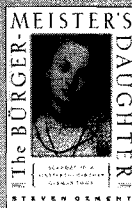
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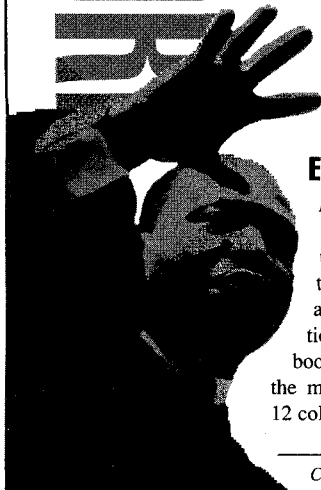
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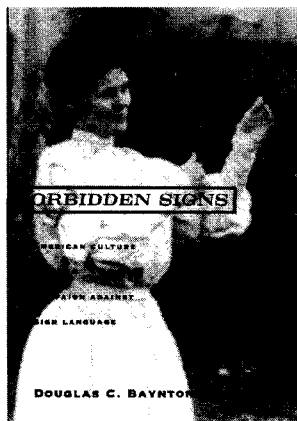
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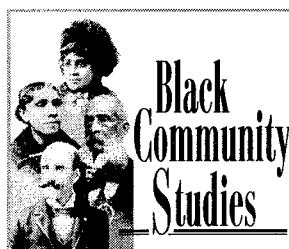
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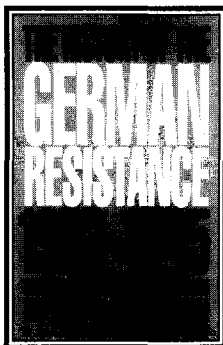


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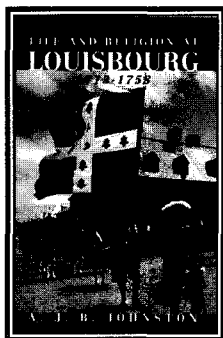


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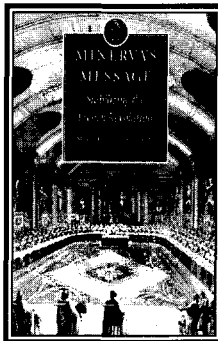


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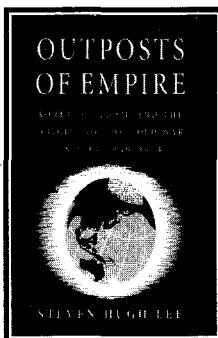


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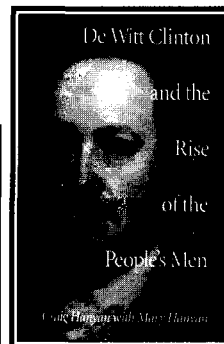
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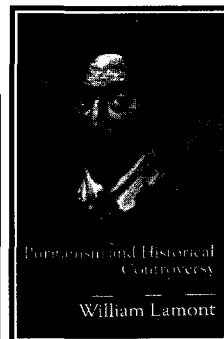
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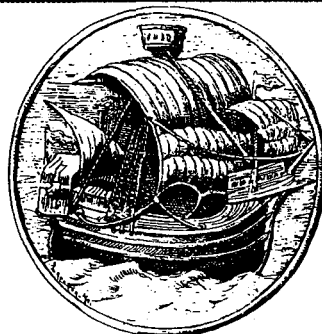
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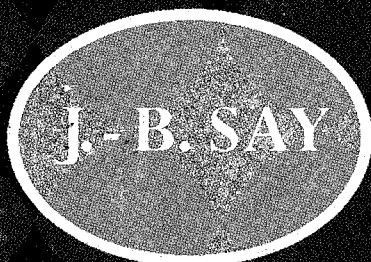
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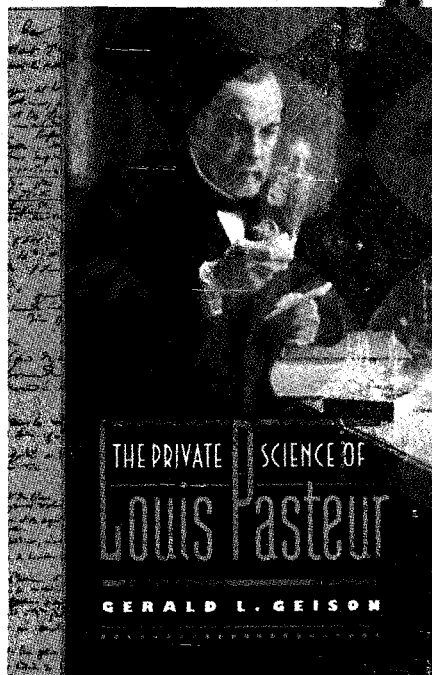
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